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A MAP of the
BRITISH DOMINIONS
IN
NORTH AMERICA,
according to the TREATY in 1763;
By Peter Bell, Geographer.
1772.
British Statute Miles, 69 to a Degree.
British & French Sea Leagues, 20 to a Degree.
West Longitude from London.
NEW SOUTH WALES
Parts Undiscover'd
CANADA
LABRADOR OR NEW BRITAIN
NEW FOUND-LAND
GULF OF LAURENCE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
LOUISIANA
MEXICO
PART OF NEW MEXICO
Country full of Mines
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
PENSILVANIA
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE HURON
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
BAHAMA or LUCAYOS ISLE
GULF OF FLORIDA
Bermuda Islands
George I.
Ireland I.
Georges I.
Dauphs I.
Coopers I.

62772

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS IN NORTH AMERICA:

FROM THE

FIRST DISCOVERY OF THAT VAST CONTINENT

BY SEBASTIAN CABOT in 1497,

TO

ITS PRESENT GLORIOUS ESTABLISHMENT AS CONFIRMED BY THE LATE TREATY OF PEACE in 1763.

IN FOURTEEN BOOKS.

LONDON:

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IN

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THE great and populous continent of America remained unknown to the reſt of the world, until the year of Chriſt 1492, when it was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus. The Spaniards called it the New World; and it is ſeparated from the Old, by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The Atlantic is about three thouſand miles wide between South America and Africa, and nearly the ſame breadth between North America and Europe; but the Pacific is about nine thouſand miles wide between America and Aſia. There are ſome reaſons, however, to imagine, that America may nearly join either to the north part of Aſia or Europe; or perhaps to both.

The example of the Spaniards excited other European princes to eſtabliſh colonies in America, which is now inhabited from north to ſouth by Europeans, who have almoſt extirpated the natives, and formed a kind of collateral power to the European ſtates. The New World has enriched the Old; which has improved the New. Armies have been ſent from Europe to fight in America; juſt as the Roman legions were ſent to Aſia to determine the fate of nations: and the like revolutions that have happened in ages paſt, may, in the courſe of time, happen again.

Never were any people poſſeſſed of a finer country, or more happily ſituated, than that now ſubject to the crown of Great Britain on the other ſide of the Atlantic ocean. Henry VII. king of England employed Sebaſtian Cabot in his ſervice, to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, in which he failed; but in 1497, he made land in Weſt Greenland in 67 degrees of north latitude, and from thence coaſted to Cape Florida in 25 degrees, taking poſſeſſion, according to the forms of thoſe times, as he ſailed along, for the crown of England, which thereby claimed a right to the poſſeſſion of the north-eaſt coaſt of America prior to any other European power. The commotions between England and Scotland poſtponed the further proſecution of theſe diſcoveries; upon which Sebaſtian Cabot went to Spain, where he was made chief pilot of the kingdom, and was highly careſſed, to prevent his engaging with any other court; though he received an annuity of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from the king of England, as a reward for his ſervices; becauſe he was juſtly reputed the firſt diſcoverer of the continent of North America. The Engliſh planted no Colonies there until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who granted a patent to Sir Walter

Walter Raleigh and his aſſociates, in 1584, for all ſuch parts of America as he ſhould diſcover and plant, from 33 to 40 degrees of north latitude. Sir Walter formed a ſettlement in the iſland of Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle river in North Carolina, and called all this part of the continent by the general name of Virginia, in honour of his ſovereign, Queen Elizabeth. This illuſtrious man may be conſidered as the father of the Britiſh Colonies, which have moſt unexpectedly proved of infinite emolument to his native country, where he fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of Spain in the reign of James I. The colonization of Virginia, however, was not completed until the reign of Charles I. which was followed by forming other ſettlements in thoſe extenſive countries belonging to the Britiſh government, upon the northern coaſts of America; as alſo in the iſlands of the Weſt Indies, ſituated between the Atlantic ocean, the north ſea, and the gulph of Mexico.

All this part of the continent was originally called Apalacha by the natives; and by the Spaniards, Florida. It was afterwards divided by the Engliſh into North and South Virginia: and then ſubdivided into the provinces, or colonies, of New England, Virginia, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Nova Scotia; beſides New Britain, or Terra de Labrador, which is much the ſame with the country called Hudſon's Bay and Streights, ſeparated from the reſt of the Britiſh territories by the river of St. Lawrence and part of Canada. Thus the principal Colonies of the Britiſh empire on the continent of North America lay contiguous, fit to be conſolidated, and formed one continued chain of about 1500 miles in length, with the ſea before them, and the Apalachian mountains behind, generally at about the diſtance of two or three hundred miles: But if the Iroquois, and other Indian nations under the protection of Great Britain, were included, the breadth muſt have extended to Canada and Louiſiana.

James Cartier ſailed up the river of St. Lawrence, and took poſſeſſion of Canada for the French in 1534. In 1562 they began another ſettlement in Florida, as it was then called, in the latitude of 34 degrees; but they could not complete any ſettlement there until 1684, when De la Salle diſcovered the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi; and, in 1698, Iberville called the whole country Louiſiana, in honour of Louis XIV. which has been greatly improved, eſpecially ſince the year 1720. Theſe large countries were ſituated at the back of the Britiſh Colonies; and it was ſoon evident that the court of France began to make North America an object of great attention, with a deſign to become maſters of it all. They found that, by means of the great lakes, they could come cloſe upon Virginia, Pennſyl-

vania.

vania and New York; as alſo, that by the river St. Lawrence on one ſide, and Cape Breton on the other, they could endanger Nova Scotia. From hence it was manifeſt that Great Britain could not be too provident in aſſiſting any of her Colonies that might be attacked or threatened by the French, who boaſted they would drive the Britiſh coloniſts into the ſea.

The French made repeated deſcents from Canada upon the Britiſh Northern Colonies, and deſtroyed their ſettlements: they made peace only to ſtrengthen themſelves for war, and broke every treaty to accompliſh their views. Gallic faith was become proverbial, and the neighbours of France could reproach her with innumerable inſtances of a moſt profligate diſregard to the moſt ſolemn treaties; while the power, populouſneſs, and extent of their monarchy exempted the French from thoſe apprehenſions which bind the weaker ſide to be faithful to its engagements.

By the treaty of Ryſwick in 1697, commiſſioners were to determine the diſputes about Hudſon's Bay: And by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was agreed that Hudſon's Bay ſhould be reſtored to Great Britain. By this treaty of Utrecht, all Nova Scotia was to be delivered to the Engliſh, with Newfoundland and the adjacent iſlands; which was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. But this laſt treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than France began to reſtore her marine, which had been almoſt ruined in the late war; and no ſooner had the Britiſh ſubjects began to ſettle in Nova Scotia, than the French began to diſpute about its boundaries, which they were determined to abridge in favour of themſelves, while they were gradually drawing and extending a line along the borders of the Britiſh ſettlements from St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſſippi, and building forts to ſecure the moſt convenient paſſes on the lakes and rivers that formed the communication. They were ſenſible this would effectually cut off all intercourſe and traffic between the Britiſh Colonies and the Indians up the interior countries, whom they could compel to fall under their ſubjection, or ſtarve; notwithſtanding it was agreed, by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, that "the ſubjects of France, inhabitants of Canada, and elſewhere, ſhould not diſturb or moleſt in any manner whatever, the five Indian nations which were ſubject to Great Britain, nor its other American allies."

Many clamours were raiſed at the conceſſions made to France at the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht. The Britiſh miniſtry were blamed for not inſiſting on the ſurrender of Canada, as well as Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, for the ſecurity of the Northern Colonies; nor ought they to have allowed the French the poſſeſſion of Cape Breton, if they had well

well conſidered or properly underſtood the nature of the fiſhery in thoſe ſeas.

Both Canada and Nova Scotia were the ancient poſſeſſions of the crown of England; therefore King James I. knowing his title to be good, made a grant of Nova Scotia, in 1621, to the Earl of Stirling: but Charles I. and Charles II. gave it, together with Canada, to the French. Nova Scotia was to be fully reſtored to the Engliſh by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht; and it was then univerſally allowed, that its limits extended as far as New England on the Weſt, the river and gulph of St. Lawrence on the North and Eaſt, and the Atlantic ocean on the South.

It is very neceſſary to obſerve, that though the reſtitution of Cape Breton to the crown of England was certainly implied in that twelfth article, as well as that of Nova Scotia; though Cape Breton was always reckoned a part of Nova Scotia, and included therein by the patents; though Queen Anne declared, that ſhe looked upon Cape Breton to belong to her, as part of the ancient territory of Nova Scotia; yet, by the thirteenth article of the ſame treaty, the Engliſh were negociated out of this important place, which was given up to the French.

In the propoſals which Louis XIV. made to Queen Anne, previous to the treaty of Utrecht, his whole ſoul ſeems to have been fixed upon the poſſeſſion of Acadia or Nova Scotia; but by the ſixth article in thoſe offers, he propoſed, That "after the concluſion of the peace, there ſhould be commiſſioners named on both ſides, as well for regulating, in the ſpace of one year, the limits between Canada or New France on one ſide, as Acadia and the lands of Hudſon's Bay on the other." And in the next article he propoſed, That "the limits being once fixed, it ſhould be forbidden to the ſubjects of both crowns to paſs the ſaid limits to go by land or by ſea the one to the other; as likewiſe to diſturb the trade of either nation among themſelves, and to diſturb the Indian nations who were allies, or had made their ſubmiſſion to either crown." The French wanted a ſpeedy concluſion of the peace, and were deſirous that commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to ſettle and adjuſt the differences relating to commerce, as had been done between them and the Dutch at the treaty of Ryſwick; which the Britiſh miniſtry refuſed, becauſe "whatever is referred, is given up."

By the treaty, however, the Canada or French line with the Hudſon's Bay company of Great Britain was aſcertained, from a certain promontory upon the Atlantic ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, to

run ſouth-weſt to Lake Miſtaſſins; to be continued ſtill ſouth-weſt to the 49th degree; and from thence due weſt indefinitely. By this conceſſion the French obtained a ſea-line ſkirt of Terra de Labrador, or New Britain, the better to accommodate their fiſhery: but, if the Britiſh intereſt had been ſufficiently regarded, the weſt line or parallel of 49 degrees north latitude ought to have been continued eaſt a little above the mouth of St. Lawrence or Canada river.

Yet, in this peace of Utrecht, it was omitted to ſettle a line between the Britiſh Colonies and thoſe of France from north to ſouth; as alſo a line eaſt and weſt between Carolina or Georgia and the Spaniſh claims in Florida.

France had ſtill a political aſcendency over Great Britain in the war of 1744; and by the ninth article of the treaty of peace in 1748, it was ſtipulated, that commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to reſtore and receive whatever might have been conquered on either ſide. The French ſoon after laid claim to the greateſt part of Nova Scotia, and of the country belonging to the Iroquois Indians; therefore commiſſaries were appointed to ſettle the preciſe limits between the reſpective crowns.

The Britiſh commiſſaries were Governor Shirley and Mr. Mildmay, who went to Paris in 1750, and held many conferences with the French commiſſaries appointed for ſettling the controverted limits in America. It was a fruitleſs negociation; but the Britiſh commiſſaries drew up ſeveral judicious and laborious memorials, in ſupport of their ſovereign's right to Nova Scotia; and their memorials were publiſhed in 1756, by order of the Earl of Halifax and the other Lords of Trade, as a full exhibition of the Britiſh title to that part of America.

One great and indeed principal ſecurity of the Britiſh Colonies againſt the fatal effects of the French encroachments conſiſted in this, that the French ſettlements were not capable of ſubſiſting a body of troops ſtrong enough to overrun the Britiſh Colonies; nor had they any convenient harbour except in the iſland of Cape Breton. But it was apprehended, if the French made themſelves maſters of Nova Scotia, they would be in a condition to introduce and ſubſiſt a body of troops ſtrong enough, with the French Acadians, the inhabitants of Canada and Cape Breton, and the Indians, to reduce all the Britiſh Colonies.

While the Britiſh commiſſaries were negociating at Paris, the uſurpations of the French were continued in America. They frequently made incurſions

incurſions into the peninſula of Nova Scotia, where they built ſeveral forts, and particularly a moſt important one to command the iſthmus; thus deciding by the ſword, in time of full peace, that controverſy which they themſelves had agreed ſhould be amicably adjuſted by their commiſſaries.

In the war of 1744, the French eſteemed their fiſhery upon the banks of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, as the principal branch of their commerce, and the foundation of their maritime force; but they had the mortification to ſee that trade ſuſpended by the loſs of Cape Breton in 1745, and all Canada endangered by a deſtined attempt upon Quebec in 1746. The French altered their plan after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and were reſolved to get poſſeſſion of North America by land, as they were not ſtrong enough to diſpute the dominion of the ſea, which they had done in 1690 and 1692. They expended great ſums of money upon their royal geographers and hydrographers, that their maps and ſea-charts might quadrate with their political ſyſtem of encroachments upon the territories of other nations; and thus, by eſtabliſhing their imaginary rights by the pen, they were determined to confirm their accuracy by a forcible poſſeſſion, and maintain it, if neceſſary, by the ſword.

It has been ever underſtood, from the firſt ſettlement of American Colonies, that the poſſeſſors of the coaſt had an inherent right to the inland territory. Upon this principle, the Britiſh charters, granted to the ſeveral proprietors, aſcertain the boundaries of the Colonies only from north to ſouth, and leave them unlimited from eaſt to weſt; but the French ſettled Canada to the north-eaſt of the Britiſh Colonies, where they met with little interruption in their eſtabliſhment, which tempted them to move to the ſouth-weſt. They then began to preſcribe thoſe boundaries of the Britiſh ſettlements, which had always been conſidered as illimitable, by building a line of forts to prevent their extenſion weſtward, and to incloſe them between two fires, by means of their fleet at ſea, when their marine was reſtored, and their batteries at land.

The vaſt tract of country that forms a barrier for the Britiſh ſettlements between Louiſiana and Canada, is inhabited by many different nations of Indians, who are the natural lords of the ſoil, which extends near two thouſand miles in length, from the gulph of St. Laurence to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and about ſix hundred miles in breadth from the head of the lakes to the Allegheny mountains. This great territory is full of prodigious mountains, capacious lakes, and large rivers. The French give us an account of twenty-eight Indian nations that were in alliance with them in Canada; whoſe country the French divided into

ten provinces: They had alſo made ſixteen ſettlements along the Miſſiſſippi in Louiſiana, where they carried on a conſiderable trade.

In 1716, the French erected a fort near Onondago, to cut off the communication of the Engliſh with Lake Ontario; but Colonel Schuyler demoliſhed the fort, and drove all the French out of that part of the country. This induced the Engliſh of New-York, in 1727, to build a fort at Oſwego, on the coaſt of Lake Ontario. In 1731, the French erected a ſtrong fort at Crown-point, on the ſouth-weſt of Lake Champlain, at the back of New-England and New-York. The plan of uſurpation at the back of the Britiſh ſettlements went gradually on from year to year; but they intended to give the finiſhing ſtroke of their ambitious encroachments, by erecting forts and ſettlements upon the river Ohio, which rouſed the Britiſh Coloniſts, and alarmed the government in England.

The Marquis Du Queſne was governor of Canada in 1750, when he ſent M. de la Jonquier to make proper ſettlements upon the banks of the Ohio, a country whoſe inhabitants had been in alliance with the Engliſh above an hundred years; to which alſo the Engliſh had a claim as being a conqueſt of the Five Nations; and from which, therefore, the French were excluded by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht. The poſſeſſion of the Ohio was abſolutely neceſſary, that the great plan of connecting Canada with Louiſiana might ſucceed; therefore the French began their hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh in that country ſoon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; inſulted their traders, plundered and made them priſoners, erected fortreſſes, and eſtabliſhed ſettlements.

The governor of Virginia, in 1753, ſent Major Waſhington to complain of theſe hoſtilities; but he returned with ſuch an anſwer from the French commanding officer on the Ohio, as only ſhewed how much in earneſt they were to maintain themſelves in their new uſurpations; and from this period we may look upon the war as begun.

No doubt the French miniſters flattered themſelves that England, inattentive to the intereſts of its colonies for ſo many years before, would not have the ſpirit to oppoſe force to force, and do itſelf juſtice by other weapons than the complaints of its ambaſſador, and the memorials of its commiſſaries at Paris: But the hour of vengeance was at laſt come; the intereſts of the Britiſh nation were attended to by thoſe in power, the infinite importance of its Colonies was underſtood, and a reſolution taken to have recourſe to arms. Thus Great Britain prepared for war; a war truly national, and ſprung from a root truly Engliſh. The nation was not ſuffered to ſink into contempt, though the miniſtry, which had received

no

no material alteration ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were much troubled with qualms ariſing from their old kind of timidity.

The Earl of Albemarle was the Britiſh ambaſſador at the French court, where he ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the proceedings and conduct of M. de la Jonquier on the Ohio, and demanded that the fort which the French had undertaken to build on the river Niagara might be razed. The French miniſtry were only for procraſtinating the affair; while the governors of the Britiſh Colonies ſent over freſh complaints to the Britiſh miniſtry, who began to think it neceſſary to act with ſpirit in America, if they negociated with ſupinity in Europe.

On the 28th of Auguſt 1753, the Earl of Holderneſſe ſignified his Britannic Majeſty's commands to the ſeveral governors of North America, "That in caſe the ſubjects of any foreign prince or ſtate ſhould preſume to make encroachments in the limits of his Majeſty's dominions, or to erect forts on his Majeſty's lands, or to commit any other act of hoſtility, and ſhould, upon a requiſition made to them to deſiſt from ſuch proceedings, perſiſt in them, they ſhould draw forth the armed force of their reſpective provinces, and uſe their beſt endeavours to repel force by force." Governor Shirley, about the ſame time, obtained permiſſion to leave the French commiſſaries at Paris and repair to London, from whence he returned to his government of the Maſſachuſets Bay, where he received orders from Lord Holderneſſe to keep that colony in a ſtate of defence. Party-ſpirit was then predominant in moſt of the Colonies; but Governor Dinwiddie and Governor Dobbs recommended warlike meaſures to the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina, ſo that theſe two colonies, with thoſe of New-England and New-York, were ſenſible of their danger, and prepared for their defence.

The Earl of Holderneſſe, as one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, had wrote another circular letter, to inform the American governors, "That his Majeſty had information given him of the march of a conſiderable number of Indians not in his alliance, ſupported by ſome regular European troops, intending, as it was apprehended, to commit hoſtilities on ſome parts of his Majeſty's dominions in America." And ſignifying to the governors, "That they ſhould be upon their guard, and put the provinces under their government into a condition to reſiſt any hoſtile attempts which might be made on them."

The Britiſh Colonies, excluſive of Georgia and Nova Scotia, were divided into eleven diſtinct governments, within each of which nothing

of any conſequence could be tranſacted but by their reſpective aſſemblies. They appeared inſenſible of the impending danger, when an immediate junction became abſolutely requiſite for their common ſecurity. They contemned the power of Canada, and confided in the number of their own inhabitants, of which the following is an authentic account taken from militia rolls, poll taxes, bills of mortality, returns from governors, and other authorities:

The colonies of		Inhabitants.
Halifax and Lunenberg in Nova Scotia	—	5,000
New Hampſhire —	New England	30,000
Maſſachuſets Bay —	New England	220,000
Rhode Iſland and Providence	New England	35,000
Connecticut —	New England	100,000
New York — —		100,000
The Jerſeys — —		60,000
Pennſylvania — —		250,000
Maryland — —		85,000
Virginia — —		85,000
North Carolina — —		45,000
South Carolina — —		30,000
Georgia — — —		6,000
	Total	1,051,000

This number is excluſive of the Negroes, and the military forces in the pay of the government. The Engliſh inhabitants, though thus numerous, were extended over a large tract of land, five hundred leagues in length, on the ſea-ſhore; and although ſome of their trading towns were thick ſettled, their ſettlements in the country towns lay at a diſtance from each other. Beſide, in a new country, where land is cheap, people are fond of acquiring large tracts to themſelves; therefore, in the out-ſettlements they muſt be more remote: and as the people that move out are generally poor, they fit down either where they can eaſieſt procure land or ſooneſt raiſe a ſubſiſtence. Add to this, that the Engliſh had fixed and ſettled habitations, the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt paſſages to which the Indians, by conſtantly hunting in the woods, were perfectly well acquainted with; but the Engliſh knew little or nothing of the Indian country, nor of the paſſages through the woods that led to it.

The number of French inhabitants in North America, excluſive of regular troops and Negroes, were calculated as follows:

The

The colonies of	Inhabitants.
Canada — — —	45,000
Louiſiana — —	7,000
Total	52,000

The country was divided into ſeignories, and the lands held in ſoccage by the tenants, who were thereby obliged, on any occaſion, to take up arms for their defence. The forces maintained by the king were diſtributed from Quebec down to New Orleans, among the ſmall forts in the inland parts, and ſome to the diſtance of above a thouſand miles. The Engliſh, it is true, were more than in the proportion of twenty to one; but union, ſituation, proper management of the Indians, ſuperior knowledge of the country, and conſtant application to a purpoſe, might more than balance divided numbers, and eaſily break a rope of ſand.

There were originally three ſorts of government eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh in America: 1ſt, A Royal Government, properly ſo called becauſe the colony is immediately dependent on the crown; the king appoints the governor, council, and officers of ſtate; but the people elect their repreſentatives: ſuch are the governments of Virginia, New York, the Jerſeys, New Hampſhire, both Carolinas, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and all the principal iſlands in the Weſt Indies.—2d, A Charter Government was a company incorporated by royal charter, and inveſted with a kind of ſovereign authority, to eſtabliſh what ſort of government they thought moſt expedient. Theſe charter governments have generally thought fit to transfer their authority to the people; for the freemen not only elect their repreſentatives in the general aſſembly, but annually chooſe their governor, council or aſſiſtants, and magiſtrates: they make their own laws, and are under no other reſtraint than this, that they enact no laws contrary to thoſe of England; if they do, their charters are liable to be forfeited. Such are the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland; and ſuch were the governments of the Maſſachuſets, New Plymouth, and Province of Main formerly; but their firſt charters being adjudged forfeited in the 36th year of the reign of King Charles II. the charter granted to the Maſſachuſets by King William III. has reſerved the appointment of a governor, deputy-governor, and ſecretary to the crown: but the houſe of repreſentatives in the general aſſembly yearly chooſe the council with the concurrence of the governor, who has a negative in all elections and acts of government. The governor and council appoint the principal magiſtrates, and the general aſſembly nominate the inferior civil officers; but all laws enacted are to be immediately tranſmitted to the king for his approbation

or

or diſallowance, to be ſignified to the governor within three years. From whence it appears, that the government of the Maſſachuſets, in which the colony of New Plymouth and the Province of Main, with part of Acadia, are now comprehended, is, in ſome inſtances, different from either of the two former ſpecies of government, or rather a mixture of both.—3d, A Proprietary Government; this is where the king by his charter conſtitutes a perſon the true and abſolute proprietary of a colony, ſuch as Pennſylvania, granted by King Charles II. in the fourteenth year of his reign, to William Penn Eſquire, ſon and heir of Sir William Penn, the famous admiral who conquered Jamaica, and afterwards greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and conduct under James Duke of York, in that ſignal battle fought and obtained againſt the Dutch fleet commanded by Van Opdam in 1665. The king granted this charter, ſaving always to himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the faith and allegiance of the ſaid William Penn, his heirs and aſſigns, and of all other the tenants and inhabitants within the territories ſo granted; and ſaving alſo to the crown the ſovereignty of the ſame. By this charter, Mr. Penn was to hold and poſſeſs the colony to him, his heirs and aſſigns, and their only proper uſe and behoof for ever; to be held of the crown, as of the caſtle of Windſor, in free and common ſoccage, by fealty only, for all ſervices, and not *in capite*, or by knight's ſervice; yielding and paying therefor to the crown two beaver-ſkins, to be delivered at the caſtle of Windſor, on the firſt of January in every year; and alſo the fifth part of all gold and ſilver ore which ſhould be found within the limits granted, clear of all charges. His Majeſty erected that country into a province and ſeignory, and ordered it to be thenceforth called Pennſylvania. A full and abſolute power was granted to Mr. Penn and his heirs, and to his and their deputies and lieutenants, to enact and publiſh laws by and with the advice of the freemen of the country or their deputies, whom the proprietary was to aſſemble for that purpoſe. For farther particulars ſee under the hiſtory of this colony.

Maryland and Pennſylvania are now the only proprietary governments in North America. But, by a late ſtatute, the proprietor muſt have the conſent of the king in appointing a governor, when the proprietor does not perſonally reſide in the colony, and of a deputy-governor when he does: Likewiſe, by another ſtatute, all the governors of the Britiſh Colonies are liable to be called to account for mal-adminiſtration, by the court of King's Bench in England.

Thus there are various ſorts of royal grants of colonies, which may be more particularly ſtated as follows:

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1. To one or more perſonal proprietaries, their heirs and aſſigns, both property and government; ſuch are Pennſylvania and Maryland. 2. The property to perſonal proprietors, the government and juriſdiction in the crown; as in the Carolinas and Jerſeys. 3. Property and government in the crown; as in Virginia, New York, and New Hampſhire. 4. Property in the people and their repreſentatives, the government in the crown; as in Maſſachuſets Bay. 5. Property and government in the governor and company, called the freemen of the colony; ſuch are Rhode Iſland and Connecticut: But this laſt ſeems to be the moſt effectual method of the firſt ſettling and peopling a colony.

In the beginning of theſe colony-grants there was only one houſe of legiſlature; the governor or preſident, the council or aſſiſtants, and the repreſentatives or members voted together: But now, in conformity to the legiſlature in Great Britain, they conſiſt of three ſeparate negatives. Thus, by the governor repreſenting the king, the Colonies ſeem monarchical; by a council they look to be ariſtocratical; and by a houſe of repreſentatives, or delegates from the people, they appear democratical. There are a few irregularities or exceptions from theſe negatives in ſome of the colonies; as 1. In Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, their elective governor has no negative. 2. In Pennſylvania, the council have no negative. 3. In Maſſachuſets Bay, the council are not independent; but in ſome elections the council and repreſentatives vote together.

About half a century paſt, upon ſome complaints concerning the Colonies, particularly of South Carolina, the Britiſh miniſtry were of opinion, that it would be for the general intereſt of the kingdom to have all charter and proprietary governments vacated by act of parliament, and a bill was accordingly brought in the Houſe of Commons, where it was dropped by the addreſs of Mr. Dummer, who was then agent for New England, and publiſhed an ingenious piece, wherein he gave the true ſtate of the Colonies, and convinced the mother-country of their utility. However, ſince that time, their different conſtitutions have too much divided the general intereſt of the Colonies, which has been increaſed by an interference with each other. Thus the different colonies have reſpective intereſts, and the reaſon is plain why they were ſo much diſunited in 1754. Each colony was independent of the other; ſome of them very remote, and thoſe which were near were generally diſcordant in their councils upon the manner of acting againſt the common enemy; diſagreeing about the quota of men and money which they ſhould reſpectively contribute, and conſidering themſelves as more or leſs concerned according to the diſtance of the colonies from immediate danger; ſo that it was very difficult

cult for them to agree upon any one plan, and as difficult to execute it if any one could be agreed upon. Whereas the French ſettlements were under the abſolute command of one governor-general, who could direct their forces as he pleaſed upon all emergencies. It was therefore eaſy to conceive, that a large body of men, part of them regular troops, with the aſſiſtance of the Indians ſcattered through the continent, upon the back of all the Britiſh ſettlements, might reduce a number of diſunited and independent colonies, unſupported with regular troops, though much ſuperior to them in point of the number of inhabitants. The effects of this difference of government, within the Britiſh and French Colonies, were moſt ſenſibly felt in the former war; and a moſt melancholy proof was given of it after the circular orders from Lord Holderneſſe were received; for, notwithſtanding the common danger, no two governments could agree upon any meaſures, to act with any degree of vigour for the general good.

The French meditated all poſſible arts to extend their frontier, which began to alarm the Britiſh provinces; and as Virginia appeared more immediately concerned, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies, for repelling the invaſion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela. New York voted 5,000 *l.* currency in aid of Virginia, where the ſum of 10,000 *l.* was voted, and 300 men raiſed for the protection of their frontiers. The command was given to Colonel Waſhington, who began his march on the 1ſt of May, 1754. He croſſed the mountains, and penetrated as far as the Monongahela; but was attacked on the 3d of July by 900 French and 200 Indians, who obliged him to ſubmit on very diſagreeable terms. Thus the French remained maſters of the Ohio, and built Fort Du Queſne, which they kept until 1758, when it was reduced by General Forbes, and called Pittſburgh.

The glory of the Britiſh nation began to revive, and the Colonies ſhewed an unexpected exertion of public ſpirit, eſpecially as they were patronized by the Earl of Halifax, who then preſided at the Board for Trade and Plantations. The French had commenced actual hoſtilities in America, where they had ſent 8,000 troops in 1752, of whom 2,500 went to Canada, 3,500 to the Miſſiſſippi, and 2,000 to St. Domingo. In the ſummer of 1754, they collected together at Breſt and Rochfort a conſiderable number of ſeamen, to be ſent to Canada to man ſome men-of-war that had been built there; and were preparing to ſend additional forces and warlike ſtores to that colony. This made it neceſſary for Great Britain to equip a fleet, as it was now determined not to loſe a foot of land

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in America. His Majeſty alſo directed two new regiments of foot to be raiſed in America, under the reſpective commands of governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell; and two regiments were ordered from Ireland to Virginia, under the command of Major-general Braddock, who was patronized by the Duke of Cumberland.

The French nation were not deſirous of war; becauſe they knew they were contending for boundleſs waſtes, from whence neither they nor their poſterity could draw much advantage for ages to come. The people of England were eager for war, becauſe they were contending for the preſervation and ſecurity of a well cultivated country, inhabited by their own countrymen, and of infinite preſent advantage to the ſubjects of Great Britain, of whom many thouſands owed their whole ſubſiſtance to the American colonies.

The parliamentary grants for 1755 amounted to 4,073,420*l.* out of which the ſum of 40,350*l.* was granted for the two regiments of foot to be raiſed in America, 7,338*l.* for ſeveral officers to go in the expedition under General Braddock, and 1,779*l.* for hoſpital officers in that expedition; 40,418*l.* for ſupporting the colony of Nova Scotia, and 2,957*l.* for the colony of Georgia. Thus far the colonies were protected; but by the mutiny-act, which was principally conſtructed by Mr. Fox then ſecretary at war, the forces in America were ſubjected to a new military reſtriction in thoſe parts; for a clauſe was inſerted which provided that all troops which ſhould be raiſed in any of the Britiſh provinces in America, by authority of the reſpective governments, ſhould, at all times and in all places, when they happened to join, or act in conjunction with his Majeſty's Britiſh forces, be ſubject to the ſame martial law and diſcipline.

The exerciſe of martial law hath been often oppoſed and condemned by parliament, as repugnant to Magna Charta, and inconſiſtent with the fundamental rights and liberties of a free people; nor was ſuch power given to courts martial after the peaces of Ryſwick and Utrecht. Mr. Bollan, the worthy and judicious agent for the province of the Maſſachuſets Bay, offered a petition againſt this additional clauſe, which brought on a ſhort debate in the Houſe of Commons, but had no remarkable effect.

The French ambaſſador at the court of London made great proteſtations of the ſincere deſire which his court had, finally and ſpeedily to adjuſt all diſputes between the two crowns concerning America. He therefore propoſed, " That before the ground and circumſtances of the quarrel

ſhould be enquired into, poſitive orders ſhould be immediately ſent to the reſpective Britiſh governors, forbidding them to undertake any new enterprize, or proceed to any act of hoſtility; and enjoining them, on the contrary, to put things, without delay, with regard to the lands on the Ohio, on the ſame footing that they were, or ought to have been, before the late war; and that the reſpective claims ſhould be amicably referred to the Commiſſioners at Paris, that the two courts might terminate the difference by a ſpeedy accommodation."

The Britiſh court immediately declared its readineſs to conſent to the ceſſation of hoſtilities; but upon this condition, that all the poſſeſſions in America ſhould previouſly be put on the foot of the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. His Britannic Majeſty, therefore, propoſed, that "the poſſeſſion of the lands on the Ohio ſhould be reſtored to the footing it was on at the concluſion of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable to the ſtipulations of the ſaid treaty, which was renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle: and moreover, that the other poſſeſſions in North America ſhould be reſtored to the ſame condition in which they actually were at the ſigning of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable to the ceſſions and ſtipulations therein expreſſed; and then the method of informing the reſpective governors, and forbidding them to undertake any new enterprize or act of hoſtility, might be treated of; and the claims of both parties reſerved, to be ſpeedily and finally adjuſted in an amicable manner between the two courts."

The French ambaſſador then delivered the draught of a preliminary convention, which was nothing but the firſt propoſal enlarged. The draught of a counter-convention was delivered to him by the Britiſh miniſtry, containing a propoſal of the moſt moderate terms; being confined to thoſe points only which were the indiſpenſible right of his Britannic Majeſty, and eſſential to the ſecurity of the colonies. No anſwer was made to this by France, whoſe ambaſſador was ordered to demand, as a previous condition, that England ſhould deſiſt from the three following points, which made a principal part of the ſubject in diſpute.

I. The ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes that diſcharge themſelves into that river.
II. The twenty leagues of country demanded along the Bay of Fundi: and
III. The Lands between the Ohio and Ouabache.

The diſcuſſions which followed this extraordinary claim, concluded with the ambaſſador's preſenting a memorial, wherein the affair of the iſlands

iſlands was treated of, as well as that of North America. This was anſwered by a very ample piece, wherein the ambaſſador's piece was refuted article by article, and the terms of the counter-convention fully juſtified: but this piece remained without a reply, by the ſudden departure of the ambaſſador.

It was known that the French had a ſquadron at ſea, and it was neceſſary that the Britiſh colonies ſhould be carefully protected; for which purpoſe General Braddock was ſent with the troops to Virginia, and a ſquadron was ordered to ſail for Newfoundland under admiral Boſcawen. As a kind of war was begun in North America, it was neceſſary to purſue it with power and vigour; and Great Britain was favoured at laſt by heaven with a ſucceſs, in that part of the world, almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory.

Admiral Boſcawen ſailed from Plymouth to the banks of Newfoundland, where he took the Alcide and Lys, two ſhips belonging to the ſquadron commanded by M. Bois de la Mothe, who eſcaped with the other ſhips, and landed his troops at Louiſburg and Quebeck.

Mr. Alderman Janſſen was Lord Mayor of London in 1755, by whoſe application to the miniſtry, orders of repriſals were granted to his Majeſty's ſhips againſt all kinds of French ſhips, by way of retaliation for the many murders the French had committed, their plundering of our traders to a great amount in the Indian country, and the encroachments they had made, ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Duke of Newcaſtle acquainted the lords of Council, that the Lord Mayor had ſent him ſome excellent hints. Theſe were to ſeize the French ſhips from the Weſt Indies, ſtated at four hundred ſhips with twenty men in each, amounting to eight thouſand ſeamen. "Would not ſo great a blow to their trade ſtrike ſuch a terror throughout France, as to incline its ſubjects to wiſh the Engliſh nation might be left in full and peaceable enjoyment of all their juſt poſſeſſions? and would not his Majeſty's ſubjects in North America receive the important news with the greateſt joy, and unite, as one man, to repel the common enemy, who muſt be greatly diſcouraged when they were once convinced, that we were determined, with our fleets, to cut off all farther reinforcements going from France, to ſupport them in that part of the world."

The meaſure pointed out by the Lord Mayor was ſoon carried into execution; and, before the cloſe of the year, there were actually three hundred and twenty ſhips taken, with about 8000 ſeamen on board.

Commiſſioners were appointed for the ſale of all the prizes taken before the declaration of war, and the money was lodged in the bank of England: It was then ſaid to amount to above ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, and lay there as a depoſit to indemnify the nation againſt the depredations which the French had committed in America; but private perſons who ſuffered by thoſe depredations never obtained any part of it.

While this kind of war was proſecuted, the conduct of both nations was juſtified. The Duke de Mirepoix delivered a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, concerning the French claims to the diſputed part of Nova Scotia; which memorial ſet forth, "That Acadia, as claimed by the Britiſh commiſſaries, had above 460 leagues of coaſt; that ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, contained little more than ſixty; and the reſtitution demanded by the Count D'Eſtrades about three hundred." This memorial deſerved no other anſwer than that the ambaſſador muſt quit the kingdom as ſoon as poſſible; and the French miniſtry made a public declaration to all the courts of Europe, that "if his Britannic Majeſty's allies took part in the war which was kindled in America, by furniſhing ſuccours to the Engliſh, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would be authoriſed to conſider and treat them as principals in it."

The French inſiſted, that the differences between the two crowns related only to the continent of America, and cenſured the Engliſh for taking their ſhips without declaring war. They every where declared, that their flag was inſulted, the law of nations contemned, and the faith of treaties broken. They affected to take the conſequence and effect for the cauſe; and alledged, as the principal affair, what was only acceſſory and proceeded from it. France had invaded the Britiſh colonies, and was ſending a large reinforcement to America. Now the ſame law, the ſame principle of ſelf-defence, which authoriſes the reſiſting of an invader, equally authoriſes the preventing of the party attacked from being overpowered by ſo formidable a reinforcement. It was therefore very natural to expect, that his Britannic Majeſty would provide for the protection of his ſubjects, by preventing the landing of ſo powerful an armament in America, and by endeavouring to preſerve his American colonies. It was the invaſion made by France and the violences that attended it which were hoſtile, and it can never be unlawful to repel an aggreſſor.

SECTION

SECTION II.

General Braddock lands in Virginia: His letters to the miniſtry concerning the ſtate of the colonies.—An account of the governors of the different colonies; and of the French governor-general of Canada.—A grand congreſs held at Albany, when the general union of the colonies is agreed upon.—Mr. Pownall's plan is laid before the commiſſioners, who approve of it, and order quotas to carry it into execution.—General Braddock's proceedings: He holds a congreſs at Alexandria, where it is determined to carry on Four expeditions againſt the French: His unſucceſsful expedition againſt fort Du Queſne; with remarks thereon.—The French are expelled Nova Scotia by Colonel Monckton.—The expedition againſt Crown Point by General Johnſon, who defeats the French army commanded by the Baron de Dieſkau.—General Shirley's expedition againſt Niagara, and its conſequences; which end the military operations of 1755: *with remarks.*

GENERAL Braddock, with the two regiments from Ireland, arrived at Virginia on the firſt of February, 1755; and, on the fourth, wrote a letter from Williamſburg to Henry Fox, Eſq; ſecretary at war, wherein he acquainted him, That "after a paſſage of ſeven weeks, in which he had very bad weather, he arrived there, where he found every thing in great confuſion, as he expected it. That much money had been expended there, though very little had been done. That Sir John St. Clair was juſt arrived, and he referred to his letters for the bad condition of the independent companies of New York. That Governor Dinwiddie was of opinion the people of Virginia were well perſuaded of the neceſſity of giving all the aſſiſtance in their power towards forwarding an affair that concerned them ſo nearly; and that Governor Dobbs was well enough ſatisfied with thoſe of his province, and hoped to be more ſo thereafter. But that Pennſylvania would do nothing, and ſupplied the French with every thing they wanted." This was, however, a raſh and ill-grounded cenſure of that province. On the 24th, the general alſo wrote to Colonel Napier much to the ſame purpoſe, complaining of the condition of the provincial troops, and that the Six Nations had then declared for the French.

The Britiſh colonies were not united againſt the common enemy; and the Indians openly upbraided the Engliſh with their diviſions and indolence, which they acknowleged to be the greateſt ſecurity of the French.

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This made it neceſſary that ſome plan ſhould be formed for a confederacy of all the colonies; and accordingly orders were ſent by his Britannic Majeſty to all the governors in North America, for a grand congreſs to be held of commiſſioners from the ſeveral provinces; as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a ſcheme for a general union of the Britiſh colonies.

At this time, the governors and lieutenant-governors of the Britiſh colonies in North America were as follow: Maſſachuſets Bay, major-general William Shirley, governor; Connecticut, Thomas Fitch, Eſq; governor; New Hampſhire, Benning Wentworth, Eſq; governor; New York, James de Lancey, Eſq; lieutenant-governor; but Sir Charles Hardy, knight, was appointed governor on the 9th of January, 1755; New Jerſey, Jonathan Belcher, Eſq; governor; Pennſylvania, Robert Hunter Morris, Eſq; lieutenant-governor; Maryland, Horatio Sharpe, Eſq; lieutenant-governor; Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, Eſq; lieutenant-governor; but William Anne Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, who was made governor of Virginia in 1737, and died at Paris on the 22d of December, 1754, was ſucceeded as governor by the Earl of Loudon, in 1756; North Carolina, Arthur Dobbs, Eſq; governor; South Carolina, James Glen, Eſq; until the arrival of William Lyttleton, Eſq; governor, who was taken in his paſſage to America in the Blandford man of war, by the ſquadron commanded by M. du Guay, who carried the ſhip into France, where ſhe was ſoon reſtored, and Governor Lyttleton releaſed; Georgia, John Reynolds, Eſq; governor; Nova Scotia, Colonel Charles Lawrence, lieutenant-governor, and Lieutenant-colonel Robert Monckton, governor of Fort Annapolis; Francis William Drake, Eſq; a captain in the navy, was governor of Newfoundland; William Popple, Eſq; was governor of Bermudas; and John Tinker, Eſq; was governor of the Bahama Iſlands.

The Marquis du Queſne, the new governor-general of Canada, was formerly captain of a man of war; he cauſed a ſtrong fort to be built on the forks of the Ohio, after diſpoſſeſſing the Britiſh Ohio company, who had begun to fortify there; and he declared, "he would have a French fort on each of the waters that empty themſelves into St. Lawrence and Miſſiſſippi:" but he was now ſuperſeded in his government by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who arrived about this time at Quebec with troops from Old France, under the command of Baron Dieſkau. The Marquis du Queſne returned to Europe, and commanded a French ſquadron in 1758, when he was defeated and taken priſoner by Admiral Oſborn, between cape de Gatt and Carthagena. The Marquis was in the Foudroyant, of 80 guns and 800 men; which was the ſame ſhip that the Marquis de Galiſſoniere commanded

commanded when he engaged Admiral Byng off Minorca, on the 20th of May, 1756. Captain Gardiner then commanded the Ramillies, under Admiral Byng; and he now commanded the Monmouth of 64 guns, to which ſhip the Foudroyant ſtruck after the death of the brave Captain Gardiner. The Marquis du Queſne was brought to London, and ſent to reſide at Northampton until the 21ſt of October following, when he returned to France on his parole.

A grand congreſs of commiſſioners from the ſeveral colonies was opened in the council-hall at Albany, in the province of New York, on the 18th of June, 1754, when a plan was agreed upon for a general union of the colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all military expences. Thomas Pownal, Eſq; brother to John Pownall, Eſq; one of the ſecretaries to the Board of Trade, and afterwards governor of the Maſſachuſets, was upon the ſpot. This gentleman, by great induſtry, and free acceſs to the papers in the plantation board-office, had acquired great knowledge of American affairs. He therefore laid before the commiſſioners at Albany a paper intitled "Conſiderations towards a general plan of meaſures for the Engliſh provinces; wherein he ſhewed the plan of the French meaſures in building a line of forts round the Engliſh ſettlements; which was "to cut the Engliſh off from all communication of alliance or trade with the Indians; to make a line of circumvallation to confine the Engliſh ſettlements within ſuch bounds as the French were pleaſed to ſet to the Engliſh provinces; to join Louiſiana and Canada; to become maſters of the lakes, and make the whole continent one French kingdom." This was ſupported by extracts from French writers, particularly Henepin, La Hontan, and Charlevoix. He then obſerved, that the whole back country, which the French divided into Canada and Louiſiana, they called New France; the Engliſh meaſures therefore ſhould be, "to open themſelves a paſſage to, and a communication with, the Indians; to diſjoin and keep ſeparate Louiſiana and Canada; and to throw off this yoke of forts which the French were laying on their necks." The only way for the Engliſh to do this was to become maſters of the Indian countries, ſo as to ſecure themſelves and protect the Indians. There appeared two ways of effecting this: either to diſpute with force and arms every paſs and hold in the country with the French, and to ſecure ſuch with forts and garriſons; or to become maſters of the lakes, and acquire the dominion of that navigation. He conſidered both theſe arguments; but as the Engliſh had no military eſtabliſhments like the French, he declared his opinion as follows: "The meaſure therefore moſt reaſonable and moſt likely to ſucceed is, to ſet the firſt ſtep where we have already a footing. We have in the Indian country a fort, a garriſon, and a port: under the defence

fence of theſe the Engliſh may build a fleet, that ſhall firſt open a paſſage and communication to the Indians; ſecondly, that may eſtabliſh a trade of the moſt eaſy management and the greateſt profit; and, thirdly, that would divide and cut off Louiſiana from Canada." He then remarks, "All that can be done at preſent is, under the defence of fort Oſwego, to ſecure the dominion of the Lake Ontario; and, in the mean while, to ſecure by forts the paſſes upon the frontiers of our own ſettlements (diſtinguiſhing here the frontiers of the ſettlements from the frontiers of the provinces) and thoſe of our allies, to protect ourſelves and them. This being done, we ſhould attempt and acquire, for it is in our power, the dominion of all the lakes, perhaps the lake Superior excepted. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets, and Rhode Iſland might be allotted to Lake Champlain; Connecticut, New York, and New Jerſey, to Lake Ontario; Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and perhaps the Carolinas too, to the Lakes Erie and Illinois."

This propoſal of raiſing a naval force upon Lake Ontario, being agreeable to their own previous ſentiments, was approved by the commiſſioners, and afterwards adopted by the miniſtry, and carried into execution; when the ſeveral Colonies (their plan of union, formed at this congreſs, having miſcarried) raiſed ſeparately ſuch numbers of men as they thought themſelves able to maintain, viz.

Virginia - - -	1750
Maryland - - -	1000
Pennſylvania - - -	1500
New Jerſeys - - -	750
New York - - -	1000
Maſſachuſets Bay - -	1750
Connecticut - - -	1500
New Hampſhire - - -	500
Rhode Iſland - - -	500
In all	10250

Although the union of the Colonies was a meaſure recommended to them by the crown, yet when a plan for that purpoſe was ſo readily concerted by the commiſſioners, it ſeems that a jealouſy aroſe, leſt ſuch an union might in time render them formidable even to the mother-country. Their plan, therefore, which was to form a general council compoſed of deputies from the aſſemblies of all the Colonies, wherein ſhould preſide a governor-general to be appointed by the crown, with a power in the council

council to lay and levy general taxes, and raiſe troops for the common defence, and to annoy the enemy, was not approved by the miniſtry. But a new one was projected in England, wherein it was propoſed, that the provincial governors appointed by the crown ſhould be impowered to meet, and order ſuch troops to be raiſed, forts built, expeditions undertaken, and other expences incurred, as they ſhould judge neceſſary; for which they ſhould draw on the treaſury in England, which ſhould be reimburſed by future taxes on the Colonies, to be raiſed by act of parliament. This the Colonies did not approve of; ſo neither of them were carried into execution. Had the firſt been agreed to, probably no farther expence on the part of Britain would have been neceſſary than what related to the fleet, as by land the Colonies united would have been much too ſtrong for the French, when their ſuccours from Europe were intercepted or prevented.

The Colonies of Virginia and Carolina had ſent no commiſſioners to the congreſs at Albany; but the governors of thoſe Colonies ſtrongly recommended to their aſſemblies to act with vigour and reſolution, by granting proper ſupplies and entering into a plan of union with all the other Colonies, for their mutual defence. Governor Dinwiddie, by a letter from Sir Thomas Robinſon, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, was directed to provide a ſufficient quantity of freſh proviſions for the uſe of the troops under General Braddock; and the governor recommended to the favour of the aſſembly the poor men who ſuffered at the Meadows with Colonel Waſhington, as they were diſabled in the ſervice of their country. Governor Dobbs ſent a meſſage to the aſſembly of North Carolina, wherein he laid before them what he called "The grand plan of France, to ruin and diſtreſs all the Britiſh Colonies on the continent." He gave an enormous idea of the Bourbon family; and remarked, that the Gallic was worſe than Punic faith. He ſummarily mentioned the encroachments of the French in Nova Scotia, at Crown Point, at Niagara, on the Ohio, and the Ouabache. "Theſe, he ſaid, were all facts too notorious and recent to be denied, and muſt naturally diſcover the whole plan and ſcheme laid by the French, to confine, conquer, and enſlave all the Britiſh Colonies; a ſcheme grand in its extent, romantic in appearance, and even beyond the power of France to execute, provided the Colonies exerted their native force immediately, and repelled the French to their inhoſpitable cold Colony of Canada, and confined them to the hot ſands of Louiſiana." To which he added, "That his Majeſty in regard to his faithful Colonies, was only deſirous that they ſhould unite, and form a ſociety among themſelves, to raiſe a proper and adequate quota or fund for their mutual ſupport and defence, that the united force

of the Colonies might act together and have its due weight; and left it to the Colonies to conſider of the moſt equitable and proper method of raiſing the taxes which were neceſſary for the ſupport of his government, their own peace and ſafety, and a reaſonable ſum from each of the Colonies, to be laid up as a fund to ſupport and increaſe their Indian allies, and to prevent all foreign invaſions and encroachments."

The aſſembly of Virginia granted 30,000 *l.* Maryland 6,000 *l.* and North Carolina 8,000 *l.* toward the common cauſe: the aſſembly of Pennſylvania alſo paſſed a bill for granting 25,000 *l.*; but their governor, who is appointed by the Penns, proprietors of that province, and inſtructed by them, refuſed his aſſent to it, unleſs they would exempt the proprietary eſtate from taxation towards that ſum. This they thought unjuſt and unreaſonable, as the proprietary eſtate was to be defended as well as the eſtates of the people. The grant, therefore, was rendered ineffectual; but the aſſembly nevertheleſs gave, out of money they could diſpoſe of, 5,000 *l.* to truſtees, to be by them laid out for purchaſing freſh victuals, and ſuch other neceſſaries as they ſhould think expedient, for the uſe of the king's troops: and 10,000 *l.* more for the general ſervice of the crown, and then adjourned. But the danger became ſo alarming before the end of the next year, that the proprietors conſented to contribute, and the aſſembly granted 60,000 *l.* more, and eſtabliſhed a militia in the Colony.

When General Braddock arrived in Virginia, he ſent expreſſes to the governors of the different provinces to meet him and hold a conſultation on the buſineſs of the approaching campaign. This congreſs was opened on the 18th of April, 1755, at Alexandria in Virginia, where the general had aſſembled his troops and fixed his head quarters. It was then determined to carry on three expeditions to the northward; one againſt the French forts at Niagara; another againſt their encroachments in Nova Scotia; and the third againſt Crown Point; while a fourth was carried on againſt the French forts upon the Ohio.

When the conference broke up, General Braddock wrote to Sir Thomas Robinſon, that "he would be ſufficiently informed, by the minutes of the council, of the impoſſibility of obtaining from many Colonies the eſtabliſhing a general fund, agreeable to the inſtructions of his Majeſty, and the circular letters addreſſed to the ſeveral governors."

All the four operations were immediately began, for which thirteen thouſand regular troops and provincials were in readineſs, beſide the Indians

Indians of different tribes. General Braddock had poſitive orders to proceed immediately to Fort Du Queſne, at the forks of the Ohio and Monongahela; and he accordingly proceeded towards that fort with his army, which conſiſted of the two regiments from Ireland, and the provincials, amounting together to 2,200 men, with ſome Indians. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to ſurmount, in a country, rugged, pathleſs, and unknown, acroſs the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. He advanced to the Meadows where Colonel Waſhington was defeated the year before; and, on the 8th of July, he encamped within ten miles of fort Du Queſne, with the main body of his troops, which conſiſted of about 1,400 men, including a detachment of ſailors, the troops of Virginia, and the independent companies of New York; for the general had left his heavy baggage in the Meadows, with a detachment of 800 men, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow as faſt as the nature of the ſervice would admit.

On the 9th, the troops paſſed the Monongahela about noon, when they were about ſeven miles from the fort, and in paſſing a defile, were ſaluted by a quick and heavy fire from an imperceptible enemy. The van guard fell back upon the main body, every thing was in confuſion, the ſoldiers were ſtruck with a panic, and could not be rallied by the general, who was mortally wounded in the attempt. The whole army fled, and left behind them all their artillery, baggage, and ſtores. Sir Peter Halkett, colonel of the 44th regiment, was killed upon the ſpot; as was the general's ſecretary, who was eldeſt ſon to Governor Shirley. Moſt of the other officers were killed or wounded, and the whole loſs was computed to be about 200 killed, and 400 wounded.

It is true, General Braddock was a brave regular ſoldier, and recommended to this command by the Duke of Cumberland, who was then captain-general of the army, and had this ſervice very much at heart, as it was of the higheſt importance to his Majeſty's American dominions, and to the honour of his troops employed in thoſe parts. His royal highneſs took ſuch a particular intereſt in it, that he gave the general ſeveral audiences, when he entered into an explanation of every part of the ſervice in which the general was to be employed: and, as a better rule for the execution of his Majeſty's inſtructions, the general was honoured with the ſentiments of his royal highneſs in writing, which were delivered to him by Colonel Napier, the adjutant-general, wherein his royal highneſs adviſed the general, "how careful he muſt be to prevent a ſurprize; and that the moſt ſtrict diſcipline was always neceſſary, but

more particularly ſo in the ſervice in which he was engaged: wherefore his royal highneſs recommended to him, that it ſhould be conſtantly obſerved among the troops under his command, and to be particularly careful they were not thrown into a panic by the ſavages, whom the French would certainly employ to frighten them." The beſt ſoldiers have felt ſtrange panics, and this was the caſe with thoſe under the command of General Braddock, who is ſaid to have been auſtere in temper and ſevere in diſcipline. The Indians déſerted him becauſe he held them in contempt: and he deſpiſed the Provincials who ſhewed their courage in preſerving the regulars in the retreat. If a number of Indians had preceded the army, they would have ſeaſonably diſcovered the enemy's ambuſcade; and the Virginian rangers, inſtead of being made to ſerve as regulars in the ranks with the Engliſh troops, ſhould have been employed as outſcouts: but this ſtep, ſo neceſſary to guard againſt ſurprize, was too unhappily omitted. However, this unfortunate general behaved very gallantly, and deſerved a much better fate.

The ſtrength of the enemy was not then certainly known; for, according to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians. But by other accounts, it appears that the French, who were poſted at Fort Du Queſne and on the Ohio, conſiſted of fifteen hundred regular and ſix hundred irregular troops, who had with them a conſiderable number of Indians in their intereſt. The French general had very particular intelligence of General Braddock's deſign, of the number and condition of his forces, and the routs they were to take. He knew the Engliſh had been ſupplied with proviſions, and were advancing toward the fort, which he had left with a ſmall garriſon, and formed a camp about ſix miles before it, where he threw up entrenchments in a maſterly manner, having a thick wood on each ſide, which extended along the route that the Engliſh were to take. When General Braddock came within about three miles of their entrenchments, the French drew out of their lines, placing their 600 irregulars in front and their 1500 regulars behind to ſupport them. They alſo ſtationed a great number of Indians in the wood on each ſide, who effectually concealed themſelves behind trees and buſhes. Had the ambuſcade been diſcovered, the French, if neceſſary, might have retired within their lines; and from thence, if forced, under the cannon of Fort Du Queſne.

It was thought that the fort might have been eaſily taken, which would have given the Engliſh poſſeſſion of a fine and large country, and opened a communication with the lakes, which was the intent of the expedition, as appears from the Duke of Cumberland's inſtructions to

General Braddock. When that general fell, he was carried off the field by his officers, ſhot through the arms and the lungs, of which he died the fourth day: but when the ſecond party joined the routed diviſion forty miles ſhort of the place of action, the terror diffuſed itſelf ſo much through the whole army, that Colonel Dunbar retreated to Fort Cumberland, where Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him, and propoſed a ſecond attempt on Fort Du Queſne. In conſequence of this propoſal, a council was held on the 1ſt of Auguſt; the members of which were Colonel Dunbar, Lieutenant-colonel Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparkes, and Sir John St. Clair; when it was unanimouſly conceived that Mr. Dinwiddie's ſcheme was impracticable. The panic ſtill continuing, Colonel Dunbar began his march the next day towards Philadelphia with 1600 men; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded men.

Here it may be obſerved, that the French kept poſſeſſion of Fort Du Queſne, and ſecured the neighbouring Indians in their intereſt, until the year 1758, when General Forbes, at the head of Colonel Montgomery's regiment of Highlanders and ſome provincial troops, amounting in the whole to 2500 men, marched in June from Philadelphia, and in November came up to Fort Du Queſne, which he found burnt and abandoned by M. Delanarie, the governor, who eſcaped with his garriſon down the river to their forts and ſettlements upon the Miſſiſſippi. General Forbes immediately took poſſeſſion of the fort, which he now called Pittſburgh, in honour of Mr. Pitt, who promoted the expedition, and to whom the general immediately wrote to congratulate him upon this important event. The next day, a large detachment was ſent to Braddock's field, to bury the bones of their ſlaughtered countrymen, many of whom were butchered in cold blood by the French and their Indians, who, to the eternal infamy of their country, had left them lying above ground ever ſince. The general eſtabliſhed garriſons on the Ohio, at Fort Ligonier, Bedford, and all along the communication, whereby the Engliſh were eſtabliſhed in the fineſt country of America, and the French had their chain of communication between Canada and Louiſiana deſtroyed.

As to the three expeditions agreed in the congreſs at Alexandria to be carried on in 1755, to the northward, againſt the French at Niagara, Crown Point, and Nova Scotia, they were all put into execution by Governor Shirley, upon whom the command of the Britiſh forces in North America devolved after the death of General Braddock. He ſent orders to Colonel Dunbar to march his troops from Philadelphia to Albany, which was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expeditions.

The

The expedition againſt Nova Scotia was firſt put into execution, and the troops for that ſervice were put under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, who, on the 6th of June, took Fort Beauſejour in the bottom of the Bay of Fundi. This was the ſtrongeſt fortification in Acadia, and was new named Fort Cumberland. The reduction of this place was followed by that of the ſmall fort at Bay Verte, and by another large fort at St. John's river. The Indians ſubmitted to the Engliſh, who recovered the whole country with little loſs, and tranſported many Acadian families, commonly called the French Neutrals, to the other northern colonies, where they could no longer aſſiſt the French as Britiſh rebels. But the French were not quite extirpated from Nova Scotia until the reduction of Cape Breton in 1758, when the remainder of them were compelled to retire and take refuge in Canada, whereby their vacated lands, which had been well cultivated, and every other part of this valuable province, were left totally for the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh coloniſts.

When Colonel Monckton had expelled the French from their forts in Nova Scotia, Captain Rous, who commanded the naval part of that expedition, deſtroyed all their fiſhing huts and veſſels upon the coaſt of Newfoundland.

The expedition againſt Crown Point was committed to the care of Colonel Johnſon, to whom Governor Shirley gave a provincial commiſſion, whereby he was appointed major-general and commander in chief of the four thouſand provincial forces to be employed in that ſervice.

Fort Frederick at Crown Point was built by the French in 1731, on the ſouth ſide of the gut or river which connects Lake George, or Lake Sacrament, with Lake Champlain. It was in the province of New York, and little more than one hundred miles from Albany. The French built this fort with that at Niagara and Fort Du Queſne in conſequence of their ſcheme to poſſeſs all the paſſes of the back countries and ſecure them by ſtrong garriſons. By means of Lake Champlain, Crown Point communicates with Montreal, which is about ninety miles from it, and all the way is navigable except at the carrying place. This French advanced garriſon could eaſily annoy all the upper parts of New York and New England, and prevent the ſettlement of any lands north of Hudſon's and Connecticut rivers: therefore the reduction of it, with all the other little forts on the ſouth ſide of Lake Champlain, was very neceſſary to carry on the grand operations for the expulſion of the French from Canada.

The French were prepared againſt ſuch an attempt; and their troops, which landed at Quebec, were brought down to Crown Point, under the command

command of the Baron de Dieſkau, who intended to take Oſwego, but was prevented by the enterprize againſt Crown Point.

General Johnſon encamped at the ſouth end of Lake St. Sacrament, to which he gave the name of Lake George. The French general came down againſt the Engliſh camp at the head of 300 regulars, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians. He defeated a detachment of 1,000 men under Colonel Williams, and then attacked General Johnſon in his camp, on the 8th of September, when he was repulſed, wounded, and taken priſoner, with the loſs of moſt of his officers, and about 700 men killed. The Engliſh had about 130 men killed and 60 wounded; but among the former was Colonel Tidcomb, and General Johnſon among the latter, who was expected to have proceeded to Crown Point or to have diſpoſſeſſed the French from Ticonderago: but he contented himſelf with building a ſtockaded fort near the lake, where he left a ſmall garriſon of militia, to aſſert the right of his Britannic Majeſty to the circumjacent country, and returned with his troops to Albany. The French general was afterwards ſent to England, where he was treated with the greateſt honour and reſpect. General Johnſon became idolized in America, and honoured in England, where he was created a baronet by the king, and rewarded with a vote of 5,000 *l.* by the parliament.

The Duke of Cumberland, who thought the reduction of Niagara of the utmoſt importance, had recommended it to General Braddock to leave nothing to chance in ſuch an enterprize. It was agreed at Alexandria, that while General Braddock was to attack Fort Du Queſne with the Engliſh regiments, and General Johnſon was to inveſt Crown Point with the provincial troops, General Shirley ſhould proceed to Lake Ontario, for the preſervation of Fort Oſwego and the reduction of Fort Niagara, both on the ſame lake, with his own and Pepperell's regiments, and the regiment of New Jerſey, commanded by Colonel Schuyler; but the obſtructions attending his preparations promiſed no great advantages to the common cauſe at his firſt ſetting out. The paſſage from Albany to Oſwego was then imperfectly known to any but a few officers who had been ſtationed at the garriſon, and ſome Indian traders of Albany and Schenectada, who informed General Shirley of the difficulties he had to undergo.

General Shirley, on the 8th of Auguſt, arrived at Oſwego, upon the ſouth edge of Lake Ontario. The fort was formerly garriſoned by twenty-five men; but the number was augmented to fifty, on the commencement of the preſent diſputes: fifty more were ordered up in March, and Captain Bradſtreet arrived there in May with two hundred, beſides workmen

workmen to be employed in the naval operations, which were neceſſary to be made upon the Lake.

The tranſportation of proviſions through this long tract of country from New York to the Lake Ontario, was ſo much retarded, that it was impoſſible to remove from Oſwego againſt Niagara until the end of September; and General Shirley, on the 18th of that month, held a council of war at his camp, where were preſent, beſides his excellency, Colonel Schuyler, Lieutenant-colonel Elliſon, Lieutenant-colonel Mercer, Major Littlehales, Major Bradſtreet, adjutant-general; with the captains Patten, Barford, and Broadly, who commanded the veſſels on the Lake. The General repreſented the ſtate of affairs to the council, and obſerved from the whole, that as all intercourſe between the French at Frontenac and Niagara had been ſuſpended for ſome time; and as they had lain ſtill at the former of thoſe places ever ſince his arrival at Oſwego, it was probable their deſign was, if the Engliſh made an attempt againſt Niagara, to make a deſcent, in the mean time, againſt Oſwego from Fort Frontenac, which was only 55 miles north of Oſwego; but Niagara was 150 miles to the weſtward of it. The council agreed to proceed againſt Niagara with ſix hundred regulars and one hundred irregulars, who were to embark with a proper train, and leave ſeven hundred men to protect Oſwego till their return. But they ſoon altered their reſolution; for at another council, held on the 26th, they were unanimouſly of opinion, that "it was moſt adviſeable to defer making any attempt againſt Niagara or Frontenac until the next year, when the general might ſeize the advantage of an early campaign, and not only take, but hold Niagara; as alſo leave Oſwego leſs expoſed to the enemy from Fort Frontenac: and that, in the mean time, the general ſhould employ his whole ſtrength in finiſhing the forts, barracks, hoſpital, and other works at Oſwego, as much as the ſeaſon of the year would allow."

General Shirley immediately began to carry this advice into execution, and retired from Oſwego on the 27th of October, leaving ſeven hundred men in garriſon, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Mercer, with orders to defend the works projected for its defence. On the 4th of November, the general arrived at Albany, where he found Colonel Dunbar with the 44th and 48th regiments. He then wrote circular letters to the ſeveral governors upon the continent, as far weſtward as Virginia, ſummoning them to meet him at Albany, to form a council of war, purſuant to the royal inſtructions; after which, he embarked for New York, and arrived there on the 2d of December. The council met on the 12th, to deliberate upon the plan for the operations of the ſucceeding campaign,

and

and it was agreed to ſecure the navigation of the Lake Ontario, to raiſe ſix thouſand troops for the reduction of the French forts upon that Lake, and to ſend ten thouſand againſt Crown Point: but the council declared, that it would be impoſſible to recover and ſecure the juſt rights of his Britannic Majeſty without an additional number of regular forces, beſide thoſe already upon that continent.

Thus ended the military operations of the year 1755; a year always to be remembered in North America, where it opened with the faireſt proſpects to theſe remote diſperſions of the Britiſh empire. Four armies were on foot to remove the encroachments of a perfidious enemy, and the coaſts of the Britiſh Colonies honoured with a fleet for their ſecurity. The French began to be deſpiſed; and the Engliſh only deſired a proclamation of war, for the final deſtruction of the whole country of New France. The Indians, from the iſthmus of Nova Scotia to the back of New York, were conciliated to the Britiſh intereſt; and happy had it been for the weſtern colonies if the ſame advantages had been obtained on their ſide: but a diſmal ſcene was diſcloſed in thoſe parts, by bands of rapacious and bloody foes, committing murders inſtead of waging war. The Delawares began their incurſions, and war was declared againſt them in April, 1756, by the governor of Pennſylvania, who offered a reward for ſcalps and priſoners. War was alſo declared againſt them ſoon after in New Jerſey: but Sir William Johnſon prevailed on theſe Indians to lay down their arms.

The plan of operations ſettled at New York by Governor Shirley was tranſmitted to Sir Thomas Robinſon, to be laid before his Majeſty for the royal approbation: but a change was then made in the Britiſh miniſtry; a general war was beginning in Europe; and the Earl of Loudon was to be ſent over to command all the Britiſh forces in North America.

SECTION III.

Proceedings of the Britiſh parliament to ſupport the rights of the crown in America.—A revolution in the Britiſh miniſtry, and in the general ſyſtem of Europe, on account of the diſputes in America.—The riſe of the war in Germany.—The French take Minorca.—His Britannic Majeſty declares war againſt France.—War declared by France againſt Great Britain: Remarks thereon.—The city of London, in their addreſs to the king, expreſs their fears for the danger of his poſſeſſions in America. Inſtructions of the principal cities to their repreſentatives in parliament to the ſame effect.—Allies on both ſides in the German war occaſioned by that in America.—General remark on the war in North America, as conducted by all the generals commanding there until 1758, *when Louiſburg, Fort Frontenac, Gaſpeſſie, and Fort Du Queſne were taken. The importance of theſe acquiſitions.—In* 1759, *ſome iſlands in the Weſt Indies taken from the French. Ticonderago, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec taken. The great conſequence and value of theſe poſſeſſions.—In* 1760, *Montreal ſubmits and Riſtigouchi deſtroyed.—In* 1761, *other conqueſts are made by the Britiſh forces in the Weſt Indies.—In* 1762, *war declared between Great Britain and Spain, and on what account. The Havanna and Manilla reduced by the Britiſh arms.*

GREAT BRITAIN was now apparently once more at the eve of a war with France; upon the happy iſſue of which depended the very exiſtence of the Britiſh Colonies in North America, and the trade and navigation of the Britiſh empire. The importance of the Britiſh Colonies was juſtly conſidered, and the ſtrength of the Britiſh nation properly exerted. His Britannic Majeſty, on the 13th of November, 1755, informed his parliament, that "ſince their laſt ſeſſion, he had taken ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the protection of his poſſeſſions in America, and to the regaining of ſuch parts thereof as had been encroached upon or invaded, in violation of the peace, and contrary to the faith of moſt ſolemn treaties: That, for this purpoſe, the maritime force of the kingdom had been got ready with the utmoſt application and expedition, and been principally employed; ſome land forces had been ſent to North America; and all encouragement had been given to the ſeveral Colonies there, to exert themſelves in their own defence, and in the maintenance of the rights and poſſeſſions of Great Britain." The Houſe of Lords, in their addreſs, thanked his majeſty "for his royal firmneſs, in not yielding to any terms of accommodation with France, that were not reaſonable

reaſonable and honourable; and for exerting his royal care ſo powerfully in the protection of his Colonies: They acknowledged his wiſdom and goodneſs, in increaſing his naval armaments, and in augmenting his land forces; as alſo in generouſly giving encouragement to that great body of his brave and faithful ſubjects, with which his American provinces happily abounded, to exert their ſtrength on that important occaſion." The commons followed the example of the Lords, and the king farther aſſured them, that "he was determined to protect and maintain the valuable and undoubted rights and poſſeſſions of his crown."

A revolution in the miniſtry was formed, when Henry Fox, Eſq; was appointed one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and William Pitt, Eſq; was removed from his office of receiver and paymaſter-general of all his Majeſty's forces. The parliament granted 7,229,117 *l.* for the ſervice of the year 1756; out of which ſum there were 81,178 *l.* for a regiment of foot to be raiſed in North America; 79,915 *l.* for ſix regiments of foot from Ireland, to ſerve in North America and the Eaſt Indies; and 115,000 *l.* to the provinces of New England, New York, and the Jerſeys, as a reward for their paſt ſervices; as alſo 55,032 *l.* for ſupporting the colony of Nova Scotia, and 3557 *l.* for Georgia. The nation was for open war, and the parliament for vigorous meaſures: but if war was declared againſt France, it was foreſeen that her arms would be turned againſt Hanover; therefore a party was formed againſt all continental connexions, and for confining the war to the natural ſtrength and intereſt of the nation, ſo as to be proſecuted only by ſea and in America.

A revolution happened throughout the whole ſyſtem of Europe, as well as in the Britiſh miniſtry. From 1748 until 1755 all Europe was in a ſtate of tranquillity; but then the diſtruſts which crept into the diſcuſſions of the French and Engliſh, concerning their poſſeſſions in America, foretold an approaching ſtorm. The King of Pruſſia, on the 26th of January, 1756, concluded a convention of neutrality, or treaty of alliance, with his uncle, the King of Great Britain, whereby it was declared, that "their Majeſties having naturally conſidered, that the differences which had lately ariſen in America might eaſily extend much farther, and even reach Europe; therefore the ſtipulations of this treaty tended to preſerve the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular." This occaſioned a counter-convention of neutrality, or treaty of alliance, between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, which was concluded on the 1ſt of May, 1756, and the extenſive preamble indicated, that it was done "with a view to hinder the flames of war that might be kindled by the differences between England and France about the limits of their reſpective

poſſeſſions in America from ſpreading, and diſturbing the harmony and good underſtanding which then happily ſubſiſted between their Majeſties."

The ſeeds of a general war were ſown, in which all parties and intereſts ſeemed afterward blended; becauſe this war aroſe from cauſes which originally had not the leaſt connection; thoſe cauſes being the uncertain limits of the Britiſh and French territories in America, and the continual claims of the houſes of Auſtria and Brandenbourg on the dutchy of Sileſia.

The French miniſtry pretended, they were deſirous to have the diſcuſſions relating to America determined by an equitable and ſolid accommodation. But the Britiſh miniſtry proved, that France wanted to draw a veil over the hoſtilities which ſhe had committed in America, both in Nova Scotia and on the Ohio, as alſo on the territories of Virginia.

The French miniſters, at the ſeveral courts of Europe, ſpoke publickly of invading Great Britain or Ireland; and his Britannic Majeſty, on the 23d of March, 1756, ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, to inform them, that he had received repeated advices to that purpoſe, as alſo that "he had taken proper meaſures for putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence againſt ſo unjuſt and deſperate an enterprize, projected in revenge for thoſe juſt and neceſſary meaſures which had been taken for maintaining his rights and poſſeſſions in North America." Both houſes preſented very loyal addreſſes to the throne; and the lords declared, that "they looked with the utmoſt indignation upon ſo unjuſt and daring an attempt as that of invading his Majeſty's kingdoms, in revenge for the generous and ſteady conduct he had held in maintaining the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown and ſubjects in North America, againſt the unprovoked aggreſſions and hoſtilities originally commenced on the part of France; and they intreated his Majeſty not to be diverted from it by any appearances whatſoever."

The addreſs of the Houſe of Commons was much in the ſame terms; and other addreſſes flowed in from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. The magiſtracy of London expreſſed "their abhorrence of ſo unjuſt and deſperate an enterprize, projected in revenge for his Majeſty's royal and gracious protection of the trade and commerce of his people, and the neceſſary defence of the undoubted rights and poſſeſſions of his crown." And the merchants of London declared, "they could not omit their moſt unfeigned acknowledgments for his Majeſty's conſtant attention to preſerve the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions in America, and the properties of their fellow-ſubjects there, with which the commerce and proſperity of

theſe kingdoms were ſo eſſentially connected." The merchants of Briſtol " preſented their juſt tribute of thanks for the vigorous meaſures taken by his Majeſty in defence of his American Colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of the trade of Great Britain." The magiſtracy of Edinburgh " teſtified their abhorrence of the intentions of the court of France to make an invaſion upon Great Britain or Ireland; an enterprize formed in deſpair and rage, on account of his Majeſty's having reſented the encroachments, depredations, and murders committed by the French in North America." The magiſtracy of Dublin declared, " they could not, without the utmoſt indignation, hear of the deſigns of an ambitious and perfidious power to diſturb their tranquillity, and that in revenge for his Majeſty's ſteady and uniform attention to the rights of his crown and the poſſeſſions of his ſubjects in North America."

The French were afraid to invade Great Britain; but they equipped a fleet at Toulon for the invaſion of Minorca: Admiral Byng was ſent with a ſquadron to the relief of that iſland, and he engaged the French admiral, Galiſſoniere, without relieving the place; ſo that Marſhal Richlieu took Fort St. Philip, and got poſſeſſion of all the iſland.

As all pacific meaſures were at an end, his Britannic Majeſty declared war againſt France on the 17th of May, 1756, and thereby alleged, that " the unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the Weſt Indies and North America, ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the uſurpations and encroachments made by them upon his territories, and the ſettlements of his ſubjects in thoſe parts, particularly in his province of Nova Scotia, had been ſo notorious and ſo frequent, that they could not but be looked upon as a ſufficient evidence of a formed deſign and reſolution in that court, to purſue invariably ſuch meaſures as ſhould moſt effectually promote their ambitious views, without any regard to the moſt ſolemn treaties and engagements. That his Majeſty had not been wanting, on his part, to make from time to time the moſt ſerious repreſentations to the French King, upon theſe repeated acts of violence, and to endeavour to obtain redreſs and ſatisfaction for the injuries done to his ſubjects, and to prevent the like cauſes of complaint for the future: but though frequent aſſurances had been given, that every thing ſhould be ſettled agreeable to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral iſlands in the Weſt Indies ſhould be effected, the execution of theſe aſſurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the moſt frivolous pretences; and the unjuſtifiable practices of the French governors, and of the officers acting under their authority, were ſtill carried on, till, in April,

April, 1754, they broke out in open acts of hoſtility, when in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, and without any previous notice given or application made, a body of French forces, under the command of an officer bearing the French King's commiſſion, attacked in a hoſtile manner, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Engliſh fort on the Ohio in North America. But notwithſtanding this act of hoſtility, which could not but be looked upon as a commencement of war, yet, from his earneſt deſire of peace, and in hopes the court of France would diſavow this violence and injuſtice, his Majeſty contented himſelf with ſending ſuch a force to America as was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the immediate defence and protection of his ſubjects againſt freſh attacks and inſults. That, in the mean time, great naval armaments were preparing in the ports of France, and a conſiderable body of French troops embarked for North America; and though the French ambaſſador was ſent back to England with ſpecious profeſſions of a deſire to accommodate theſe differences, yet it appeared, that their real deſign was only to gain time for the paſſage of thoſe troops to America, which they hoped would ſecure the ſuperiority of the French forces in thoſe parts, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppreſſive projects into execution. That his Majeſty, in theſe circumſtances, could not but think it incumbent upon him to endeavour to prevent the ſucceſs of ſo dangerous a deſign, and to oppoſe the landing of the French troops in America; and in conſequence of the juſt and neceſſary meaſures he had taken for that purpoſe, the French ambaſſador was immediately recalled from his court, the fortifications at Dunkirk were enlarged, and his kingdoms were threatened with an invaſion: therefore his Majeſty could no longer forbear giving orders for the ſeizing at ſea the ſhips of the French King and his ſubjects, without proceeding to the confiſcation of them. But it being evident, by the hoſtile invaſion actually made by the French King, of Minorca, that it was the determined reſolution of that court to hearken to no terms of peace, but to carry on the war, which had been long begun on their part, with the utmoſt violence, his Majeſty could no longer remain within thoſe bounds which he had hitherto obſerved; therefore he declared war againſt the French King, who had ſo unjuſtly begun it, relying on the help of Almighty God in his juſt undertaking, and being aſſured of the hearty concurrence and aſſiſtance of his ſubjects in ſupport of ſo good a cauſe."

The French King alſo made a formal declaration of war againſt the King of Great Britain on the 9th of June following; in which he concealed and evaded all the hoſtilities committed by his ſubjects in North America.

Had

Had there been no claims left undetermined at Aix-la-Chapelle; had the peacemakers there on the part of Great Britain inſiſted upon the evacuation of Crown Point, of the encroachments and fortreſſes on the Ohio, and in Nova Scotia or Acadia, there would have been no pretence left for this French aftergame. If this was an overſight, the time was now come to rectify the miſtakes of former miniſters, and to reſtore the honour and welfare of Great Britain and her Colonies.

The city of London, on the 20th of Auguſt, preſented an addreſs to the King, wherein they ſignified their fears that the loſs of Minorca would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the Britiſh nation: "Nor could they help expreſſing their apprehenſions for the great danger of his Majeſty's poſſeſſions in America, by the miſmanagements and delays which had attended the defence of thoſe invaluable Colonies, the object of the preſent war, and the principal ſource of the wealth and ſtrength of theſe kingdoms." His Majeſty anſwered, that "the events of war were uncertain; but nothing ſhould be wanting on his part toward carrying it on with vigour, in order to a ſafe and honourable peace, and for recovering and ſecuring the poſſeſſions and rights of his crown."

The citizens of London alſo preſented inſtructions to their repreſentatives in parliament, wherein they particularly mentioned, that "as the cruelties ſuffered by their fellow-ſubjects in North America had long called for redreſs, whilſt the miſmanagement in the attempts for their ſupport, and the untimely and unequal ſuccours ſent to their relief, had only ſerved to render the Britiſh name contemptible; they therefore required them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for detecting all thoſe who, by treachery or miſconduct, had contributed to thoſe great diſtreſſes."

This example was followed by the moſt reſpectable parts of the kingdom.

About this time the war alſo broke out in Germany, wherein the Auſtrians, Ruſſians, French, Swedes, Saxons, and Imperialiſts were confederate againſt the King of Pruſſia, who was aſſiſted by Great Britain in ſo formidable a manner, under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, that it was at laſt aſſerted, "America was conquered in Germany."

The Britiſh parliament granted large ſupplies for the protection of the American Colonies, which were preſerved, ſecured, and augmented. The French were at firſt ſucceſsful in thoſe parts; but the Engliſh were finally crowned with unexampled ſucceſs; which made it remarked, that "the raſhneſs

raſhneſs of Braddock, the inexperience of Shirley, the inactivity of Loudon, and the ill ſucceſs of Abercromby, ſeem only to have been ſo many neceſſary means of producing that unanimity in our Colonies, that ſpirit in our troops, and that ſteady perſeverance in our miniſters, as recovered from the enemy all his uſurpations."

On the 26th of July, 1758, Louiſburg was taken by Admiral Boſcawen, in conjunction with the Generals Amherſt and Wolfe; on which occaſion, four of the enemies' capital ſhips were burnt, one capital ſhip with two frigates taken, and four frigates ſunk. This important fortreſs, the key of North America, was delivered up with 5637 French troops, beſides the inhabitants on both the Iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John's.

On the 27th of Auguſt following, Fort Frontenac was taken, and nine armed French ſloops deſtroyed by 3000 provincial troops, under the command of Colonel Bradſtreet; whereby the navigation of the Lake Ontario was recovered, and the French commerce with the River St. Lawrence cut off.

In September, Gaſpeſſie was taken by a few ſhips under the command of Sir Charles Hardy, whereby all Nova Scotia was reduced.

On the 25th of November, Fort Du Queſne, on the Ohio, was taken by General Forbes, after a very dangerous and laborious march. This acquiſition compenſated for the defeat of General Braddock, and obtained the command of a great tract of rich country, which the Engliſh claimed as their right.

The year 1759 was ſtill more glorious for the Britiſh arms in America; for in May, the Iſlands of Guadaloupe, Deſeada, and Marie-galante, in the Weſt Indies, were taken by Commodore Moore and General Barrington.

On the 24th of July following, Ticonderago was abandoned by the French, at the approach of General Amherſt, who took poſſeſſion of it as he alſo did of Crown Point on the 4th of Auguſt, the reduction of which had been long wiſhed for with much anxiety, as it was an object of great jealouſy to the Britiſh Colonies, from its ſituation at the back of Albany.

About the ſame time, Niagara ſurrendered to the forces under the command of Sir William Johnſon, which was a conſiderable acquiſition, as this fort commanded the communication between the great Lakes Erie and Ontario.

The

The expedition againſt Quebec ſucceeded under the command of Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe, who got up the River St. Lawrence at the end of June, and on the 13th of September was fought the famous battle of Quebec, wherein General Wolfe loſt his life, after acquiring the victory over the Marquis de Montcalm, who alſo periſhed in the field. In four days after, the city of Quebec, the metropolis of the French American dominions, ſurrendered to General Townſhend; whereby a paſſage was opened for the reduction of all Canada.

However, in April 1760, an army of ten thouſand French regulars and Canadians, under the command of General De Levis, marched up to Quebec, to retake it. General Murray commanded the garriſon, and ventured with 3,000 men to march out of the town, and give the French battle at Sallerie, where he was defeated; but effected his retreat to the town, which was beſieged and gallantly defended, until the arrival of Lord Colville with a ſquadron of Britiſh ſhips on the 16th of May, when the French were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and leave the Britiſh nation thus eſtabliſhed in this important conqueſt.

On the 8th of September following, the town of Montreal ſubmitted to Sir Jeffery Amherſt and General Murray, to whom the Marquis de Vaudreuil delivered up himſelf and his garriſon, to be tranſported to Old France; whereby the Engliſh got poſſeſſion of New France.

Captain Byron alſo, with five men of war, ſailed from Louiſburg to Riſtigouchy, in the bottom of the Bay of Chaleurs, where he found a French frigate, two large ſtoreſhips, and nineteen ſail of ſmaller veſſels; all which, together with two batteries and two hundred houſes, he deſtroyed, and totally ruined the ſettlement.

In 1761, Dominica was taken from the French by Lord Rollo; as was Martinico, in 1762, by General Monckton, who alſo reduced the neutral iſlands and the Grenades.

His Majeſty King George III. was now upon the Britiſh throne, to which he ſucceeded on the demiſe of his grandfather, King George II. who died the 25th of October, 1760, in the 77th year of his age and the 34th of his reign. Charles III. was at this time on the throne of Spain, to which he ſucceeded on the death of his brother-in-law, Ferdinand VI. on the 10th of Auguſt, 1759. The family-compact of the Houſe of Bourbon was concluded the 15th of Auguſt, 1761, as a family convention between the crowns of France and Spain, to unite all the

branches of the Houſe of Bourbon in the moſt ambitious and dangerous deſigns againſt the commerce and independency of the reſt of Europe, and particularly of the dominions belonging to his Britannic Majeſty, who therefore declared war againſt Spain on the 4th of January, 1762, which was anſwered by the King of Spain on the 18th. But the pride of Spain was ſoon humbled by the reduction of the Havanna by Sir George Pocock and the Earl of Albemarle, on the 13th of Auguſt, 1762; which glorious acquiſition was ſucceeded by the reduction of Manilla by Admiral Corniſh and General Draper, on the 6th of October following.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, ſigned at Fontainbleau.—Declaration of his Britannic Majeſty from the throne upon that occaſion. The definitive treaty ſigned at Paris the 10th *of February,* 1763; *the principal articles thereof relative to America, and the acquiſitions thereby ceded and confirmed to the Britiſh government.—The royal proclamation concerning the new governments of Quebec, Eaſt Florida, Weſt Florida, and Grenada; with the territories annexed to the governments of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Georgia. His Majeſty's directions for the new governments, and his reſtrictions to the governors relative to the Indians. The governors appointed to the new eſtabliſhed colonies. Notice from the Lords for Trade and Plantations for the grants of lands in Eaſt and Weſt Florida.—St. Auguſtine and Penſacola delivered up by the Spaniards, &c.*

THE preliminary articles of peace between the Kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain, were ſigned at Fontainbleau the 3d of November, 1762; and, on the 25th, his Britannic Majeſty declared from the throne, "That he had purſued this extenſive war in the moſt vigorous manner, in hopes of obtaining an honourable peace; and that by the preliminary articles it would appear, there was not only an immenſe territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a ſolid foundation was laid for the increaſe of trade and commerce; and that the utmoſt care had been taken to remove all occaſions of future diſputes between his ſubjects and thoſe of France and Spain."

The King laid the preliminaries before both houſes of parliament, where they were oppoſed by the antiminiſterial party formed againſt the Earl of Bute; but they were approved of by a majority. The peace was founded on thoſe preliminaries, and the definitive treaty was concluded at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, without any material alteration. It conſiſted of twenty-ſeven articles, the principal of which, relating to America, were as follows:

IV. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts; and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain. Moreover, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes, and guaranties to his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, in full right, Canada, with

all its dependencies; as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence; and in general every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt Chriſtian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants; ſo that the moſt Chriſtian King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guaranty, under any pretence, or to diſturb Great Britain in the poſſeſſion above mentioned. His Britannic Majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: He will conſequently give the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit.

V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as is ſpecified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty, (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence) and his Britannic Majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King, the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſt of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſerve as a ſhelter to the French fiſhermen; and his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery, and to keep upon them a guard of 50 men only for the police.

VII. In

VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe, the moſt Chriſtian King cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland on which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi river ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſages both in and out of its mouth. It is further ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever.

VIII. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie-Galante, of Deſiderade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle.

IX. The moſt Chriſtian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majeſty, in full right, the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines: And the partition of the iſlands, called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain; and that that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right.

X. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: And his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

By the twelfth article, Minorca was to be reſtored to his Britannic Majeſty; and by the thirteenth, Dunkirk was to be put into the ſtate fixed by former treaties.

The

The ſubſequent articles relate chiefly to the diſputes between Great Britain and Spain; particularly to the cutting of Logwood in the Bay of Honduras, which, by the ſeventeenth article, was allowed to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty; and, by the eighteenth, his Catholic Majeſty deſiſted from all pretenſions to the right of fiſhing in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland. By the nineteenth, the Havanna was reſtored to Spain; in conſequence of which, by the twentieth, "his Catholic Majeſty ceded and guarantied, in full right, to his Britannic Majeſty, Florida, with Fort St. Auguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſed on the continent of North America to the eaſt, or to the ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi, and in general every thing that depended on the ſaid countries and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaties or otherwiſe, which the Catholic King and the crown of Spain had till then over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants." So that the Catholic King ceded and made over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form.

Thus Great Britain acquired a totality of empire in North America, extending from Hudſon's Bay to the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi.

His Majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, on the 15th of November, 1763, informed them, that "the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, upon terms of honour and advantage to his kingdoms, was the firſt object of his reign: that this ſalutary meaſure had received the approbation of his parliament, and had ſince been happily completed and carried into execution by the definitive treaty." His Majeſty then declared as follows: "Our principal care ought now to be employed to improve the valuable acquiſitions which we have made, and to cultivate the arts of peace in ſuch a manner, as may moſt effectually contribute to extend the commerce and to augment the happineſs of theſe kingdoms." The houſe of lords, in their addreſs, declared, that "they were deeply ſenſible of his Majeſty's paternal care and attention for the improvement of his conqueſts and the extenſion of the commerce of his ſubjects, in which the public welfare was ſo materially concerned." The commons, in their addreſs, "begged leave to congratulate his Majeſty on the completion of that great and ſalutary meaſure, the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms ſo honourable to his crown and ſo advantageous to his people."

The King alſo publiſhed a proclamation, which was dated the 7th of October, to the following effect: "That whereas he had taken into his

royal conſideration the extenſive and valuable tracts in America, ſecured to his crown by the late definitive treaty of peace; and being deſirous that all his ſubjects might avail themſelves of the great benefits and advantages which muſt accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; he had thought fit, with the advice of his privy-council, to iſſue this proclamation, thereby to declare to all his ſubjects, that he had granted letters patent, to erect within the countries and iſlands ceded and confirmed to him by the ſaid treaty, four diſtinct and ſeparate governments, ſtiled and called by the names of Quebec, Eaſt Florida, Weſt Florida, and Grenada; limited and bounded as follows:

"Firſt, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coaſt by the river St. John, and from thence, by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St. John to the ſouth end of the Lake Nipiſſim; from whence the ſaid line, croſſing the river St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, paſſes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themſelves into the ſaid river St. Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the ſea; and alſo along the north coaſt of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the coaſt of the gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Roſiers; and from thence, croſſing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, by the weſt end of the iſland of Anticoſti, terminates at the aforeſaid river of St. John.

"Secondly, the government of Eaſt Florida, bounded to the weſtward by the gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the northward by a line drawn from that part of the ſaid river where the Catahouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the ſource of St. Mary's river, and by the courſe of the ſaid river to the Atlantic ocean; and to the eaſtward and ſouthward, by the Atlantic ocean and the gulph of Florida, including all iſlands within ſix leagues of the ſea coaſt.

"Thirdly, the government of Weſt Florida, bounded to the ſouthward by the gulph of Mexico, including all iſlands within ſix leagues of the coaſt from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the weſtward by the ſaid Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the river Miſſiſſippi; to the northward by a line drawn due eaſt from that part of the river Miſſiſſippi which lies in thirty-one degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Catahouchee; and to the eaſtward by the ſaid river.

"Fourthly, the government of Grenada, comprehending the iſland of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the iſlands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

"And

" And to the end that the open and free fiſhery of his ſubjects might be extended to, and carried on upon the coaſt of Labrador, and the adjacent iſlands, his Majeſty thought fit to put all that coaſt from the river St. John's to Hudſon's Streights, together with the iſlands of Anticoſti and Madelaine, and all other ſmaller iſlands upon the ſaid coaſt, under the care and inſpection of his governor of Newfoundland.

" His Majeſty alſo thought fit to annex the iſlands of St. John's and Cape Breton, or Iſle Royal, with the leſſer iſlands adjacent thereto, to his government of Nova Scotia.

" He alſo annexed to his province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's."

His Majeſty expreſſed his paternal care for the ſecurity of the liberties and properties of his ſubjects who ſhould become inhabitants of thoſe colonies; for which purpoſe governments were to be conſtituted, as in the other colonies, of governors, councils, and repreſentatives of the people, with power to make and ordain laws, under ſuch reſtrictions as were uſed in other colonies; as alſo for the governors and councils to conſtitute courts of judicature, and agree with the inhabitants for the purchaſe of lands, and the improvement and ſettlement of the Colonies. His Majeſty alſo teſtified his royal ſenſe and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and ſoldiers of his armies, and of his deſire to reward the ſame, by granting them lands in North America; as likewiſe to ſuch reduced officers of his navy as had ſerved at the reduction of Louiſburg and Quebec. After which, his Majeſty declared as follows:

" And whereas it is juſt and reaſonable, and eſſential to our intereſt and the ſecurity of our Colonies, that the ſeveral nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, ſhould not be moleſted or diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of ſuch parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchaſed by us, are reſerved to them or any of them, as their hunting-grounds; we do therefore, by the advice of our privy-council, declare it to be our royal will and pleaſure, that no governor, or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, Eaſt Florida, or Weſt Florida, do preſume, upon any pretence whatſoever, to grant warrants of ſurvey, or paſs any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their reſpective governments, as deſcribed in their commiſſions; as alſo that no governor or commander in chief, in any of our other colonies or plantations in America, do preſume, for the preſent, and until our further pleaſure be known, to grant warrants of

ſurvey, or paſs patents for any lands beyond the heads or ſources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to or purchaſed by us as aforeſaid, are reſerved to the ſaid Indians, or any of them. And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleaſure, for the preſent as aforeſaid, to reſerve under our ſovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the uſe of the ſaid Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of our ſaid three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudſon's Bay company; as alſo the lands and territories lying to the weſtward of the ſources of the rivers which fall into the ſea from the weſt and north-weſt as aforeſaid: And we do hereby ſtrictly forbid, on pain of our diſpleaſure, all our loving ſubjects from making any purchaſes or ſettlements whatever, or taking poſſeſſion of any of the lands above reſerved, without our eſpecial leave and licence for that purpoſe firſt obtained. And we do further ſtrictly enjoin and require all perſons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently ſeated themſelves upon any lands within the countries above deſcribed, or upon any other lands, which not having been ceded to or purchaſed by us, are ſtill reſerved to the ſaid Indians as aforeſaid, forthwith to remove themſelves from ſuch ſettlements. And whereas great frauds and abuſes have been committed in the purchaſing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our intereſts, and to the great diſſatisfaction of the ſaid Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent ſuch irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our juſtice and determined reſolution to remove all reaſonable cauſe of diſcontent, we do, with the advice of our privy-council, ſtrictly enjoin and require, that no private perſon do preſume to make any purchaſe from the ſaid Indians, of any lands reſerved to the ſaid Indians within thoſe parts of our Colonies where we have thought proper to allow ſettlement; but that if, at any time, any of the ſaid Indians ſhould be inclined to diſpoſe of the ſaid lands, the ſame ſhall be purchaſed only for us, in our name, at ſome public meeting or aſſembly of the ſaid Indians, to be held for that purpoſe by the governor or commander in chief of our colony reſpectively within which they ſhall lie: And in caſe they ſhall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they ſhall be purchaſed only for the uſe and in the name of ſuch proprietaries, conformable to ſuch directions or inſtructions as we or they ſhall think proper to give for that purpoſe."—His Majeſty alſo declared and enjoined, that the trade with the ſaid Indians ſhould be free and open to all his ſubjects whatever; provided they took out proper licences for the ſame. And his Majeſty further enjoined all officers whatever, as well military as thoſe employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reſerved as aforeſaid for the uſe

of the ſaid Indians, to ſeize and apprehend all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould fly from juſtice and take refuge in the ſaid territory, and to ſend them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed, in order to take their trial for the ſame.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty appointed Montagu Wilmot, Eſq; to be his captain-general and governor in chief in and over his Majeſty's province of Nova Scotia, in the room of Henry Ellis, Eſq; who had requeſted leave to reſign that government. The honourable James Murray, Eſq; was appointed governor of the province of Quebec. James Grant, Eſq; was appointed governor of Eaſt Florida. George Johnſtone, Eſq; was appointed governor of Weſt Florida; and Robert Melville, Eſq; was appointed governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and of all other iſlands and territories adjacent thereto, and which then were, or had been dependent thereupon.

The Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations having received information that many perſons were deſirous of grants of land in his Majeſty's provinces of Eaſt Florida and Weſt Florida, in order to the cultivation of the ſame for the raiſing of ſilk, cotton, wine, oil, indigo, cochineal, and other commodities to which thoſe lands were adapted; their lordſhips, therefore, to avoid any delay in the making ſuch ſettlements, did, by his Majeſty's command, give public notice on the 21ſt of November, 1763, "That his Majeſty had been pleaſed to direct, that the lands in his ſaid provinces of Eaſt Florida and Weſt Florida ſhould be ſurveyed and laid out into townſhips, not exceeding twenty thouſand acres each, for the convenience and accommodation of ſettlers; and theſe townſhips, or any proportions thereof, would be granted, upon the ſame moderate conditions of quit-rent and cultivation as were required in other colonies, to ſuch perſons as ſhould be willing to enter into reaſonable engagements to ſettle the lands within a limited time, and at their own expence, with a proper number of uſeful and induſtrious proteſtant inhabitants, either from his Majeſty's other colonies, or from foreign parts; and all perſons who might be willing to obtain ſuch grants, were deſired to ſend their propoſals in writing to John Pownall, Eſq; ſecretary to the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations."

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK II.

The History of NEW ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Its diviſion, extent, climate, and ſoil. The firſt diſcovery of it. Patent granted to the London company and Plymouth company by King James I. *in* 1606. *His patent, in* 1620, *to a new company, called the Council of Plymouth; their limits and privileges. Account of the country and of the Indians; their religion and language; particularly the Abenaquies of New England; as alſo of the Iroquois, Cherokees, Creeks, and others; their war-cry, and cuſtoms. Account of the firſt Engliſh ſettlers, and the preſent coloniſts; the toleration of religion, and privileges granted them. Remarks on the natural hiſtory of New England. Lord Bacon's ſyſtem of eſtabliſhing colonies in North America, with his character; as likewiſe the ſentiments of Mr. Locke, Mr. Wood, and others, relative to the Colonies.*

NEW ENGLAND is that part of the continent of America which lies between the 41° and 45° of north latitude, and between 67° and 73° of weſt longitude: but under this denomination are comprehended the provinces of the Maſſachuſets Bay, and New Hampſhire; with the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland. It is bounded by

Canada on the north-weſt, by New York on the weſt, by Nova Scotia on the north-eaſt, and by the Atlantic ocean on the eaſt and ſouth. Its length, from the river Kennebec to the ſouth-eaſt boundaries of New York, is about three hundred and thirty miles; and its breadth, from Cape Cod to the north-eaſt boundaries of New York, is about one hundred and ninety miles; though in other places it is not ſo broad. The coaſt bears weſt-ſouth-weſt and eaſt-north-eaſt; running about one hundred and ſixty leagues in length, without reckoning the angles.

The ſea coaſt is generally low; but the inland country riſes into hills, and is rocky and mountainous to the north-eaſt. The climate is not ſo mild and regular as thoſe parts of Italy and France that lie in the ſame parallel; nor is it ſo temperate as in Great Britain. The north and north-weſt winds blow over an extenſive tract of land, and are therefore very cold; for which reaſon the winters are keener and of longer continuance in New England than they uſually are in Old England; but then the weather is not ſo variable as in the mother-country, and the ſhort ſummer they enjoy is much hotter. The climate, however, is healthful in New England, where it is common to have a clear and dry ſky for ſix weeks or two months together.

When the Engliſh firſt landed on the coaſt, the country appeared like one continued wood; but, upon a cloſer ſurvey, they found every three or four miles a fruitful valley, with a clear freſh rivulet or brook gliding through it, and theſe again were ſurrounded with hills covered with trees, which afforded an agreeable proſpect.

The ſoil is generally fertile, but more ſo in ſome places than in others, and particularly about the Maſſachuſets Bay it is as flat and black as in any part of Great Britain, conſequently as rich.

New England was not properly diſcovered until the year 1602, when Captain Goſnoll ſailed there from Dartmouth in Old England, in a ſmall veſſel, with thirty-two ſailors and ſome paſſengers. He was one of the adventurers in a former voyage to Virginia, was an excellent mariner, and conceived that there muſt be a ſhorter courſe to that part of America than had been attempted before; therefore he ſteered a more direct courſe, and fell in with this coaſt. He was embayed in 42° 10′, where he caught abundance of cod-fiſh, and called it Cape Cod: thence ſailing ſouthward, he gave Queen Elizabeth's name to one iſland, and to the next iſland, where he found great quantities of wild grapes, he gave the name of Martha's vineyard; which names are ſtill retained.

Captain

Captain Gofnoll made a very fuccefsful voyage, and at his return to England gave a good character of this new country, which induced feveral gentlemen to obtain a royal grant from King James I. who incorporated two companies in one patent, bearing date the 10th of April, 1606. The firft were allowed to fettle themfelves at any place on the coaft of Virginia between the 34° and 41° of north latitude; the other between 38° and 45°; with liberty to extend themfelves one hundred miles along the coafts, and one hundred miles within land, but not to plant within one hundred miles of each other.

In this patent were included New England, New York, New Jerfey, and Pennfylvania, as they are now divided into feveral provinces; but the whole country was then called Virginia, and was no otherwife diftinguifhed for fome time after, than by the names of north and fouth Virginia: the fouthern diftrict was called the London company, who immediately began their fettlement; and the northern diftrict belonged to the company of Plymouth, or weft country adventurers.

Sir John Popham, lord chief juftice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and feveral other gentlemen and merchants of Briftol, Exeter, and Plymouth, proprietors of the patent for North Virginia, fitted out a fhip the fame year, with thirty men, under the command of Henry Challons, to make a difcovery of that country; but this fhip was taken by a Spanifh fleet in the Weft Indies, and the crew were carried prifoners into Spain. This misfortune damped the fpirit of the firft adventurers; but Lord chief-juftice Popham foon after fent out another fhip, at his own charge, commanded by Captain Hanham, one of the patentees, who brought back fuch an encouraging account of the country, that the proprietors who fell off before refolved now to adventure again. Accordingly, in 1608, they fitted out two fhips with one hundred men, ordnance, ftores, and all neceffaries for a plantation, under the command of Captain George Popham and Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who failed from Plymouth the 31ft of May, and arrived at the ifland of Monahigan, in 44° of north latitude, on the 11th of Auguft. They began a fettlement at Sagadahock, about ten leagues fouthward, between Cafco Bay and the mouth of the river Kenebec. They built a fort, which they called St. George; but on the death of Captain Popham and the return of Captain Gilbert to England, they all abandoned the place, and re-embarked for Plymouth, "whereby," fays Captain Smith, "this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country eſteemed as a cold, barren, rocky, mountainous defert."

This unfuccefsful attempt to form a fettlement upon that part of the continent of North America which was formerly called Norumbega, Penaquida,

quida, and other names given to it by thoſe who ſailed along the coaſt, greatly diſpirited the patentees; but Henry, Earl of Southampton, and ſome gentlemen of the Iſle of Wight, employed Captain Edward Harlow to diſcover an iſland ſuppoſed about Cape Cod, which he found to be on the continent, and returned from thence to England with five ſavages he had taken and detained as priſoners. Sir Francis Popham alſo ſent Captain Williams ſeveral times to Monahigan on account of the fiſhery; but all farther thoughts of a ſettlement ſubſided until the year 1614, when Captain John Smith ſailed from London with two ſhips on a farther diſcovery of the whale-fiſhery, mines, and furs.

This gentleman had been preſident of the colony in South Virginia, in 1608, and was a judicious ſeaman; on which account he was ſent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, Mr. John Buley, and Mr. William Skelton. Captain Smith arrived at Monahigan, from whence he ſailed to the continent, where he carefully ſurveyed the coaſt, and gave denominations to many of the headlands, bays, and rivers, which are ſtill upon record, though now obſolete, and other names impoſed. Ranging the coaſt in a ſmall boat with eight men, while the others were employed in the fiſhery, he got for trifles near eleven thouſand beaver ſkins, one hundred martins, and as many otters, within the diſtance of twenty leagues. With theſe furs, the train-oil, and cod-fiſh, he returned for England, having made his voyage out and home in about ſix months, and acquired about 1500*l.* for his principals in the commodities he brought to them.

Captain Smith called the country New England, which name it ſtill retains: He preſented his map of it to Prince Charles, who confirmed that denomination, and gave new names to the moſt remarkable places in the following manner, according to the ſchedule exhibited by Captain Smith:

" The old names.	" The new names.
1. Cape Cod.	1. Cape James.
2. The harbour at Cape Cod.	2. Milford Haven.
3. Chawum.	3. Berwick.
4. Accomack.	4. Plymouth.
5. Sagoquas.	5. Oxford.
6. Maſſachuſets Mount.	6. Cheviot Hills.
7. Maſſachuſets River.	7. Charles River.
8. Totan.	8. Falmouth.
9. Cape Tragabigſanda.	9. Cape Anne.
10. A great bay by Cape Anne.	10. Briſtol.
11. Naembeck.	11. Barnſtable.

12. Aggawom.

The old names.	The new names.
12. Aggawom.	12. Southampton.
13. Paſſataquack.	13. Hull.
14. Accominticus.	14. Boſton.
15. Saſſanows Mount.	15. Snowdon Hill.
16. Sowocatuck.	16. Ipſwich.
17. Bahanna.	17. Dartmouth.
18. A good harbour within that Bay.	18. Sandwich.
19. Ancociſco.	19. The Baſs.
20. Ancociſco's Mount.	20. Shooter's Hill.
21. Anmoughcawgen.	21. Cambridge.
22. Kenebec.	22. Edinburgh.
23. Sagadahock.	23. Leith.
24. Pemmayquid.	24. St. John's town.
25. Segocket.	25. Norwich.
26. Mecadacut.	26. Dunbarton.
27. Pennobſcot.	27. Aberdeen.
28. Nuſket.	28. Low Mounds."

Smith's Iſles retained their name; and the Captain gave new names to ſome other iſlands: thoſe of Monahigan he called Bertie's Iſles; thoſe of Matinac he called Willoughby's Iſles; and thoſe of Metinacus he called Haughton's Iſles.

When Captain Smith returned in his own ſhip from New England, he left the other veſſel there under the command of Thomas Hunt, who enticed twenty-four of the natives on board, and ſold them to the Spaniards. The owners turned him out of their employ for his villany; but the puniſhment was inadequate to the crime, which the Indians highly reſented, and reſolved to be revenged on thoſe who came next upon the coaſt. They accordingly prevented Captain Hobſon in his attempt to form a ſettlement, and obliged Captain Dormer to return without accompliſhing his deſign.

The firſt inducements of the Engliſh adventurers to take out patents for lands in America, and to ſuffer ſo much in ſettling, were the hopes of finding rich mines, and a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies; but when theſe projectors were diſappointed, the old patents were neglected or annihilated. The northern company of 1606 inſenſibly diſſolved; and the ſouthern company ſoon had the ſame fate; while ſeveral voluntary companies of adventurers, without grants or patents, continued to carry on an advantageous trade in North America.

Captain Smith publiſhed his map of New England in the year 1616, with an account of his obſervations and diſcoveries, which encouraged the merchants to make an attempt for another ſettlement. A new company of adventurers was formed, and called the Council of Plymouth; becauſe the adventurers were chiefly merchants and members of that corporation. Their number was forty; but among them were ſome noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the duke of Lenox, the marquiſſes of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, Sir
1620. Francis Gorge, and ſome others; to whom King James I. granted letters patent dated the 3d of November, in the 18th year of his reign, incorporating them by the ſtyle of "The Council eſtabliſhed at Plymouth in the county of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." His Majeſty thereby "gave and granted unto them, their ſucceſſors and aſſigns, all that part of America lying and being in breadth from 40° north latitude from the equinoctial line, to 48° incluſively, and in length of and within all the breadth aforeſaid, throughout all the main land from ſea to ſea, &c. to be holden of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as of his manor of Eaſt Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common ſoccage, and not *in capite*, nor by knight's ſervice; yielding and paying therefor to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the fifth part of the ore of gold and ſilver which ſhould, from time to time, and at all times then after, happen to be found, within any of the ſaid limits, in reſpect of all manner of duties, demands, and ſervices whatſoever to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors."

As a body corporate they were to have a common ſeal, make laws for the regulation of the province, and diſpoſe of any parts thereof; but they could not delegate the juriſdiction without an additional royal charter. Their patent was deſignedly extended much to north and ſouth, that it might include and perpetuate the Engliſh claim to the New Netherlands, then in poſſeſſion of the Dutch ſouthward, and afterwards called New York; as alſo to Acadia, ſince called Nova Scotia, then poſſeſſed by the French to the north.

The adventurers, at this time, had acquired a conſiderable knowledge of the nature of the country, and its inhabitants. Captain Smith reſided nineteen years in Virginia and New England, and wrote a hiſtory of thoſe parts in 1624; where he enumerated the names of many tribes of Indians which are now irrecoverably loſt; and that were of different ſtature, but none of them had any beards. In that part of his work, intitled "The General Hiſtory of New England," he ſays, "it is betwixt the degrees of forty-one and forty-five, the very mean between the north pole

pole and the line; but what he ſpeaks of ſtretches only from Penobſcot to Cape Cod; ſome ſeventy-five leagues by a right-line diſtant from each other; within which bounds he had ſounded about five and twenty excellent good harbours, in many whereof there was anchorage for five hundred ſail of ſhips of any burden; in ſome of them for one thouſand; and more than two hundred iſles over-grown with good timber of divers ſorts of wood.

In his deſcription of the country, he ſays, "the Maſſachuſets was the paradiſe of all thoſe parts; for here were many iſlands planted with corn, groves, mulberries, ſavage-gardens, and good harbours: the coaſt was generally high clayey ſandy clifts, and ſhewed all along as he paſſed large fields of corn, and great numbers of well proportioned people: that oak was the chief wood, of which there was great difference, in regard of the ſoil where it grew; as alſo fir, pine, walnut, cheſnut, birch, aſh, elm, cypreſs, cedar, mulberry, plumtree, hazel, ſaxefras, and many other ſorts."

The ſame remarkable traveller obſerves upon the whole, that "the main ſtaple to be extracted from New England, for the preſent, was fiſh, which might ſeem a mean commodity; yet thoſe who would truly take the pains, and conſider the ſequel, would allow it well worth the labour."

To theſe, and many other particulars, he adds the following words: "And of all the four parts of the world I have yet ſeen not inhabited, could I have but means to tranſport a colony, I would rather live here than any where; and if it did not maintain itſelf, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us ſtarve.

This was the moſt authentic account that could be obtained of New England at that time; in conſequence of which ſeveral ſhips were ſent there by the merchants of London, Briſtol, and Plymouth; but chiefly upon the fiſhing trade. They promiſed captain Smith, in the year 1617, to ſend twenty ſhips to New England under his command; and the weſtern commiſſioners contracted with him to be admiral of that country during his life; however, that worthy adventurer was diſappointed in all his ſchemes for the improvement of the colony, which he had moſt affectionately at heart.

Edward Winſlow, Eſq; ſoon after gave a farther account of this country, of the religion of the Indians, and the nature of their govern-

ment. It appears, from a compariſon of the different accounts, that New England was inhabited by more than twenty different Indian nations before the country was colonized; though ſeveral of their names are not mentioned by modern writers. Each Sachem, or Sagamore, who was lord of a ſmall territory, claimed a right of ſovereignty there. The principal tribes were the Maſſachuſets, Neumkeaks, Narraganſets, Pocaſſets, Pequots, Maſſaſoiets or Wompanoags, Moratiggons, Patuxets, Maquas, Manimoys, Niantics, Novaſii and Marchicans; but the Maſſachuſets were more populous and better civilized than any other of theſe nations; which was principally owing to their dwelling upon the coaſts, and trading with the Europeans. They inhabited thoſe parts which now make the counties of Suffolk and Middleſex. The plague and ſmall-pox greatly diminiſhed their numbers a little before the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of their country; but they have the honour to give the preſent name to the chief colony of New England.

The life of hunters and fiſhermen is ſaid to be averſe to human ſociety, except among the members of ſingle families. The accounts which have been tranſmitted of the natives, at the firſt arrival of the Europeans, repreſent them to have been as near to a ſtate of nature as any people upon the globe, and deſtitute of moſt of thoſe improvements which are the ornaments of civil ſociety.

The men commended themſelves for keeping their wives employed, and condemned the Engliſh huſbands according to their phraſe, for ſpoiling good working creatures. Every nation or tribe had one acknowledged head or chief, to whom they gave the title of Sachem or Sagamore; but it is difficult to determine what was their power and authority. They ſeem to have ſupported no military authority, as every man fought and retreated at his pleaſure; for which reaſon, they never could oppoſe a body of Engliſh troops, and their wars were precarious between themſelves. Their arms were bows and arrows: their bow-ſtrings were made of mooſe ſinews; and their arrows were pointed with a ſmall flat ſtone, of a triangular form, the baſis of which they faſtened with a leathern ſtring into a cleft made in the end of a young ſtick of elder-wood. Their captains only carried a ſpear. But after the arrival of the Engliſh, they made the heads of their arrows of braſs, and faſtened them to a ſmall ſtick of ſix or eight inches long, formed to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to ſtrengthen it.

They were remarkable for firm well compacted bodies, ſtrong and active, capable of enduring the greateſt hardſhips and fatigues, regardleſs of

of cold, whilſt travelling in the ſeverity of winter. They were at a loſs to know what could induce the firſt Coloniſts to leave England and come to America; but the moſt probable conjecture they could make was, that the Engliſh wanted fuel at home, and came over for the ſake of the wood. Their clothing was of the ſkins of wild beaſts; but after the Engliſh came, they began to uſe woollen clothes, and in a few years entirely laid aſide ſkins; though one of their old garments of ſkins would purchaſe a new one of woollen, and a good quantity of ſtrong liquors beſide. The men threw a light mantle or covering over them; they alſo wore a ſmall flap, called Indian breeches; yet they were not over ſolicitous in covering their bodies. The women were more modeſt, and wore a coat of cloth or ſkins, wrapt like a blanket about their loins, and reaching down to their hams, which they never put off in company. Some of the men had breeches, ſtockings, and ſhoes, all made of the ſame materials, in one piece. In winter, when the ſnow would bear, they put on ſnow-ſhoes, which were made like a large tennis-racket, and laced them to their feet with the guts of deers. They greaſed their bodies and hair very often, and painted themſelves all over; their faces and ſhoulders with a deep red, and their bodies with a variety of miſhapen figures; but he was eſteemed the braveſt man, who had the moſt frightful forms drawn upon him, and looked moſt terrible. They had no hats, but commonly wore about their heads a ſnake-ſkin, a belt of their money, or a kind of ruff made with deer's hair, and dyed of a ſcarlet colour, which they eſteemed very rich. The ornaments of their women, beſide painting their bodies, were a ſort of ear-rings of copper or beads, bracelets about their arms, and chains about their legs.

Their chief diverſions conſiſted in dancing-matches, a ſort of feſtivals, at which all people were freely entertained.

Their food in winter, was birds and beaſts of all ſorts, ſhell-fiſh, and fiſh from the ponds. In ſummer, they had ſea-fiſh, berries of all ſorts, green-corn, beans and ſquaſhes. They boiled their victuals in earthen-pots: their ſpits were ſticks faſtened in the ground, cleft at top, where they fixed their meat, and placed themſelves round a fire until they had ſufficiently toaſted it. The earth was their table; and they had no ſalt, bread, trenchers, or knives. They had no regular meals, eat when they were hungry as long as the victuals laſted; and being improvident, nor caring for to-morrow, they and their families would ſometimes keep a faſt of two or three days together. Tobacco was in general uſe, which refreſhed their ſpirits; and water was their only drink. Their houſhold furniture was very ſmall: a ſkin or mat was

their bed; a few earthen and wooden veſſels anſwered all the purpoſes of a family; but they never uſed a chair or ſtool, and always ſate on the ground. As they had no metals of any kind, what few tools they had were of ſtone; and their arts and manufactures lay in a very narrow compaſs. Their hatchet and chizzel are kept as curioſities; the former ſomewhat in ſhape like an iron hatchet, only inſtead of an eye for the handle, it had a neck, where they faſtened a withe. They dreſſed their ſkins by ſcraping and rubbing, and ſometimes ſtained or coloured them with odd ſorts of embroideries. They had a ſort of cordage or lines, from the wild Indian hemp, with which they made nets thirty or forty feet in length, for taking ſturgeon. They had two ſorts of canoes; one of pine or cheſnut-trees, which they burned hollow, and then ſcraped the inſide with clam-ſhells and oyſter-ſhells, and hewed the outſide with ſtone hatchets; theſe were generally two feet wide and twenty feet long: but the other ſort were made of the bark or rind of the birch-tree, with knees or ribs; and though eaſily broken upon the rocks or ſhore, yet were tight and ſecure againſt the waves: ſome of theſe were very neat, and the moſt ingenious of any part of their manufactures.

Thoſe who ſpeak moſt favourably, give an indifferent idea of the quality of their minds; but perhaps the Indians about the Maſſachuſets Bay were ſome of the meaneſt among the American nations. They ſhewed courteſy to the Engliſh at their firſt arrival, were hoſpitable, and made ſuch as would eat their food welcome to it: they readily inſtructed the new coloniſts in the method of planting and cultivating Indian corn, which when boiled ſerved for bread. Their manner was to come into the Engliſh houſes, without knocking, and to ſit down without ceremony: but there was no trading with them upon credit; for thoſe who truſted them loſt both debt and cuſtomer.

We hear nothing of that formality and order in their councils, nor of thoſe allegories and figures in their ſpeeches and harangues, which the French obſerved among the Iroquois and other nations at the beginning of their acquaintance with them. In their public diſcourſes, however, upon any general matter of importance, they ſeldom uſed any ſhort colloquiums, but each ſpoke his mind at large without interruption, while great attention was given, and when he had finiſhed, another anſwered.

The principle or perſuaſion that all things ought to be in common might occaſion hoſpitality, where the like was expected in return, without any regard of virtue or beneficence. Some appearances were ſhewn of compaſſion, gratitude, and friendſhip; as alſo of grief at the death or diſtreſs

diſtreſs of their children or near relations; for ſome degree of theſe ſocial affections is inſeparable from human nature: however, they had many vices; were falſe, malicious and revengeful. The leaſt injury excited in them a deadly hatred, which never could be allayed. They were infinitely cruel to their enemies, cutting and mangling their bodies, broiling them alive upon hot embers, and inflicting the moſt exquiſite torments they could invent; but they were not known to feed upon the fleſh of their enemies after the Engliſh came among them.

The men were ſo ſlothful as never to employ themſelves about any other buſineſs than what was abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport, and ſuch as the women were not able to execute. Their hunting and fiſhing being all they did for their maintenance, ſerved alſo as diverſions. Deer, mooſe, and bears were their principal objects; but wolves, wild cats, racoons, otters, muſquaſhes, and even beavers, were not much regarded, until the Engliſh encouraged the purſuit of them from the value they ſet upon their ſkins or furs. Beſide their bows, they had other devices to take their game; ſometimes by double hedges a mile or two in length, and a mile wide at one end, made gradually narrow until they came to a gap of ſix feet, againſt which they lay concealed to ſhoot the deer as they came through in the day-time; and at night they ſet deer-traps, being ſprings made of young trees. They had their traps alſo for beavers and otters. Their ordinary fiſhing was with hooks and lines; the former were made of bones, the latter of wild hemp. Douglas, indeed, ſays, they had no threads of flax, hemp, or any other herbs; but the earlieſt accounts of the Maſſachuſet Indians aſſert the contrary; and Champlain ſays, it was part of the employment of the Indian women of Canada to twiſt the wild hemp and make it into nets for fiſhing. In the ſpring, they catched lobſters, clams, baſs, cod, rock, blue-fiſh, and ſalmon. They took lobſters in large bags at low water, with a ſtaff about ſeven feet in length, made ſmall and ſharpened at one end, with notches to take hold. Baſs, blue-fiſh, and ſturgeon, they ſtruck with a wooden dart, ſharpened with a fiſh-bone, tied at the end with a ſtring, by which they dragged the fiſh to ſhore.

They had alſo a way of taking ſturgeon, by lighting a torch made of birch-bark, which, waving to and fro by the ſide of their canoe, would delight the ſturgeon, and cauſe them to come tumbling and playing, throwing up their white bellies, into which the Indians ſtruck their ſpears or darts, becauſe the ſturgeons backs were impenetrable.

Their grand fiſhings were at the ſeveral falls of the rivers, at moſt of which a company of Indians had their chief reſidence; and at fixed ſea-

ſons

ſons the ſeveral adjacent cantons aſſembled by turns, both for recreation and to make proviſion for the year. During theſe meetings all things were in common; and thoſe who had entertained their neighbours expected the like kindneſs in return.

As to religion, they had ſome notions of a future ſtate; a kind of Mahometan paradiſe, where they were to ſolace themſelves in fruitful cornfields and fine flowery meads, with pleaſant rivers to bathe in; curious wigwams provided for them without any labour of their own; hunting, fowling, and fiſhing, without any wearineſs or pains to moleſt them: but at the door was a ſnarling animal, or kind of Cerberus, who denied a peaceful entrance to all unworthy of it. This cauſed them to bury the bows and arrows of the deceaſed with their bodies, to affright or repel Cerberus, and a good ſtore of wompumpeag to purchaſe ſome peculiar favours or privileges. Their enemies, and others unworthy the joys of Elyſium, they conſigned to an eternal habitation and place of torment.

When ſome of the Engliſh have talked with them of the reſurrection of the body, all the anſwer they could get from them was, that it was impoſſible, and they never ſhould believe it. In ſhort, the genius of the people led them to worſhip any thing that was above them in power, and able to do them any injury.

The moſt zealous of all the Indians in their religious ſuperſtitions were the Narraganſets, who had large houſes in the nature of temples, which were frequented only by their powaws or prieſts, except at their public ſolemnities, when multitudes of people reſorted there, and offered the beſt of their treaſures in ſacrifice; as ſkins, hatchets, kettles, and the like; which were all thrown by the powaws or prieſts into the midſt of a great fire, and burnt to aſhes. Thoſe who offered moſt liberally toward theſe ſacrifices, were eſteemed the wiſeſt and moſt devout perſons; and it was ſo reputable to be bountiful on ſuch occaſions, that the Indians about Plymouth town told the Engliſh, they wiſhed their governors would appoint the like ſacrifices among them.

Theſe powaws had a great aſcendancy over the people, and many idle ſtories have been related of the intercourſe they had with the devil. Their craft was in danger from the preachers of the goſpel, who condemned their cheats and juggles as diabolical: thus the powaws were great oppoſers of the goſpel, and threatened the new converts with death and deſtruction. Some of them were jugglers, who might eaſily raiſe the admiration of their ignorant countrymen, without arriving to any great degree of perfection.

There was one perquiſite of the clergy which the powaws of New England had no concern in, and that was their marriages. The Indians kept ſeveral concubines, whom they choſe according to fancy, and turned away at pleaſure; but they had one wife who governed the family. When a woman left her ſingle life, ſhe cut off her hair, and wore a kind of veil upon her head, until her hair was grown again. The time of war was a ſeaſon of general releaſe to all women that were uncomfortably married; for if the wife diſliked her huſband, ſhe took that opportunity to run away to the enemy, where ſhe was ſure to be made welcome; becauſe the Indians never thought they had women enough, and fought to gain ſuch prizes oftener than for territorial acquiſitions.

It is not different climates that gives the various complexions to the natives: America lies from 65° of north latitude to 55° of ſouth; which comprehends all the climates of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; but the complexion of the Americans is permanently every where the ſame, only with the metalline luſtre more or leſs. The complexion of the Indians adjacent to New England, and in all North America, is of a ſplendid reddiſh brown, or a pale copper colour; not of an olive or tawney, as are the Aborigines of Barbary, and ſome of their progeny in the ſouth parts of France, Spain, and Portugal: but, as moſt inſects avoid oils, the Indians greaſe themſelves as a defence againſt muſketoes and other troubleſome flies. They have thin lips, flattiſh faces, languid countenances, ſmall black eyes, and their ſtature differing as in Europe: in the higheſt north and ſouth latitudes, they are taller and more robuſt than between the tropics; their hair is black, in ſome places lank, and in others ſtiff.

Their poſture in ſitting was not croſs-legged, as among the Aſiatics; accumbent, as formerly with the Greeks and Romans, lying upon their left ſide, and leaning upon their elbow; nor cowring, as the African Negroes; nor ſitting, as in Europe; but with their thighs and legs extended horizontally in a ſtrait line.

The higher the latitudes, the Indians were fewer in number and more ſtraggling, nature not affording neceſſary ſubſiſtence for many, and only in ſmall bodies or herds. Their trade or commerce was trifling, as they had little produce and no manufacture. The difficulty of ſubſiſting required almoſt their whole time to provide for themſelves: their hunting was their neceſſary ſubſiſtence, not their diverſion; but when they had good luck in hunting, they eat and ſlept until all was conſumed, and then renewed their game. Generally they were very ſimple and ignorant; though ſome of their old men, by experience in affairs, obtained a conſiderable degree of ſagacity.

They

They did not cultivate the earth by planting or grazing, except an inconſiderable quantity of Indian corn and beans, which were planted by their women, whom they called Squaas, who alſo reaped, houſed, and threſhed all their corn.

The Indians had their hunting, fowling, and fiſhing-grounds, of which they were very jealous, as their properties. They had no honeſty or faith; but generally had ſuch great fortitude of mind, that they ſuffered any torture, and even the moſt painful death, without the leaſt appearance of fear or concern. In revenge they were ſo barbarous and implacable, that, as has been already hinted, they never forgave or forgot injuries. If one man killed another, the neareſt in kindred to the murdered watched an opportunity to kill the murderer, and the death of one man ſometimes occaſioned the deſtruction of many; therefore when a man was guilty of murder, he generally left the tribe, and went into a voluntary kind of baniſhment. They were a ſullen, cloſe people, whoſe wars ought to be called maſſacres, or barbarous inhuman outrages, rather than neceſſary acts of hoſtility.

The northern tribes were ſmall and diſtinct; becauſe a large parcel of land lying waſte in winter countries many months in the year, not fertile or cleared of woods, could not ſubſiſt a numerous body of people: but theſe ſmall tribes, though much diſperſed, were allied by contiguity, language, and intermarriages. Thus it was with the Abnaquies, who bordered upon New England; the Iroquois, or Mohawks, who bordered upon New York, Pennſylvania, and Virginia; and the Cherokees, who bordered upon Carolina. Theſe may be called three diſtinct great nations; and notwithſtanding the rudeneſs of their manners, the Europeans could not have effected their ſettlements, if ſome diſaffected Indians had not joined the Europeans, to be revenged of ſome neighbouring tribes. Thus when the ſettlers of New Plymouth firſt landed, Maſſaſoit was glad of the countenance of their ſmall-arms againſt the Narraganſets.

In other parts of the earth, all ſocieties or cohabitants have ſome kind of government, with an abſolute compelling power inveſted ſomewhere; but theſe American Indians had no ſettled government, eſtabliſhed laws, or compulſive power over each other. They were only cemented by friendſhip and intercourſe, which was a kind of tacit federate union between the ſeveral tribes who compoſed the general body of a nation; ſo that every individual man ſeemed to be independent as to government, and was only in friendſhip and neighbourly relation with others of the ſame tribe. Notwithſtanding this, we ſometimes find heads of tribes mentioned as if in ſucceſſion, nay, even female ſucceſſions: thus, in the New England

England Pocanoket, or King Philip's war, in 1675, there is mentioned the ſquaa-ſachem of Pocaſſet, and a ſquaa-ſachem among the Narraganſets.

What ſome writers have told us of the monarchical government of theſe Indians, their miniſters of ſtate, nobility, and others, is not to be regarded, any more than what has been ſaid of their adminiſtration of juſtice. It is however ſurprizing, that in ſo many ages that muſt have run out ſince their firſt inhabiting the country, no active ſpirit ſhould riſe up among them to encourage arts and induſtry. They lived in a country full of iron and copper mines, yet were never owners of ſo much as a knife until the Engliſh came there, and their name for an Engliſhman was a Knife-man; nor were they acquainted with the uſe of ſalt until the Engliſh brought it among them. Their country was ſtocked with the beſt timber for ſhipping in the world, yet they never made any improvement of it beyond their canoes, wrought out of the trunks of trees made hollow by fire, or formed of the bark of the birch-tree, ſtrengthened with little ribs of wood ſomewhat like hoops, and pitched with a mixture of turpentine and roſin. They were capable of carrying a man, his wife, children, and baggage; but inſtead of ſails and oars, they uſed only paddles and ſetting-poles; for they never ſaw a ſhip or ſail before the Europeans arrived there. Even ſuch was the ſupinity of theſe uncultivated ſavages, that when they had burned up all the wood adjacent to the place which they inhabited, rather than be at the pains to fetch it in from a little farther diſtance, they plucked up their wigwams and followed the wood.

Their houſes, or wigwams, were mean and little buildings, made of young and tender trees bent down like an arbour, covered on the top with the bark of trees, and on the ſides with thick mats made of ruſhes. The doors were low; their chimnies wide; and their beds ſo many mats ſpread about the fire-place. Their ordinary food was plain and ſimple; but they delighted in the fleſh of the mooſe, deer, bears, and racoons, which they either boiled or roaſted, and eat it little more than half dreſſed. Their fiſh was always over-boiled; and they devoured great quantities of the broth of fiſh as well as of fleſh. They valued themſelves that they left nothing at their feaſts, though otherwiſe they could be contented with an abſtemious diet; for when fiſhing and hunting failed, they could live entirely upon nokóhic, that is a ſpoonful of parched meal with as much water, on the ſtrength of which they would travel all the day.

Their health was firm, notwithſtanding they uſed no caution to preſerve it; but, on the contrary, took too violent exerciſe in their hunting and warlike expeditions. They were unacquainted with many diſeaſes that

afflict the Europeans; ſuch as the palſy, dropſy, gout, phthiſic, aſthma, gravel, and ſtone; but the pleuriſy often proved fatal to them.

Their ſkill in phyſic, indeed, was very indifferent; and their medical practice reſembled that of officious old women in ſome remote country villages of Europe, being mere empiriciſm, or rather a traditionary blind practice. They regarded only the ſymptoms that ſtrike the ſenſes, without reſpect to any leſs obvious principal ſymptom, which might be called the diſeaſe; or to conſtitution, ſex, and age. The powowers were their principal phyſicians, who practiſed cupping, but never uſed the European way of veneſection; and inſtead of veſicatories and cauſtics, they burned with touchwood. Their chief remedy was ſweating in huts warmed by heated ſtones, and thereupon immediate immerſion in cold water; which ſeems to be a rational practice, firſt by relaxing, to give a free paſſage to the obſtructed circulatory juices, and after a free paſſage was ſuppoſed to be obtained, by cold immerſion to brace up again: but in eruptive and inflammatory epidemical fevers, particularly the ſmall-pox, which was introduced there by the Europeans, this practice depopulated them. Their medicines were only ſimple herbs, whoſe virtues were accidentally diſcovered; and their ſimples were traditionally tranſmitted from one generation to another; for they uſed no exotic plants or minerals, medicinal compoſitions, or chemical preparations.

As to their language, their manner of expreſſion was vehement and emphatic; but as their ideas were not great, their language was not copious, conſiſting of a few words, and many of them ill contrived. By a rumbling noiſe or ſound of many ſyllables, they expreſſed an idea or thing, which, in the European languages, is done by a ſyllable or two; ſo that as their ideas were enlarged, they were obliged to adopt the European words of adjoining colonies. In numbering, they uſed the ſame natural way of reckoning by tens as in Europe; but ſcarce any Indians could tell their own age; nor had they any chronicles or traditional accounts of things extending back farther than two or three generations. Their dealings and mutual correſpondence were much confined, which made their ſeveral languages of ſmall extent; but a man who is maſter of any one Indian language may ſoon be able to converſe with them all, becauſe there is a great affinity between many of their words; as for example, nuppaw, duppaw, ruppaw, ſignifies the ſun; attick, ahtooque, a deer; wennit, werrit, good; pūm, pumme, pim, oil or fat, in ſeveral dialects. Mr. Neale alſo thinks it impoſſible to commit many of the Indian words to memory; for inſtance, he ſays, "nummatchekodtantamoon-ganunnonaſh" ſignifies in Engliſh "our luſts;" thus noowomantammoon-kanunonaſh" is "our loves;" and "kummogkodonattoottummooctiteaon

mooctiteaon-ganunnonaſh" implies "our queſtion." From hence the barbarity of this language is very evident.

The Indians had no characters to ſerve as hierogliphics or letters; but they had a few ſymbols or ſignatures, ſuch as the bear, wolf, and tortoiſe, to diſtinguiſh their tribes in a heraldry way. They had alſo a figurative or ſymbolical manner of expreſſing themſelves; thus, the renewing of alliances they called brightening of the chain; but as they had no letters, there was no fixed method of writing their words. Mr. Elliot, indeed, who was the firſt Engliſh miniſter that attempted the converſion of the ſavages to the Chriſtian religion, made himſelf acquainted with the language of the Indians bordering on New England in 1646, and reduced it to a method, which he publiſhed under the title of "The Indian Grammar." No particular orthography, however, could be acquired; all the Engliſh could do with the Indian ſounds, was to expreſs them as near as might be in their own letters; and Father Rallé of Noridgewog, with ſome other ſcholaſtic French miſſionaries, imagined that the Greek alphabet ſuited their pronunciation beſt.

There was not the ſame reaſon for preſerving the Indian names of their countries, nations, tribes, mountains, and rivers, as there was for obſerving the Greek, Roman, and other more modern names of ſuch things in Europe; becauſe the Indians had no civil or claſſical hiſtory to require it, and they changed their own perſonal names, as well as the names of other things, upon trivial occaſions.

The aboriginal nations, or general diviſions, which at preſent lie upon or near the eaſtern ſhore of North America, are the Indians of Weſt Greenland, commonly called Davis's Streight, Eſkimaux, Algonquins, Tahſagrondie, Owtawaes, Miamis, and Chikeſaws: the Mikamakis, Abnaquies, Iroquois, Chawans, Old Tuſcararoes, Cuttumbaes, Cherokees, and Creeks. The Abnaquies are properly the New England Indian nation, and reached eaſt and weſt from the Bay of Fundi to Hudſon's or New York River and Lake Champlain or Corlaer; north and ſouth from the River St. Lawrence to the Atlantic Ocean. They are in many tribes, but have diminiſhed much and become leſs formidable ſince their intercourſe with the Engliſh and French, which has introduced ſuch additional diſtempers among them, that ſome of the tribes are extinct or extinguiſhing, and others much reduced.

Upon the lower parts of the ſeveral rivers, which run into the Atlantic ocean in the Britiſh ſettlements, are ſeveral ſmall diſtinct tribes or

related families, which are not reckoned as belonging to the interior principal nations; but they have ſuffered a great diminution from the infection of European diſtempers and vices pernicious to health. It can be of no uſe to follow a detail of theſe periſhing ſmall families, or tranſitory tribes; but here it may be obſerved, that there is in the ſouth-weſt corner of the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, about twenty-five miles eaſt from Hudſon's or York River, a ſmall tribe of Indians, named Houſatonics, upon a river of that name, called Weſtanhoek by the Dutch: they are lately intermixed with the Engliſh in the townſhips of Sheffield and Stockbridge, from whence they are now called the Stockbridge Indians; and three of their chiefs called captain Daniel, captain John, and captain Solomon, with two of their ſquaas, came to England in 1766. Such was the difference between them, that captain Solomon appeared like an abſolute ſavage, captain John looked like a plain Engliſh farmer, and captain Daniel like a real man of faſhion.

In the northern parts, the Indians generally appear in ſmall ſkulking parties, with yelling, ſhoutings, and antic poſtures, inſtead of trumpets and drums. Their Indian wood-cry is jo-hau; and their war-cry may be expreſſed "Woach, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach." The Indians are not wanderers like the Tartars, but are ramblers; and in time of war, according to the ſeaſons, they may be annoyed at their head-quarters, and ambuſcaded or way-laid at their carrying or land travelling places. Their retreats, or ſtrong places, are the ſwamps, or copſes in a moraſs, from which, without regard to the faith of treaties, they ſuddenly break out into furious outrages and rapid devaſtations; but ſoon make a precipitate retreat, becauſe the country is not cleared or cultivated, and they have no ſtores for ſubſiſtance.

Their head warriors have always been men remarkable for ſtrength and bravery; and ſometimes they choſe a temporary chief of all the tribes. The ſcouts or Indian hunters, in time of war, uſed to carry packs, which at firſt ſetting out might be about ſeventy pounds weight, containing thirty days proviſion of biſcuit, or parched Indian corn, and ſalt-pork, with ſugar and ginger to qualify and animate their drink, which was water. Their method of lodging, pitching, or encamping at night, was in diviſions of ten or twelve men to a fire; and they lay upon bruſh, wrapped up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

Upon good enquiry it will be found that the wars of the Indians againſt the Engliſh were not ſo frequent, tedious, or deſolating, as is commonly repreſented; except the incurſions of the Delawares, Shawaneſe, and Cherokees,

Cherokees, during the war which commenced in 1756. In New England the only Indian wars, properly ſo called, were the Pequod war in 1637, which continued three months; and King Philip's war in 1675 and 1676, of about fourteen months continuance; and the war of 1722 to 1725, when the Indians begged and obtained a peace at Caſco, where it was granted by Lieutenant-governor Dummer, and ſigned by the Norridgewog, Penobſcot, St. John's, and Cape Sable Indians, who thereby had reſerved to them all their lands not then conveyed, with the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fiſhing, as formerly.

Upon the whole, theſe barbarous Indians were a lively image of human nature, without the improvements of art and induſtry; for though they had inhabited the country many ages, they were ſtill uncultivated when the Europeans arrived there. Nature had given them a tolerable complexion, but they ſpoiled it by daubing themſelves with oils and juices, which made them tawny. A bow and an arrow headed with the bone of fiſh, were all their weapons; the ſkin of a beaſt was their clothing, and the fleſh of it their food. Their principal diverſion conſiſted in extravagant dancings, hoopings, and howlings. Their women were ſtrong and maſculine, and ſupported the pains of child-bearing with wonderful patience. They were ſwift of foot, and capable of enduring great hardſhip and fatigue. All their ambition was to be valiant, which chiefly gave a man reputation among them, and this is ſtill their character.

The firſt ſettlers of the Britiſh Colonies were formed from various ſorts of people; as the laudably ambitious adventurers; the malcontents, and the unfortunate, or the neceſſitous from home: but the preſent proportion of theſe ingredients in the ſeveral plantations is very different, and greatly depends upon the condition of the original coloniſts, ſome of which were Whigs, others were Tories; here they were Church of England men, there Congregationaliſts or Independents; many were Quakers, and ſome were Papiſts, the moſt unfit people to incorporate with the Britiſh conſtitution.

In all the royal patents and charters of theſe Colonies, one principal condition required of the patentees, ſeems to be the converſion of the Indians; and the crown, on the other part, conditioned for the encouragement of ſettlers, a free profeſſion, or liberty of conſcience; whereby an univerſal toleration was allowed in all the Colonies, where Aliens

may

may be made Denizens: but the eſtabliſhed religion is that of the Church of England, and the Biſhop of London is always Dioceſan.

Colonies have an incidental good effect; they drain from the mother-country the diſaffected and the turbulent; and in the ſame manner old colonies are purged by new colonies; thus Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations drained the Antinomians, Quakers, and other ſectaries from Maſſachuſets Bay.

There are now four particular ſorts of people in the Britiſh Colonies. 1. The maſters; that is, planters and merchants. 2. White ſervants. 3. Indian ſervants. 4. Slaves for life, moſtly negroes. The white ſervants are of two ſorts: the one, poor people from Great Britain and Ireland, who are bound, or ſold as ſome expreſs it, for a certain number of years, to reimburſe the tranſportation charges, with ſome additional profit: the others are criminals judicially tranſported, and their time of exile and ſervitude ſold by certain undertakers and their agents. Theſe are however but few in number, the gaol diſtemper deſtroying many of them on ſhipboard, and of thoſe who arrive, the worſt ſoon returning to their old practice, fall into the hands of juſtice, and are executed with little ceremony.

Great Britain does not ſwarm with a numerous people, like France; therefore cannot ſettle colonies ſo faſt, without allowing of a general naturalization. The Britiſh Colonies have received many emigrant Palatines and Saltzburghers from Germany: but foreigners imported, ſhould not be allowed to ſettle in large ſeparate diſtricts; becauſe they may continue for ſome generations a kind of different people in language, modes of religion, national cuſtoms, and particular manners.

The Britiſh Colonies have many valuable privileges: 1. Enacting their own laws, with condition of their not being repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, yet may vary from them. 2. Raiſing their own taxes. 3. No act of the Britiſh parliament made ſince the firſt ſettling of the Colonies can extend to them, unleſs expreſsly intended in the Britiſh act of parliament, and even that is diſputed, ſome contending that no Britiſh act is in force there, unleſs expreſsly adopted by ſome act of their own. 4. No private purchaſe from the Indians is eſteemed of any validity, without the confirmation of the Governor and Council in ſome colonies, and without the approbation of the legiſlature in others. There are lands in ſome of the Plantations, where it is not poſſible to ſhew any Indian conveyance, becauſe they were derelicts. The poſſeſ-

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ſors who were prior to patents, have no other title to their lands but long poſſeſſion, which is a kind of preſcription: thus the old ſettlers of New Hampſhire hold their lands, it being ſuppoſed that Mr. Maſon had neglected or relinquiſhed his grants. Formerly, if governors were court favourites, they had plurality of governments: thus Sir Edmund Andros, in the reign of James II. was governor of all New England, New York, and the Jerſeys; Lord Bellamont was governor of New York, Maſſachuſetts Bay, and New Hampſhire: but it is not ſo at preſent, except in the two diſtinct governments of Pennſylvania, which are therefore under one governor. And in the ſeveral Colonies their general revenue is by a tax of ſome pence in the pound, upon the principal of real eſtate, perſonal eſtate, or faculty; with a poll-tax, imports, and exciſe.

With regard to the natural hiſtory of New England, it has been obſerved by mariners, that in their paſſages between Europe and America, winds are almoſt three quarters of the year weſterly; which is the reaſon that the paſſages from North America to Europe are much ſhorter than from Europe to North America, eſpecially as there is an attending weſterly ſwell or heaving of the ſea.

The ſituation of lands occaſions conſiderable differences in the temper of the air: thus, in North America, the dry freezing winds are from north to weſt; in Europe, they are from north to eaſt; proceeding from that great continent which receives and retains the northern effects of cold, that is the ſnow and ice, lying to the weſtward of America, and to the eaſtward of Europe; for the current of air, gliding along, becomes more impregnated with the cold. The weather in Canada is generally colder in winter, proportionate to its latitude, than in New England, and more ſettled; becauſe it is ſurrounded with land of ſome extent; therefore has the land influence from all corners of the winds of the ſame nature: whereas, in New England, to the eaſtward is water or ſea, of a very different influence from the ſpecific gravity of the earth in receiving or retaining cold or heat. By the ſoftneſs of the vapour from the water, the ſea-ſhore is warmer than the inland, the ſea warmer than the ſhore, and the ocean or deeper water warmer than the ſea.

Of timber-trees, eſpecially white-oaks for ſhip-building, the beſt grow in New England, and the neighbouring more ſouthern Colonies: further north, they are dwarfiſh, and of a rough grain. The quality of lands in New England is known by the natural produce.

Hunting,

Hunting, and other ſports of the field, are little uſed in America, where the clearing and cultivating of wilderneſs lands is a very laborious and tedious affair: but gooſeberries, raſpberries, and ſtrawberries are ſpontaneous in all the Britiſh ſettlements.

The ſeaſons in New England, as to temperature of weather, may be reckoned winter from the winter ſolſtice to the vernal equinox, ſpring from that equinox to the ſummer ſolſtice, ſummer from that ſolſtice to the autumnal equinox, and autumn from thence to the winter ſolſtice: but the ſeaſons from year to year are better determined by ſome birds and fiſh of paſſage, than by the bloſſoming of trees, and flowering of ſome inferior vegetables. Thus ſwallows arrive from the ſouthward in the ſecond week of April: mackarel and herrings ſet in the middle of May: wild geeſe fly to the ſouthward in the middle of September, and return the beginning of March. The New England winters generally ſet in about the end of October or beginning of November, and are over about the middle of March. The extreme froſts are from Chriſtmas to the middle of February; and the very hot weather is in the firſt weeks of July. The great rains are in Auguſt, about two months after the ſummer ſolſtice; and the great ſnows in February, two months after the winter ſolſtice. Early winters are generally ſevere and long; and early ſprings accelerate the buds and bloſſoms of trees, which loſe their leaves about the middle of October.

A mild winter produces a wet ſummer; and a froſty winter occaſions a dry ſummer. Froſts cover and retain the ſnow a long time in the ſpring, which is therefore late. Rains and fogs are more common on the ſhore, and in ſoundings, than in deep water at ſea. The north-eaſt ſtorms are of the greateſt continuance; and the ſouth-eaſt are the moſt violent. It is reckoned a good paſſage from New England to London in four weeks, and from London to New England in ſix weeks.

The diſcovery and ſubſequent poſſeſſion of American lands, gave the Engliſh an excluſive right againſt all other people, except the native Indians, who ſeem in the north-eaſt parts of America to be the leaſt improved of human kind: but grants of lands from the crown to particular perſons, or to companies and corporations, notwithſtanding other purchaſers from the Indians, fixed the tenures of the lands, by ſome ſmall quit-rent, in the crown; though it does not appear how the crown could give a right which it had not firſt obtained by fair purchaſe from the native owners.

Lord

Lord Chancellor Bacon, in 1606, preſented to King James I. "certain conſiderations touching the plantation in Ireland;" wherein his lordſhip obſerved, that "although it be a great fortune for a king to deliver or recover his kingdom from long continued calamities; yet, in the judgment of thoſe that have diſtinguiſhed the degrees of ſovereign honour, to be a founder of ſtates excelled all the reſt." This illuſtrious writer, in his "Eſſays or Counſels civil and moral," which he dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, has one particulary intitled, "Of Plantations," wherein he ſays, "They are among ancient, primitive, and heroical works." When the world was young, his lordſhip obſerved, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for we may juſtly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. "He liked a plantation in a pure ſoil; that is, where people are not diſplanted, to plant in others; for elſe it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries, is like planting of woods; you muſt make account to loſe almoſt twenty years profit, and expect the recompence at laſt: for the principal thing that occaſioned the deſtruction of moſt plantations had been the baſe and haſty drawing of profit in the firſt years. It is true, ſpeedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may ſtand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a ſhameful and unbleſſed thing, to take the ſcum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant: and not only ſo, but it ſpoils the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, do miſchief, ſpend victuals, be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the diſcredit of the plantation, &c."

Lord Bacon's rules in general were the moſt rational, upon which the Britiſh Colonies ought to have been formed and eſtabliſhed: but many deviations were made, occaſioned by the variety of adventurers and their different views, the particular intereſts of ſome proprietaries, and the procraſtinated inattention of the crown. If any particular man was capable of being the legiſlator of ſuch a country, it was certainly Lord Verulam, who, notwithſtanding ſome imbecillities of human nature, is univerſally allowed to have been the greateſt lawyer, as well as the greateſt philoſopher, of his age, if not of the world.

Another eminent man alſo exerted his great abilities in conſtructing ſome parts of the American legiſlature; but his attempts were unſucceſsful. It was Mr. Locke, who ſays, that "When God gave the world in common, when he gave the earth to the uſe of the induſtrious and rational, it cannot be ſuppoſed it ſhould remain common and uncultivated." Upon which Mr. Wood farther obſerves, "So neither can it be

ſuppoſed, that the crown, when it gave leave for grants of land to be made to any of its ſubjects, in any of its Colonies or Plantations, either expected or intended that ſuch grants, in whole or in part, ſhould remain uncultivated."

It has been farther remarked, That "as it is the buſineſs of the planters and inhabitants of our Colonies and Plantations, to provide againſt invaſions and inſurrections, and to regard the ſecurity and preſervation of their fortunes in them; it muſt likewiſe be the concern and care of all entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs of Great Britain, that the perſons ſent to repreſent the crown, be men of abilities, experience, courage, temper, and virtue: they ought to be endowed with ſuch a general knowledge, as may comprehend the nature of the ſoil where they are; what improvements it is capable of, and what trades will be moſt advantageous to it: they ſhould be able to look into the genius of the people they are to govern: they ſhould be men of diſcipline, ſobriety, and juſtice; for they who are not ſo in their own perſons, can expect no order, nor compel others to obey the laws: a people to whom riches and plenty furniſh matter for vice and luxury, ſhould be governed by a ſtrict and ſkilful hand; which may reform their manners, and at the ſame time both promote and direct their induſtry*."

Mr. Otis Little, a gentleman well acquainted with the Northern Colonies, ſays, that "their trade and produce have not hitherto been properly encouraged, although their utility may be eaſily comprehended." Great Britain, indeed, has enjoyed the benefit of a moſt extenſive commerce ſince the diſcovery of America, which, if properly attended to, will contribute more to its future intereſt than any other branches of trade, by enlarging a demand for all its manufactures, and increaſing the means of its naval force: and notwithſtanding a jealouſy has been frequently excited againſt the Colonies on account of their growth, it will appear that the commerce and naval power of Great Britain muſt greatly depend on their future protection and encouragement.

* "The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies conſidered, with an account of the produce, and a particular deſcription of Nova Scotia."

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Province, or Colony, of Maſſachuſets Bay.

SECTION I.

The Engliſh Browniſts from Holland form the firſt colony in New England, and ſettle at New Plymouth in 1620. *Their firſt grant in* 1624; *and their patent in* 1630: *with other grants from the company to ſeveral perſons; and ſome unſucceſsful attempts from New Plymouth to ſettle in the Maſſachuſets Bay. The riſe of the Maſſachuſets Bay colony: the old charter in* 1627; *and royal patent in* 1628; *with the powers and privileges thereby granted to the governor and company of Maſſachuſets Bay: the colony ſeal: the firſt governor, deputy-governor, and aſſiſtants. A large embarkation from England to the colony: their firſt ſettlement at Salem in* 1629; *and the firſt eſtabliſhment of their church government. The grand embarkation, with the removal of the charter and government from Old England to New in* 1630. *The new magiſtrates appointed to go over; and their characters: their arrival in New England; and the hardſhips they ſuffered. Boſton and other towns built: the eſtabliſhment and proceedings of the civil government. The coloniſts alarmed by the Indians, and alſo by the French in* 1632. *An order of the privy-council in England to encourage the coloniſts. Mr. Cotton ordained miniſter of Boſton. An alteration in the civil government in* 1634. *Sir Henry Vane appointed governor in* 1635. *The beginning of the ſettlements of Connecticut, Eaſt Hampſhire, and Main; as alſo of Rhode Iſland.*

THE Council of Plymouth parcelled out their grant into ſeveral ſettlements, and particularly to the people at firſt called Browniſts, from Robert Brown, a young enthuſiaſtical clergyman, in 1580, and afterward Independents. This ſect removed from England to Holland, and went from thence in about ten years to America, that they might worſhip God without moleſtation in their own particular way. They obtained an inſtrument from King James I. for the free exerciſe of their religion in any part of America; after which, they entered into articles of agreement with the Plymouth company, to ſettle on the banks of Hudſon's River, 1620.
now in the government of New York. They ſailed from Plymouth on the 6th of September, 1620, in one ſhip, on board of which were one

hundred and one perſons, who fell in with Cape Cod upon the 9th of November, which was too late in the ſeaſon for proceeding to Hudſon's River. Although without the limits of their agreement, they were obliged to ſit down in that barren ſoil, and formed themſelves into a voluntary aſſociation, or colony; whereby they entered into a ſolemn contract, to ſubmit to ſuch laws as ſhould be approved of by the majority.

This obligation was ſigned by forty-one perſons, who, with their families, were all that ſailed from Plymouth, to encounter the hazards of a new ſettlement in ſo remote a part of the world, where they had the winter before them, and no accommodation for their entertainment. From the length of the voyage, other fatigues, and extreme cold weather, about fifty of their number died the firſt year of putrid fevers and other ſcorbutic diſorders; but the Indians were alſo greatly reduced about that time by ſome epidemic diſtempers and inteſtine wars.

Thus the firſt ſettlements in New England were chiefly upon a religious account, as recluſe families who were devout Puritans, and not ſervants to the adventurers. They called the place of their ſettlement by the name of New Plymouth, and they choſe Mr. Carver governor for one year; but he died in April following, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Bradford. All was in common at firſt, and they divided themſelves into nineteen families or meſſes. Some recruits arrived yearly from England; but they had no grant of their lands from the Council of Plymouth until
1624. the year 1624, when the whole ſettlement was compoſed of one hundred and eighty perſons, in thirty-two meſſes. The town conſiſted of thirty-two dwelling-houſes, and was paled in about half a mile in compaſs: in the midſt of the incloſure, upon a riſing ground, was the fort, upon the top of which was a watch-tower, from whence the centinel might ſee ſeveral leagues out at ſea. They had made a ſalt-work, and freighted a ſhip of one hundred and eighty tons with fiſh cured of their own ſalt: but the adventurers in England, who were about ſeventy in number, were ſtill diſpirited, as they had expended about ſeven thouſand pounds upon the ſettlement.

1630. The coloniſts were generally Browniſts, or of the more rigid ſeparatiſts of the Church of England, and continued to increaſe until the year 1630, when they obtained a patent, which ſettled the boundaries of the colony in the following words: 'The council for New England, in conſideration 'that William Bradford and his aſſociates have, for theſe nine years, lived 'in New England, and have there planted a town called New Plymouth, 'at their own charges; and now ſeeing, by the ſpecial providence of God

'and

'and their extraordinary care and induſtry, they have increaſed their 'plantations to near three hundred people, and are on all occaſions able 'to relieve any new planters, or others of his Majeſty's ſubjects, who 'may fall on that coaſt; therefore ſeal a patent to the ſaid William Brad-'ford, his heirs, aſſociates, and aſſigns, of "all that part of New Eng-"land between Cohaſſet Rivulet towards the north, and Narraganſet "River towards the ſouth; the Weſtern Ocean towards the eaſt; and "between a ſtraight line directly extending up into the main land towards "the weſt, from the mouth of Narraganſet River, to the utmoſt bounds "of a country into New England, called Pacanokit, alias Sawamſet, "weſtward, and another-like ſtraight line extending directly from the "mouth of Cohaſſet River toward the weſt, ſo far into the main land "weſtward, as the utmoſt limits of the ſaid Pacanokit or Sawamſet ex-"tend; as alſo all that part of New England between the utmoſt limits "of Caperſecont, or Comaſcecont, which adjoins to the River Kennebec "and the falls of Negumke, with the ſaid river itſelf, and the ſpace of "fifteen miles on each ſide between the bounds aforeſaid; with all pre-"rogatives, rights, royalties, juriſdictions, privileges, franchiſes, liber-"ties, and immunities; and alſo marine liberties, with the eſcheats and "caſualties thereof, (the Admiralty juriſdiction excepted) with all the "intereſt, right, and authority, which the ſaid council have thereto; with "the liberty to trade with the natives, and fiſh on the ſeas adjoining. "And it ſhall be lawful for them to incorporate themſelves, or the people "there inhabiting, by ſome fit name or title, with liberty to them and "their ſucceſſors, to make orders, ordinances, and conſtitutions, not "contrary to the laws of England, for their better government, and put "the ſame in execution, by ſuch officers as he or they ſhall authorize "and depute; and for their ſafety and defence, to encounter by force "of arms, by all means, by land and ſea, ſeize and make prize of all "who attempt to inhabit or trade with the ſavages within the limits of "their plantations, or attempt invaſion, detriment, or annoyance to "them."

The Council of Plymouth were empowered to convey property; but could not delegate juriſdiction; therefore their grant was to Mr. Brad-ford, who afterward aſſigned it to the freemen in general, and that aſſignment was confirmed by the company.

This was the mother-colony of New England, which, like other grants, was ingulphed in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay. It would be tedious to enumerate them all; but it is neceſſary to remark the princi-pal, which were, 1. Mr. Weſton, one of the Plymouth adventurers; he

obtained

obtained a ſeparate grant of ſome land; and, in 1622, ſent over about ſixty men to make a ſettlement in the Maſſachuſets Bay, at a place called Weſagaſquaſet, now Weymouth; but they managed ill, became idle and diſſolute, ſoon broke up, and their money was loſt. 2. Captain Gorge, ſon to Sir Ferdinando Gorge, brought over ſome ſettlers in 1623; but he was ſoon diſcouraged and returned home. 3. Mr. David Thompſon, about the ſame time, attempted a ſettlement at Piſcataqua, the memory of which is loſt.

In 1624, the lands from Piſcataqua River to within three miles of Merrimac River were granted to Mr. Maſon, whoſe heirs afterward ſold it to Mr. Allen of London: it extended ſixty miles inland, and was properly the province of New Hampſhire; but the grant and conveyance ſeem to be obſolete.

The ſame year, ſome adventurers began a ſmall ſettlement at Cape Anne, the northern promontory of Maſſachuſets Bay, and are now become the moſt conſiderable ſettlement in North America.

Captain Woolaſton and ſome others, in 1626, began a ſettlement at Braintree, which they entirely broke up in leſs than two years, when ſome of the ſettlers went to New Plymouth and others to Virginia.

There were ſeveral other grants and purchaſes for ſmall conſiderations, which are either become obſolete, or incorporated with the four conſtituted colonies of New England; beſide, in 1630, the Earl of Warwick had a grant of a tract of land along ſhore from Narraganſet River, forty leagues weſt ſoutherly, and back inland to the South Seas. That nobleman aſſigned his grant to Lord Viſcount Say and Seale, Lord Brooke, and nine other aſſociates, who found many difficulties in ſettling, and aſſigned their right to the ſettlers of New Haven and Connecticut, who were emigrants from Maſſachuſets Bay, and had no title originally, but ſate down at pleaſure, and at preſent enjoy a royal charter by the name of The colony of Connecticut. Part of this grant from Narraganſet Bay to Connecticut River, was given by the King in 1636 to the Duke of Hamilton, who never was in poſſeſſion, and the claim became obſolete.

In 1621, the planters of New Plymouth ſent Captain Standiſh and ten men in their boat to the Maſſachuſets Bay, about twenty leagues north from Plymouth. The bay appeared very large, and to have many iſlands in it; as alſo two rivers within the bay, and good harbouring for ſhips; but
Neale, I. 103. though moſt of the iſlands had been inhabited, they were then depopulated.

lated. In 1622, Mr. Weſton arrived with ſixty paſſengers at Plymouth, and removed to the Maſſachuſets Bay, for which he had procured a patent; but this was a diſorderly company of men, and ſoon obliged to abandon their ſettlement. The governor of Plymouth gave them all the aſſiſtance he could; but they lived too diſſolute for their circumſtances; and when they had bartered away all their goods for Indian corn, they ſold their bedding and clothes. Some of them became ſervants to the Indians; the major part turned robbers; but all was inſufficient to ſupply their wants. Neale, I. 107. Some died with hunger; others lived in the woods, and were barbarouſly treated by the Indians, who added inſult to cruelty. This occaſioned Captain Standiſh to come to their aſſiſtance; upon which the Indians fled to their woods, where moſt of them were ſoon after deſtroyed by the plague; and this opened the way for the Maſſachuſet ſettlement in 1629. Captain Standiſh offered to conduct Mr. Weſton's men to Plymouth; but they choſe to ſail away with their veſſel to the eaſtward to meet Mr. Weſton, whoſe ſettlement was ſet up in oppoſition to Plymouth, under the pretence of propagating the diſcipline of the Church of England in America; but his colony came to this deplorable fate.

Soon after, another unſucceſsful attempt was made to begin a ſettlement in the Maſſachuſets Bay by Captain Gorge, and ſeveral families who came over with him. This gentleman had a commiſſion from the council of New England to be General-governor of the country, and a council was appointed to aſſiſt him; with "full power to himſelf and any three of them, to execute what ſhould ſeem proper in all capital, criminal, and civil cauſes:" but this colony was ſoon diſperſed.

A farther attempt was made, in 1626, to begin a ſettlement in the Maſſachuſets, by Captain Woolaſton and ſome other gentlemen, who brought over many ſervants, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for a plantation; but they ſoon abandoned their ſettlement. Some of the people went to Virginia, and others were left behind under Morton, who taught the Indians the uſe of fire-arms, in the exerciſe of which they became ſo troubleſome to the coloniſts, that the Plymouth colony ſent Captain Standiſh to expoſtulate with him about it; putting him in mind of the royal proclamation, which prohibited their trading with the Indians in any ſort of warlike ſtores; as alſo of the inconveniencies that might attend inſtructing them in the European art of war. He was obliged to ſubmit, whereby the remains of Woolaſton's colony ſubſided, after they had maintained themſelves in the Maſſachuſets about two years.

The Dutch had now eſtabliſhed a colony on Hudſon's River, and invited the colony of Plymouth to carry on a correſpondence and trade; but in

1625. 1625, Mr. Roger Conant made a ſettlement at Cape Anne, the north-eaſterly promontory of Maſſachuſets Bay, with ſome ſettlers from Dorcheſter and other parts of the weſt of England, who ſoon removed to Naumkeak, ſince called Salem.

1627. This gave riſe to a project firſt concerted in Lincolnſhire, of procuring from the Council of Plymouth a grant for ſettling a colony in Maſſachuſets Bay, with a reſolution that the principal town ſhould be called Boſton. Theſe adventurers were joined by ſome others of London and Dorſetſhire, and obtained a grant from the Council of Plymouth, on the 19th of March, 1627, whereby the company did confirm to Sir Henry Roſwell, and Sir John Young, Knights; Thomas Southcot, John Humphreys, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcombe, their heirs and aſſigns and their aſſociates for ever, "all that part of New England which lies and extends between a great river there, commonly called Monomack or Merrimack, and a certain other river called Charles River, being in a bottom of a certain bay there commonly called Maſſachuſets, Mattachuſets, or Maſſatuſets Bay; and alſo all thoſe lands and hereditaments whatſoever lying within the ſpace of three Engliſh miles, on the ſouth part of the ſaid Charles river; and alſo all the lands and hereditaments, being within the ſpace of three Engliſh miles to the ſouthward of the ſouthermoſt part of the ſaid bay; and alſo all thoſe lands and hereditaments which lie within the ſpace of three Engliſh miles to the northward of the ſaid river called Monomack or Merrimack; and all lands and hereditaments north and ſouth in latitude, in breadth, and in longitude, within all the breadth aforeſaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Atlantic and Weſtern Sea on the eaſt part, to the South Sea on the weſt part; and alſo all mines and minerals whatſoever, which they the ſaid council at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, then had or might enjoy, in or within the ſaid land and premiſes; to be holden of his Majeſty King Charles I. his heirs and ſucceſſors, as of his manor of Eaſt Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common ſoccage, and not *in capite*, nor by knights ſervice: yielding and paying therefor unto his ſaid Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the fifth part of the ore of gold and ſilver which ſhould, from time to time, happen to be found in any of the ſaid limits, for and in ſatisfaction of all manner of demands and ſervices whatſoever."

The gentlemen mentioned in this charter were unwilling to embark alone in ſo great an undertaking, and engaged others about the city of London to join with them. A petition was then preſented to the King, that their names might be inſerted in the patent, as original proprietors; which was accordingly done in a new draught of the former patent, the

4th

4th of March 1628, and confirmed by his Majeſty, whereby the ſaid parties, and all ſuch others as ſhould be admitted and made free of the company and ſociety therein mentioned, were made one body politic and corporate, by the name of The Governor and Company of Maſſachuſets Bay, in New England. 1628.

This is commonly called the old charter, whereby the company were impowered yearly to elect their own governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen aſſiſtants, out of the freemen of the company; who were to be choſen the laſt Wedneſday in every Eaſter-term, by a general court, to be held annually on that day. They were to have four general courts a year; the laſt Wedneſday in Hilary, Eaſter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms, for ever: they might admit freemen, chooſe officers, order lands, and make ſuch laws as they ſhould think for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England; and free liberty of conſcience was likewiſe granted to all that ſhould ſettle in thoſe parts, to worſhip God in their own way. Neale, I. 139.

The colony ſeal was an Indian erect, naked; an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left; with theſe words, in a label from his mouth, "Come over and help us;" and in a round, "Sigillum Gub. et Societatis de Maſſachuſets Bay in NOVA ANGLIA."

Matthew Cradock was appointed the firſt governor, and Thomas Goffe deputy-governor: the aſſiſtants were, Sir Richard Saltonſtal, Iſaac Johnſon, Samuel Alderſey, John Venn, John Humphrey, Simon Whetcomb, Increaſe Nowel, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vaſſal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vaſſal, William Pyncheon, John Pocock, and Chriſtopher Coulſon; William Burgis was choſen ſecretary. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company, who had ſubſcribed fifty pounds, ſhould have two hundred acres of land aſſigned, and in proportion for a greater or leſſer ſum, as the firſt dividend. The names of all the adventurers, and the ſums ſubſcribed, were ſent over to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation; while a ſecond embarkation of planters and ſervants was ordered to be made, who were to be accompanied with four reverend divines. Theſe were, Mr. Francis Higginſon, a ſilenced non-conformiſt miniſter of Leiceſterſhire; and Mr. Samuel Skelton, who were appointed chaplains to the colony; Mr. Francis Bright, who is ſaid to have been a conformiſt; and Mr. Ralph Smith, who ſeems to have been of the ſeparation in England, on which account he was required to give under his hand, that he would not exerciſe his 1629.

miniſtry within the limits of the patent, without expreſs permiſſion from
Smith, p. 47. the governor. Six ſhips were provided for this embarkation; and about three hundred and fifty paſſengers embarked for the plantation, with one hundred and fifteen head of neat cattle; ſome horſes, ſheep, goats, rabbits, and all other neceſſaries for a ſettlement; beſide ſix pieces of cannon for a fort; with a large quantity of military ſtores. Mr. Higginſon ſays in his Journal, that the whole fleet ſailed from the Iſle of Wight on the 11th of May 1629, arrived at Cape Anne the 27th of June, and at Naumkeag the 29th. Moſt of their live ſtock died in the paſſage, as alſo ſome of the paſſengers; and from this ſmall beginning is the Maſſachuſet province grown to that eminent figure it now makes in the American world.

The new planters called their firſt ſettlement Salem, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies Peace; but ſome of them ſoon removed to Miſhawum, to which they afterward gave the name of Charles Town. As religion was the principal motive of their coming over into theſe parts, they reſolved to ſettle that in the firſt place. Mr. Endicot had correſponded with the ſettlers at Plymouth, who informed him of the church order and diſcipline ſet up by them, which was like that of the reformed churches in France and Germany, and was embraced by the new coloniſts, who appointed the ſixth of Auguſt for erecting ſuch a church among
Prince's Chron. p. 189. themſelves. Mr. Higginſon and Mr. Skelton had been previouſly elected and ordained, the one teacher, the other paſtor; each of them, together with four venerable members, laying their hands on the other with ſolemn prayer; but on the day appointed for the choice and ordination of elders and deacons, thirty perſons, who were deſired to be of the communion, publickly profeſſed their conſent unto a confeſſion of faith drawn
Mather, book I. p. 18. up by Mr Higginſon, and afterward ſigned a ſolemn covenant, whereby "they bound themſelves, in the preſence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he was pleaſed to reveal himſelf in his bleſſed word
Neale, I. 142. of truth: They avouched the Lord to be their God, and themſelves to be his people, in the truth and ſimplicity of their ſpirits: They gave themſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and ſanctifying of them in matters of worſhip and converſation; reſolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory; and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and conſtitutions of men in worſhip: They promiſed to ſtudy the advancement of the goſpel in all truth and peace, both in regard of thoſe that were within or without, no way ſlighting their ſiſter churches, but uſing their counſel as need ſhould be, not laying a ſtumbling-block before any, no not the Indians, whoſe good they deſired to promote." They alſo promiſed "to carry themſelves in all lawful obedience

obedience to thoſe that were over them in church or commonwealth; they reſolved to approve themſelves to the Lord in their particular callings, ſhunning idleneſs as the bane of any ſtate; nor would they deal hardly or oppreſſingly with any, wherein they were the Lord's ſtewards: promiſing alſo to teach their children and ſervants the knowledge of God and of his will, that they might likewiſe ſerve him; and all this not by any ſtrength of their own, but by the Lord Chriſt, whoſe blood they deſired might ſprinkle this their covenant made in his name." This was the eſtabliſhment of their church, and the miniſters were ordained or inſtituted anew; after which, ſeveral others were admitted into it; but none without ſufficient teſtimonies of their ſober lives and converſation; for the only term of their communion was, "giving ſatisfaction to the church concerning their faith and manners."

The firſt winter after the arrival of the colony proved very fatal to them, and carried off almoſt one hundred of their company, among whom was Mr. Higginſon the teacher, and Mr. Haughton the ruling elder of the church.

While theſe things were tranſacted in the infant colony, the company in England projected a much larger embarkation, and the transfer of the company itſelf from old England to New. Several gentlemen of great property, diſſatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings in church and ſtate, pleaſed themſelves with the proſpect of liberty in both, to be enjoyed in America, and propoſed to the company at London, to remove with their families; but upon this expreſs condition, that the patent and charter ſhould remove with them; and this propoſal was firſt communicated on the 28th of July 1629. A committee was appointed to con- 1629.
ſider of it; as alſo to adviſe with counſel learned in the law, and to make report: but this report is not upon record. The adventurers had been at great expence, without any ſatisfactory returns made to them, and had no immediate proſpect of any profit from the plantation, in the preſent circumſtances of the coloniſts. The principal objection aroſe from a doubt, whether ſuch a transfer was legal: but it was determined, on the 29th of Auguſt, "by the general conſent of the company, that the government and patent ſhould be ſettled in New England." In conſequence of this new reſolution, the Members of the corporation, who remained in England, were to retain a ſhare in the trading ſtock, and profits of it, for ſeven years. The management of it was committed to five perſons who were to reſide in America, and theſe were Sir Richard Saltonſtal, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Johnſon, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Revel; together with five who were to remain, being Mr. Cradock, Mr. Wright,

Mr. Eaton, Mr. Goffe, and Mr. Young. The ſtock and profits were to be divided, proportional to the adventure, at the expiration of the term: all other powers and privileges were to remain with the Coloniſts in general: but there is no account of any dividend ever made, or of any trade ever carried on for the company. There was another article, that one half the charge of fortifications and ſupport of the miniſters ſhould be defrayed out of the common ſtock; although no notice was taken of it in the colony.

At a general court, held on the 20th of October, a new election was made for the government of the colony, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as had determined to go over with the patent. They did not all go over to America: but from time to time, until the general embarkation, as any one declined, ſome other perſon was choſen in his room. Nor is it ſurprizing that they diſcovered a want of reſolution: it is rather ſtrange that ſo many perſevered. It ſhews ſome fortitude in a man of health and vigour, who goes through the fatigues of a long voyage, and ſpends only a few months among ſavages, and in a climate more ſevere than ever he had experienced. What then muſt we think of perſons of rank, and good circumſtances in life, bidding a final adieu to all the delights and conveniencies of their native country, eſpecially ſuch a country as England, and expoſing themſelves to inevitable difficulties in a long voyage acroſs the Atlantic, to land upon an inhoſpitable ſhore, deſtitute of building to ſecure them from the inclemency of the weather, and of moſt ſorts of food to which they had been always uſed.

As to the character and circumſtances of the principal adventurers, it may be neceſſary to obſerve that Mr. Winthrop was of Groton in Suffolk, where he was a juſtice of peace at the age of eighteen, and very early in life was exemplary for his polite as well as ſedate and pious deportment: he had an eſtate of about ſeven hundred pounds a year, which he converted into money, and embarked the whole to promote the new ſettlement: he was forty-three years of age when he removed, and was eleven times choſen governor: he ſpent his whole fortune in the public ſervice, the ſalary being ſmall, and his hoſpitality great; his ſon and grandſon were ſucceſſively governors of Connecticut colony; and his poſterity have ever ſince been reſpected and honoured. Mr. Dudley, had a captain's commiſſion under Queen Elizabeth, in 1597, when he raiſed a company of volunteers, with whom he went over to France, and was at the ſiege of Amiens under Henry the Fourth: he afterward ſettled in Northamptonſhire, and was entruſted by the Earl of Northampton with the management of his affairs: he was fifty-four years of age

age when he embarked for America, where he was choſen into the magiſtracy every year of his ſubſequent days, was four years governor, and often deputy-governor. Sir Richard Saltonſtal was the firſt named aſſociate to the orignal patentees; he was ſon or grandſon of Sir Richard Saltonſtal, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1597: he remained but a ſhort time in New England, yet his heart was ſet upon promoting the colony: by a will, made in 1658, he gave a legacy to the college in New England; and his great-grandſon, Gurdon Saltonſtal, was many years governor of Connecticut. Mr. Humphrey was one of the ſix original patentees from the council of Plymouth, and married the lady Suſan, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. Mr. Johnſon was the ſon of Abraham Johnſon, Eſq; of Clipſham in Rutlandſhire; he married the lady Arabella, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and had the largeſt eſtate of all the adventurers. Mr. Endicot was one of the moſt zealous undertakers, and the moſt rigid in principles. Mr. Nowel was a relation to Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. William Vaſſal, as well as his brother Samuel Vaſſal, were gentlemen of good circumſtances in England; but were not fully of the ſame ſentiment in matters of religion with the planters in general: Mr. William Vaſſal went over with the firſt company, and ſettled at a place called Scituate, in Plymouth colony: when Jamaica was conquered, by Penn and Venables, in 1656, he laid the foundation of ſeveral fine eſtates in that iſland, which his poſterity now enjoy. Mr. Samuel Vaſſal was an eminent merchant of London, and was the firſt who refuſed to pay the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, which he conceived to be an impoſition againſt the law of the land; whereupon the King's attorney-general, in the fourth year of Charles I. exhibited an information in the Exchequer againſt him, for refuſing to pay an impoſt upon 4638 hundred weight of currants which he had imported into the port of London, and which had been ſeized by the farmers and officers of the cuſtom-houſe. He put in a plea to the information, to which the attorney-general demurred in law, and Mr. Vaſſal joined in demur; but the cauſe was arbitrarily decided by the barons of the Exchequer, who impriſoned Mr. Vaſſal for not paying the duty required upon his goods, of which he could not obtain reſtitution. But the houſe of commons, on the 8th of July 1641, reſolved, "That Mr. Samuel Vaſſal ſhould have the ſum of ten thouſand four hundred forty-five pounds twelve ſhillings and two pence paid him for his loſſes and damages, for denying to pay tonnage and poundage not granted by act of parliament, in purſuance and obedience to a declaration and vote of this houſe. And the houſe alſo declared, that they would in due time take Mr. Vaſſal into further

Ruſhworth's hiſtorical collections, vol. I. p. 641. Rapin's Hiſtory of England, vol. II. p. 277.

Ruſhworth's appendix, p. 59.

further conſideration for his impriſonment and perſonal ſufferings*." Mr. Pyncheon was a gentleman of learning as well as religion: he laid the foundation of Rockſbury, but ſoon removed to Connecticut river, and was the father of the town of Springfield, where his family have flouriſhed ever ſince. Mr. Roſſiter was a gentleman of a plentiful eſtate in the weſt of England, and died the firſt year. Mr. Sharp and Mr. Revel continued but a ſhort time in New England. Mr. Cradock was an eminent merchant in London, and carried on a trade in the colony many years, but never went over: he was more forward in advancing out of his ſubſtance than any other, and was generally the higheſt in all ſubſcriptions. Mr. Venn, commonly called colonel Venn, was in the deſign from the beginning, and intended to have removed to America; but was prevented by the change of affairs in England, where he made a conſiderable figure in the long parliament, and was one of the judges who paſſed ſentence on the King. Mr. Eaton was a weſt-country merchant, and his father was a miniſter in Coventry: he came to New England in 1637, and then ſettled New Haven colony, of which he was governor until his death. His correſpondence with the governor of the Maſſachuſets and the Dutch governor of Manhadoes, or New York, diſcover a good underſtanding and virtuous mind. Mr. Coddington was a Lincolnſhire gentleman, and zealous to a great degree: he was afterward the father of Rhode Iſland, where his zeal abated, and he promoted a general toleration: he was governor of that colony many years, and would gladly have joined in confederacy with the other Coloniſts, but was prevented by a difference in religious ſentiments. Mr. Bradſtreet was of Emanuel college in Cambridge, from whence he removed to the family of the Earl of Lincoln as his ſteward, and afterward he lived with the Counteſs of Warwick, in the ſame capacity: he married one of Mr. Dudley's daughters; and, after her death, a ſiſter of Sir George Downing.

Rapin, vol. II. p. 570.

1630. In April 1630, governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley, with Sir Richard Saltonſtal, and ſeveral other of their aſſiſtants, embarked at Yarmouth on board the Arabella; which ſhip was ſo called in honour of the Lady Arabella Johnſon, who, with her huſband, was on board of her; and they were accompanied, or followed, by ſixteen other ſhips from different ports, moſt of which arrived in New England in the month of July, and the others before the end of the year, carrying in all about fifteen hundred paſſengers, of all occupations proper for planting a new

Prince's Chron. p. 240.

* An elegant monument has lately been erected in the new chapel at Boſton in New England, to commemorate the character of this eminent patriot of the laſt century.

colony.

colony. A few days after their embarkation, a paper was publiſhed, intitled, "The humble requeſt of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, the governor and company lately gone for New England, to the reſt of their brethren in and of the church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of ſuſpicions and miſconſtructions of their intentions:" wherein they intreated their reverend fathers and brethren of the church of England, to recommend them to the mercies of God in their conſtant prayers, as a church then ſpringing out of their own bowels. This paper occaſioned a diſpute, whether the firſt ſettlers of the Maſſachuſets were of the church or not? However problematical it may be, what they were while they remained in England, they left no room for doubt after their arrival in America.

The Arabella arrived at Salem on the 12th of June, and the next morning the governor was viſited by Maſconomoco, the Sagamore of Cape Anne, to welcome him on his ſafe arrival; and the other ſhips alſo came ſafe to the ſame place. The common people immediately went aſhore, and regaled themſelves with ſtrawberries, which are very fine in America, and were then in perfection. This might give them a favourable idea of the produce of the country; but the gentlemen had ſufficient occaſion to be alarmed and filled with concern. The firſt intelligence they had, was of a general conſpiracy, a few months before, of all the Indians as far as Naraghanſet, to extirpate the Engliſh. Out of about three hundred perſons, upwards of eighty died in the colony the winter before, and many of thoſe that remained were in a weak ſickly condition. There was not corn enough to have laſted above a fortnight, and all other proviſions were ſo very ſcarce, that the one hundred and eighty indented ſervants which the gentlemen had ſent over, they could not avoid giving them all their liberty, though they coſt them from 16l. to 20l. ſterling a perſon. They had not above three or four months to look out proper places for ſettlements, and to provide ſhelter againſt the ſeverity of the winter. With this proſpect of difficulties, ſickneſs began among them; and as they were deſtitute of neceſſary accommodations, many of them died. Among others, the Lady Arabella Johnſon, who ended her days at Salem about a month after her arrival; and her huſband ſoon after died of grief for her loſs. Mr. Roſſiter, another of the aſſiſtants, was alſo among the dead, whoſe number before December amounted to about two hundred, including a few who died in their paſſage. Mr. Dudley obſerved to his friends in England, that "if any come to this ſettlement to plant for worldly ends that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will ſoon repent: people of England, who are endued with grace, and furniſhed with means to find their families

Letter dated March 28th, 1631.

milies for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come: In the beginning of our ſettlements, we had great ſickneſs and mortality, as well as the ſettlers of New Plymouth, which ſeemed to proceed from want of warm lodging and good diet; they who landed in ſummer died of fevers from the heats; they who landed in winter, as in New Plymouth, died of the ſcurvy."

Douglas, I. 427. Hutchinſon, p. 22.

The governor and ſome of the principal perſons diſliked their ſituation at Salem, and choſe to ſettle upon better land. They proceeded to the mouth of Charles River, farther up the bay, where ſome ſettled, and called it Charles Town; others ſettled at Sagus River, now Lynn; and ſome at Myſtic River, now Medford. One inſtance of the civility and juſtice of the planters to the Indians, was this, that, notwithſtanding the patent they had from the crown, they fairly purchaſed of the natives the ſeveral tracts of land which they afterward poſſeſſed. Indeed, the crown grants of land in America, ſeem rather to give a right of purchaſing, than a real right to the land, which certainly belongs to the natives.

C. Mather, B. I. p. 22. Neale, vol. I. p. 150.

Toward the latter end of the year, a part of the colony of Charles Town removed to a peninſula in the bottom of Maſſachuſets Bay, called Shawmut by the Indians; and by the Engliſh, on account of three contiguous hills appearing in a range to theſe at Charles Town, at firſt Tri-mountain, and afterwards Boſton, in compliment to Mr. Cotton, the puritan miniſter of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, of whoſe coming into thoſe parts they were in great expectation. This peninſula was the moſt commodiouſly ſituated for trade and commerce of any place in the country: It is about two miles in length, and one in breadth; appearing then, at high-water, in the form of two iſlands. Here they built the town of Boſton, now the metropolis of New England, and the largeſt city of all the Britiſh empire in America. From the obſervations of Mr. Thomas Robie, fellow of Harvard-college, made from an eclipſe of the moon on the 15th of March 1717, it appears to be in 42° 25′ of north-latitude, and weſt from London 4 h. 46′ which is weſt longitude 71° 30′. The town was firſt ſettled under the conduct of Mr. Johnſon, who ſatisfied Mr. Blaſton for his claim, which was that of prior poſſeſſion. He was an epiſcopal miniſter, of a particular humour, and claimed a property in the whole peninſula, becauſe he happened to ſleep firſt in a hovel on this point of land. He had not been a thorough conformiſt in England; but he was more diſſatisfied with the non-conformity of the new-comers, and told them, that as he came from England becauſe he diſliked the lord biſhops, ſo he could not join with them, becauſe he would not be under the lord-brethren. He had the grant of a conſider-

Oldmixon, I. p. 60. Neale, I. p. 150. Douglas, I. p. 427. Hutchinſon, p. 21.

able

able lot at the weſt-end of the town; but he choſe to quit all, and removed to the ſouthward, at or near what is ſince called Providence, where he lived many years.

Some ſettled from Charles Town weſtward at New Town and Water Town: others from Boſton ſettled two miles weſt ſouthward, and called it Rockſbury, becauſe rocky ground. A few ſettled four miles ſouth from Boſton, and called it Dorcheſter, all of which were chiefly weſt-countrymen: but Newbury was not ſettled until 1635. About one hundred perſons returned with the ſhips to England; and ſome libertines went to a ſmall ſettlement, which had been made at Piſcataqua, without this juriſdiction.

Mr. Nowel and thoſe of Charles Town, who had removed from Salem, at firſt conſidered themſelves as one ſettlement and one church with thoſe at Boſton, and had Mr. Wilſon for their miniſter, who went to England in the ſpring, when thoſe of Charles Town became a diſtinct church, and took Mr. James for their miniſter.

At theſe ſeveral places the whole company were ſettled for the firſt winter, and their out-door work was over on the 6th of December, when the governor and aſſiſtants met at Charles Town and agreed to fortify the neck between Boſton and Roxbury: but at another meeting, on the 21ſt, they laid that deſign aſide, and agreed on a place firſt called New Town, and afterward Cambridge, about three miles above Charles Town, and moſt of them engaged to build houſes there the next year, when the governor ſet up the frame of a houſe, which he ſoon took down, and carried it to Boſton; becauſe Chicketawbut, the chief of the Indians there, made high profeſſions of friendſhip, and rendered the deſign of a fortified town unneceſſary.

The coloniſts ſuſtained great hardſhips during the winter, and a general faſt was appointed to be held on the 22d of February 1631; but this intended faſt was turned into a thankſgiving; for, on the 5th, the ſhip Lion returned laden with proviſions from England, which were diſtributed to the people according to their neceſſities. The high price of proviſions this year in England, impoveriſhed the colony; for every buſhel of wheat meal coſt, including the freight, fourteen ſhillings ſterling; each buſhel of peaſe ten ſhillings; and Indian corn, imported from Virginia, ſold at ten ſhillings. Some were diſcouraged, and returned to England, particularly Sir Richard Saltonſtal and Mr. Thomas Sharpe, who never came back; but others, in hopes of better times, went over 1631.

to fetch their families and returned with them, in particular Mr. Wilſon and Mr. Coddington.

The ſcarcity of the former year excited the coloniſts to make the greater improvements by tillage, and they were bleſſed with a plentiful harveſt of Indian corn: but it was the year 1633, before they knew they ſhould be able to raiſe Engliſh grain, if we may credit Mr. Johnſon, who ſays, "This year a ſmall glean of rye was brought to the court as the firſt fruits of Engliſh grain; at which this poor people greatly rejoiced to ſee the land would bear it." Cattle were extremely dear, a great part of what had been ſhipped from England being dead, and a milch cow was valued at 25 *l.* to 30 *l.* ſterling.

So much of their attention was neceſſary to provide for their ſupport, that little buſineſs was done by the aſſiſtants, or by the general court; the removal of the charter occaſioned ſeveral new regulations to be made, which were ſettled by degrees. The firſt court of aſſiſtants was held at Charles Town, on the 23d of Auguſt, about two months after their arrival; when a beadle was appointed, as an officer of the corporation; and it was ordered, that the governor and deputy for the time being, ſhould be juſtices of the peace; and four of the then aſſiſtants were alſo appointed juſtices. All juſtices whatſoever were to have the ſame authority, for reformation of abuſes and puniſhing offenders, which juſtices had in England; but no corporal puniſhment to be inflicted except by an aſſiſtant. In capital offences, the governor and aſſiſtants ſat as a court, as well as in civil matters: and there was a trial by a jury for murder this year, when the priſoner was acquitted. The firſt general court was held the 19th of October; not by a repreſentative, but by every one in perſon, who was free of the corporation. As none had been admitted freemen ſince they left England, the governor and aſſiſtants had a great influence over the court: therefore it was ordered, that the freemen ſhould chuſe the aſſiſtants; and the aſſiſtants, from among themſelves, ſhould elect the governor and deputy-governor. The court of aſſiſtants were to have the power of making laws and appointing officers; which was a departure from their charter.

One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court; and the next general court was for the election of 1631. The ſcale was now turned, and the freemen reſolved to elect both governor, deputy, and aſſiſtants, notwithſtanding the former vote; and made an order, that none ſhould be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but ſuch as were members of the church. This was a moſt extraordinary order or law; yet

yet it continued in force until the diſſolution of the government; for it was repealed in appearance only after the reſtoration of King Charles the Second. Had they been deprived of their civil privileges in England by an act of parliament, unleſs they would join in communion with the churches there, it might have been the firſt in the liſt of grievances: but ſuch were the requiſites to qualify for church memberſhip here, that the grievance was abundantly more. The miniſter was to certify, that the candidates for freemen were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and converſations: ſo that none could be a freeman of that company, unleſs he was a church member among them. None had a vote in elections of governor, deputy, and aſſiſtants, nor could be magiſtrates, officers, or jurymen, grand or petit, but freemen; and the miniſters were intitled to give their votes in all elections of magiſtrates. Many of the coloniſts were not admitted members of their church; ſo were not freemen; therefore muſt be tried and judged by thoſe of the church, which was conſidered by ſome as a hardſhip. p. 26. Lechford.

The ſame governor, deputy-governor, and ſuch of the aſſiſtants of 1630, as were alive and in the colony, were re-elected for 1631: but this year, and this only, the aſſiſtants choſen are not in the colony records; yet here the old charter law-book begins. 1631. Hubbard.

The firſt law enacted, was for regulating the price of wages for workmen, under a penalty to him that gave, as well as to him who received, more than the limited price; ſuch as carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, ſawyers, and thatchers, not more than two ſhillings a day. They proceeded to other laws for puniſhing idleneſs, and encouraging induſtry: beſides, as they were ſurrounded with ſavages, much more numerous than themſelves, they obliged every man to attend military exerciſes; and limited the bounds of their plantations, that none might be unneceſſarily expoſed to the dangers of any enemy. In civil actions, equity ſeems to have been their rule of determining, according to the circumſtances of the caſe: the judges had recourſe to no other authorities than their own reaſon and underſtanding; and in puniſhing offences, they profeſſed to be governed by the judicial law of Moſes, as far as thoſe laws were of a moral tendency. Douglas, I. 427.

While they were thus without a code or body of laws, and the colony in its infancy, their ſentences ſeem to be adapted to the ſtate of a large family of children and ſervants, as may appear from ſeveral inſtances extracted from the public records, particularly the following: Captain Stone, for abuſing Mr. Ludlow, and calling him juſtaſs, was fined an

hundred pounds, and prohibited coming within the patent, without permiſſion from the governor, on pain of death. Captain Lovel was admoniſhed to take heed of light carriage. Daniel Clarke, found to be an immoderate drinker, was fined forty ſhillings: John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be ſet in the ſtocks: and Serjeant Perkins was ordered to carry 40 turfs to the fort, for being drunk. Robert Shorthoſe, for ſwearing by the blood of God, was ſentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft ſtick, and to ſtand for half an hour. A married woman was ſeriouſly admoniſhed on ſuſpicion of incontinency. Thomas Petit, for ſuſpicion of ſlander, idleneſs, and ſtubbornneſs, was cenſured to be ſeverely whipped, and to be impriſoned. Edward Palmer, for extortion, in taking 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* for the wood-work of Boſton ſtocks, was fined 5 *l.* and ordered to be ſet one hour in the ſtocks: and Joſias Plaiſtowe, for ſtealing four baſkets of corn from the Indians, was ordered to return them eight baſkets, to be fined 5 *l.* as alſo from that time to be called only Joſias, and not Mr. as formerly he uſed to be. They were very careful that no title or appellation ſhould be given where it was not due; therefore, not above ſix of the gentlemen aſſumed the title of Eſquire, and in a liſt of one hundred freemen are not to be found ſo many diſtinguiſhed by Mr. though they were generally men of property; but good-man and good-wife were the common appellations.

If we conſider the character of theſe new coloniſts, with the ſtate and condition they were in before they left England, and after their arrival in America, we may perceive the ſource of the peculiarities in their laws and cuſtoms. They were not only diſſatisfied with the ceremonies, but alſo with the rigid diſcipline, at that time, of the church of England; in which they were not ſingular; for the principal commoners, great part of the clergy, and many of the nobility, were of the ſame ſentiments. They muſt have very tender and ſcrupulous minds, or they would not have baniſhed themſelves from their native country, intimate friends, and old acquaintances, to venture upon a diſtant and unknown country, rather than ſubmit to any thing againſt their opinions and conſciences. They profeſſed a ſacred regard to the word of God in the Old and New Teſtament, as a ſufficient rule of conduct, and that they were obliged to follow it. They looked upon the obſervation of the firſt, as well as ſecond table, neceſſary to be enjoined; and, as the conſtitution of their churches would not admit of eccleſiaſtical courts, proviſion muſt be made for the puniſhment of ſome offences by the civil magiſtrate, which were not ſo by the common law. The generality of the colony being near upon a level, more than common proviſion was neceſſary to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to eſtabliſh and preſerve

ſerve an authority in the government; for although ſome among them had liberal or competent fortunes, yet in general their eſtates were ſmall and barely ſufficient to provide them houſes or neceſſary accommodations: therefore a contempt of authority was next to a capital offence; and as the country was new and uncultivated, the utmoſt induſtry, œconomy, and frugality were neceſſary to their ſubſiſtance; as alſo were laws, with heavy penalties, to compel the obſervance of them. In that branch of law eſpecially, which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of crown-law in England, they profeſſed to have no regard, as they intended to follow the plan of the Hebrew legiſlator, ſo far as they thought it obligatory upon all mankind. In many inſtances, they might not err in judgment as to the morality of actions: but their grand miſtake appears to lie in ſuppoſing certain natural puniſhments, in every ſtate, alike proportioned to ſome particular kind of offences, and which Moſes had obſerved: whereas ſuch puniſhments are and ought to be governed by the particular conſtitutions and circumſtances of the ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates where they are applied. If it is added, that they were at their full liberty, as the troubles in England took off from the colonies the attention of the government there; from all theſe circumſtances, it is not difficult to account for the peculiarities in the laws of the colony.

From the ſame prejudice in favour of Iſraelitiſh cuſtoms, a fondneſs aroſe, or at leaſt was increaſed, as to ſignificant names for children. The three firſt baptized in Boſton church were called Joy, Recompence, and Pity. The cuſtom ſpread; and the town of Dorcheſter was remarkable for ſuch names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependance, Preſerved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Hold-faſt, and ſuch others, which are ſtill retained by ſome families in remembrance of their anceſtors.

In Old England it is ſaid, a man may give his wife moderate correction, without expoſing himſelf to any penalty in the law: but the legiſlators of New England had more tender ſentiments of this happy ſtate, and a man who ſtruck his wife was liable to a fine of 10 *l.* or corporal puniſhment; alſo a woman who ſtruck her huſband was liable to the ſame penalties. They continued to make the ſame choice of magiſtrates for 1632, with the addition of Mr. John Humphreys, who 1632.
had been deputy-governor in England; as alſo of Mr. John Winthrop the governor's eldeſt ſon, who lately arrived, with ſome others of the family, and many paſſengers, among whom was Mr. John Elliot, who ſpent his firſt year at Boſton, and then ſettled with his friends at Roxbury. He has been eſteemed the apoſtle of the Indians, to whom he firſt

firſt preached the goſpel, and lived to ſee the ſucceſs of his labours in the converſion of many thouſands of them to Chriſtianity.

Neale, I. 151. Governor Winthrop and his paſtor Mr. Wilſon ſet out this ſpring from Boſton, and travelled on foot forty miles through the woods, as far as Plymouth, to ſettle a correſpondence between the two colonies. Governor Bradford received them with great honour and reſpect, and a laſting friendſhip was eſtabliſhed between them.

They were frequently alarmed this year by the Indians called Tarretines, or eaſtern Indians, who ſlew and carried away captive ſome of the Indians near Boſton; and alſo cut off a ſhaloop from Dorcheſter, with five men, whom they ſecretly murdered: while the Narraganſet Indians alſo diſturbed the coloniſts at Briſtol in New Plymouth. But Miantinomo, one of the Sachems of the Narraganſets, came to Boſton, to enter into a league of friendſhip with the colony.

The New England coloniſts had likewiſe ſome uneaſy apprehenſions from the French, who had been driven from their ſettlements in L'Acadie, or Nova Scotia, by Captain Argol from Virginia, in 1613. Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of it from King James I. in 1623, which was confirmed by King Charles I. in 1628: but Sir William ſold the property in 1631 to M. Claude de la Tour d'Aunay, a French proteſtant; and King Charles gave it up to France by treaty in 1632. This alarmed the governor and council at Boſton, who determined to finiſh a fort which was begun there, to build another at Nantaſket, and to haſten the ſettlement of Ipſwich, which was completed under the direction of Mr. Winthrop, the governor's ſon. This was ſeaſonably done, otherwiſe the French might have ſettled there; which might have induced the Dutch to have ſeated themſelves on Connecticut River. Whether the people of either nation would have perſevered is uncertain; but if they had done it, the late remarkable conteſt for the dominion of North America would probably have been between France and Holland; and the commerce of Great Britain would have borne a very indifferent proportion to that of the reſt of Europe from what it does at preſent.

The new coloniſts were alſo in perils from their own countrymen, particularly Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Captain Maſon, two of the council of Plymouth, who had expended large ſums to little purpoſe in attempts to ſettle colonies in New England; therefore they beheld the Maſſachuſets with an envious eye, and intended for themſelves all that part of the colony which lies to the eaſtward of Naumkeag. They joined with ſome other

other diſappointed perſons in a petition to the King againſt the company, which was heard before the privy-council, at Whitehall, on the 19th of January, 1632, when the council reprimanded the petitioners, and publiſhed an order for the encouragement of the adventurers. This order mentioned, among other particulars, that "their lordſhips finding they were upon the diſpatch of men, victuals, and merchandize for that place, all which would be at a ſtand if the adventurers ſhould have diſcouragement, or take ſuſpicion that the ſtate here had no good opinion of that plantation; their lordſhips not laying the faults of particular men upon the general government or principal adventurers, which in due time was further to be enquired into, had thought fit, in the mean time, to declare, That the appearances were ſo fair, and hopes ſo great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cauſe to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and reſt aſſured, if things were carried on as pretended, and as by the patents appointed, his Majeſty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges theretofore granted, but ſupply any thing farther that might tend to the good government, proſperity, and comfort of his people there."

In the fleet mentioned in this order there came over Mr. Thomas Hooker, Mr. John Cotton, and Mr. Samuel Stone, all remarkable non-conformiſt miniſters, who were followed by ſuch numbers from England, that it produced an order of the King in council, dated the 21ſt of February 1633, to ſtop the farther embarkation of paſſengers to the Colonies. This order ſeems to have been the effect of a new complaint by the former perſons: but when the whole matter was reported to the King by Sir Thomas Jermayne, his Majeſty ſaid, he would have ſuch ſeverely puniſhed as ſhould abuſe his governor and the plantation, whoſe defendants were aſſured, that his Majeſty did not intend to impoſe the ceremonies of the church of England upon them; for that it was conſidered, it was for the ſake of freedom from thoſe things that people went over there; and it is certain no farther ſtop was put to the emigration. 1633.

Mr. Cotton was ordained miniſter of Boſton, and the circumſtances and order of proceeding in his ordination were intended as a precedent, which the congregational churches in New England have generally conformed to ever ſince; and this gentleman appears to have been principally inſtrumental in the eſtabliſhment of their civil as well as eccleſiaſtical polity. He was fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and had been miniſter of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, from whence he fled to avoid the dreaded effects of an information againſt him in the high commiſſion court. Great interceſſion

interceſſion was made for him to Archbiſhop Laud by the Earl of Dorſet and other noblemen, but ſo much in vain, that the earl ſent the miniſter word, "If he had been guilty of drunkenneſs or uncleanneſs he might have found favour, but the ſin of puritaniſm was unpardonable."

1634. The coloniſts, in 1634, thought proper to give their governor ſome reſpite; therefore Mr. Dudley was choſen in his room, and Mr. Ludlow deputy-governor. About three hundred and ninety freemen were admitted, which occaſioned an alteration of the conſtitution; for at a general court twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as repreſentatives of the body of freemen; which was a thing of neceſſity, though no proviſion had been made for it in their charter. The people aſſerted their right to a greater ſhare in the government than had been formerly allowed them, and reſolved, that none but the general court had power to make and eſtabliſh laws, or to elect and appoint officers, to raiſe taxes, or to give and confirm lands or proprieties. They further determined, that there ſhould be four general courts held yearly, to be ſummoned by the governor, and not diſſolved without the conſent of the major part of the court: as alſo that it ſhould be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to chuſe two or three before every general court for their repreſentatives, in all affairs belonging to the commonwealth wherein the freemen had to act; the matter of election of magiſtrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman was to give his own voice. In this manner they ſettled the legiſlative body, which continued much the ſame as long as the charter exiſted, except an alteration in the number of general courts, which were ſoon reduced to two only in a year.

Maſſachuſet Records.

Mr. Roger Williams, miniſter of Salem, was baniſhed the colony for maintaining ſome ſingular opinions and exceptionable tenets; after which he removed ſouthward to look out for a new ſettlement among the Indians, and founded the new colony of Providence, of which he became patron and governor.

The freemen impoſed a fine upon the court of aſſiſtants for acting contrary to an order of the general court. They alſo called Governor Winthrop to an account, concerning his receipts and diſburſements for the public during his adminiſtration; but his conduct had been ſo irreproachable, that unleſs the oſtraciſm of the ancient Greeks had been revived in this new commonwealth, it was reaſonable to expect he ſhould be out of all danger of ſo much as the leaſt thought to his prejudice. He might have cancelled his book of accounts, and acted like Scipio Africanus, by giving the ungrateful populace this anſwer: "Your flouriſhing colony has

has been ſettled under my care; my own ſubſtance is exhauſted; ſpend no more time in harangues, but give thanks to God for your happy eſtabliſhment." However, he diſcharged himſelf with great honour, and concluded his declaration with this requeſt, that "as it ſtood upon record, that upon the diſcharge of his office he was called to account, ſo this his declaration might alſo be recorded; leſt thereafter, when he ſhould be forgotten, ſome blemiſh might lie upon his poſterity, when there ſhould be nothing to clear it." He was afterward frequently elected governor, and was remarkable for his charity to the poor. His ſon was very inſtrumental in procuring the Connecticut charter, and was annually choſen their governor during his life, and his grandſon was major-general and alſo chief-juſtice of the colony.

A great addition was made to the number of inhabitants in 1635, when Sir Henry Vane the younger arrived, attended with a fleet of twenty ſhips, well ſtored with goods and paſſengers. He was a warm nonconformiſt, and intended to begin a ſettlement upon the banks of the River Connecticut: but as the planters of the Maſſachuſets complimented him with their government, he reſolved to continue among them. He proved not ſo orthodox a governor as they expected, and was poſitive in adhering to his own opinions; therefore, at the next election, he was rejected, and Mr. Winthrop reſtored to the government; after which Sir Henry returned to England; and, as a profeſſed independent, joined with Oliver Cromwel to undermine the power of the Preſbyterians in 1645. He was executed on the reſtoration of Charles II. 1635. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 317. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 465. Whitlock, p. 693.

The project for a plantation upon Connecticut River was not dropt, though Sir Henry Vane did not proceed in it. This ſettlement was become the more neceſſary, becauſe the Pequot Indians began to grow very inſolent, and the building a fort there would make a good frontier on that ſide. Agents were ſent to view the country, who made ſuch an advantageous report of the fertility of the ſoil and largeneſs of the river as induced many of the planters, who began to be ſtraitened for room in the Maſſachuſet colony, to think of tranſplanting themſelves to Connecticut. Mr. Hooker, miniſter of New-town, put himſelf at the head of theſe new adventurers, who were about one hundred in number, and travelled there on foot, with their children and baggage. After a tedious journey of ten days, they pitched on the farther ſide of the river, and built the town of Hartford. They were followed by another draught from Dorcheſter, who built a little town, which they called Windſor. A third party went from Watertown, and built Weathersfield; while a fourth went from Roxbury, and built Springfield. They had a ſort of 1636.

commiſſion from the government of the Maſſachuſets Bay for the adminiſtration of juſtice, till they could make a more regular ſettlement. Some of them had ſettled within the Maſſachuſets juriſdiction; but thoſe who were out of it entered into a voluntary aſſociation, choſe magiſtrates, and made laws for themſelves, after the example of the colony from whence they iſſued; in which ſtate they continued until the reſtoration of King Charles II. when Mr. John Winthrop the younger obtained a royal charter incorporating Hartford and New Haven colonies into the united colony of Connecticut, of which he was governor fourteen years.

While the ſouth-weſt parts of New England were thus colonized, the north-eaſt parts of the country were alſo improved. There was an extenſive country beyond the line of the Maſſachuſets patent, where new ſettlements were attempted by ſome that were made uneaſy under the Maſſachuſets government, in the time of their antinomian quarrels; as alſo by others who had no other view but enriching themſelves by the fiſhing trade at ſea, and the beaver trade aſhore. Thus were the provinces of Eaſt Hampſhire and Main peopled, which continued a ſeparate government, until being wearied out with quarrels and diviſions among themſelves, they petitioned the general court of the Maſſachuſets Bay to be taken under their protection, and were accordingly received.

Such was the origin of the four principal colonies that were made in New England within the ſpace of ſeventeen years; but there was, however, another ſmall ſettlement made ſome time after in Rhode Iſland, upon the borders of the juriſdiction of New Plymouth, by the Antinomians baniſhed from the Maſſachuſets Bay, who obtained a charter for themſelves upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. and are ſtill a diſtinct government from the Maſſachuſets; but as the limits of their country are ſmall, they have no great influence on the grand colony, which was conſolidated in 1691, out of the old Maſſachuſets, New Plymouth, Main, and Acadia or Nova Scotia ſettlements, into the preſent colony of the Maſſachuſets Bay.

SECTION

SECTION II.

General ſtate of the colony in 1637. *Suppreſſion of the Pequots. Familiſtical and Antinomian controverſies. The firſt ſynod at Cambridge in New England: the nature and uſe of ſynods according to the principles of the Independents. The colonies of Rhode Iſland and New Haven founded and eſtabliſhed. Commiſſion from King Charles* I. *to Archbiſhop Laud and others for regulating the plantations in* 1638: *The Maſſachuſets addreſs to thoſe commiſſioners concerning the patent of the colony: Remarks: New ſettlements made. State of the country in* 1639. *The number of planters and paſſengers who arrived in New England before* 1640; *with remarks. Puritan miniſters there: the flouriſhing condition of the Maſſachuſets in* 1641. *New ſettlements made: Growth of the colony at different periods: Reſolve of the Houſe of Commons in favour of the Maſſachuſets colony in* 1642. *The diviſion of the colony into four townſhips in* 1643: *The townſhips in each county: Remarks on them. The union of the four grand colonies of New England; with remarks. Order of the general court, in* 1644, *relative to the civil war in England. The town of Eaſt Ham built. The Narraganſets ſubmit in* 1645. *Colony diſputes: the Hingham petition: Mr. Winthrop's ſpeech: The petitioners carry their complaint to England. Proportional aids of the four colonies in* 1647. *Remarks on the civil war in England, and its effect on the Colonies in* 1648. *Governor Winthrop's death in* 1649.

THE Indians had upon ſeveral occaſions expreſſed a diſſatisfaction againſt the coloniſts of Maſſachuſets and Connecticut; and the ſettlement at Plymouth had ſometimes been diſturbed by them after the death of Maſſaſoit. The Engliſh ſtill obſerved the defenſive part, more for the advantage of trade with the Indians, than out of fear of their power; for by this time there were about three thouſand Engliſh planters and heads of families in the four colonies; ſo that there muſt have been at leaſt twenty thouſand inhabitants; of which one thouſand, properly armed and diſciplined, were ſufficient to ſuppreſs any Indian enemies. The Pequots had been at war not only with the Narraganſets, but alſo with the Dutch, who had poſſeſſed and planted the country now called New York; and theſe wars prevented them from diſturbing the Engliſh a conſiderable time. At laſt they turned their force againſt the Engliſh, upon whom they committed ſome murders and ſeveral depredations. The governor and council at Boſton ſent Captain Endicot with one hundred men to demand the murderers: He was followed by one hundred men from 1637.

Connecticut, under Captain Maſon; and they invaded the Pequot country, where they deſtroyed about five hundred Indians, with inconſiderable loſs on their own ſide. They alſo took about two hundred women and children priſoners, who were divided, ſome to the Connecticut colony, and the others to the Maſſachuſets: the boys were ſent to Bermudas and ſold for ſlaves; but the women and girls were diſperſed in ſeveral towns. The name of their ſachem was Saſſacus, who fled for protection to the Iroquois, by whom he was put to death, and his people either ſubmitted to the Engliſh, or abandoned their country, which became ſo much a kind of province to the conquerors, that they diſpoſed of the lands as they thought proper, and the Pequot tribe was wholly extinguiſhed: but while the troops were thus employed abroad, the commonwealth was almoſt torn in pieces by inteſtine diviſions at home.

Mr. Winthrop was choſen governor and Mr. Dudley deputy-governor for 1637; but not without a warm contention among the people, who were unhappily engaged in their Familiſtical and Antinomian controverſies; of which thoſe who are deſirous to have a particular account of ſuch tranſactions, may have full ſatisfaction in the eccleſiaſtical writers of the New England hiſtory. The factions became general; ſome for the covenant of grace, and others for the covenant of works. At laſt a ſynod was held at Cambridge of all the churches in the country, to give their judgments upon the controverted points; and as this was the firſt ſynod of New England, it is neceſſary here to explain the nature and uſe of ſynods, according to the principles of the independents.

C. Mather, b. vii. 17. Neale, I. 187.

A ſynod, with them, is not neceſſary to the exiſtence of a church; but is only to be called on ſpecial occaſions, for giving advice and counſel in caſes of difficulty. It conſiſts of the miniſters and lay meſſengers of the ſeveral churches, choſen from among themſelves, whoſe buſineſs is to debate and determine the ſeveral matters brought before them, and then to preſent them to the reſpective churches for their approbation, without which they are of no force. No ſynod is allowed a power to paſs church cenſures upon perſons, or put forth any act of authority, juriſdiction, or diſcipline; but only to declare their ſentiments, and give their advice. In fact, an independent ſynod is only a council to the ſeveral churches, aſſembled upon proper occaſions, not to make laws and decrees to bind men upon pain of excommunication or deprivation, but to adviſe them how to act under their preſent difficulties; and if a church or private perſon refuſes to hearken to their advice, the laſt remedy is to declare they will hold no longer communion with them. The magiſtrates have power to call a ſynod when the good of the community requires it; and may

ſend

ſend to the churches, to commiſſion their elders and meſſengers to meet together, and aſſiſt them with their advice; but if the magiſtrate neglects, or is of a different religion, any particular church may ſend to the others, and deſire their advice in the ſame way.

The ſynod continued three weeks: the Antinomian tenets, and ſeveral other new opinions, were condemned as contrary to the word of God. Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinſon were baniſhed for maintaining thoſe errors; the former afterward returned and was miniſter of Hampton; but the latter, with fifteen of her family, were maſſacred by the Indians in the Dutch territories, which ſhe had choſen for a retreat. A great number of perſons removed out of the juriſdiction, ſome being baniſhed and others disfranchiſed. Theſe purchaſed the iſland of Aquetnet from the Indian ſachems in 1638, and called it Rhode Iſland, where they eſtabliſhed a flouriſhing colony in 1644, which they extended upon the continent, by purchaſing a tract of land near Patuxet River, in Plymouth colony, where they built the towns of Providence and Warwick; for all which they obtained a charter of King Charles II. in 1663; and to this day, Rhode Iſland, with Providence and its appurtenances, remains a diſtinct government, by the title of the "Governor and Company of the Engliſh Colony of Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations in New England, in America."

This year two large ſhips from England arrived at Boſton with many paſſengers, among whom were Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two London merchants, who could not be perſuaded to ſettle in the juriſdiction, and removed to Quinnipiac, where they founded the colony of New Haven. They agreed among themſelves upon a model of government in church and ſtate, very like to that of the Maſſachuſets, and after the manner of thoſe of Connecticut: they continued a diſtinct colony and government until 1665, when King Charles II. united the two colonies under one governor, and New Haven became only a county inſtead of a colony.

The clamour was revived in England againſt the American Colonies, and the King granted a commiſſion for regulating the plantations to William, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; Richard, Archbiſhop of York; Richard Earl of Portland, High-treaſurer of England; Henry Earl of Manchеſter, Keeper of the Privy-ſeal; Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surry, Earl-marſhal of England; Edward Earl of Dorſet, Chamberlain to the Queen; Francis Lord Cottington, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer; Thomas Edmunds, Knight, Treaſurer of the Houſehold; 1638.

John

John Cook, Knight, and Francis Windebank, Principal Secretaries of State.

Archbiſhop Laud kept a jealous eye over New England, and one Burdett, of Piſcataqua, was his correſpondent, who informed his Grace, that "it was not new diſcipline that was aimed at in New England, but ſovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treaſon, in their general court, to ſpeak of appeals to the King." A *Quo warranto* had been brought by the attorney-general, in England, againſt the corporation of the Maſſachuſets; but the judgment was not formally entered. There was, however, an order of the King in council, dated the 3d of May, 1637, that the attorney-general be required to call for the patent of the Maſſachuſets; and Mr. Winthrop received a letter in 1638, from Mr. Meautis, clerk of the council, accompanied with an order from the lords of the council, of April the 4th, 1638, "requiring the governor, or any other perſon who ſhould have the letters-patent in their cuſtody, to tranſmit the ſame by the return of the ſhip which carried the order; and in caſe of contempt, their lordſhips would move his Majeſty to reaſſume the whole plantation into his hands." An anſwer was drawn up and tranſmitted, as appears by the files of the court. It was an addreſs of the general court "to the Lords Commiſſioners for Foreign Plantations," and intitled, "The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Maſſachuſets in New England, at a General Court there aſſembled, the 6th Day of September, in the 14th year of the Reign of our ſovereign Lord King Charles," wherein they profeſſed, "that they were ready to yield all due obedience to his Majeſty, and to their lordſhips under him; in which mind they left their native country, and according thereto had been their practice ever ſince; ſo as they were much grieved that their lordſhips ſhould call in their patent, there being no cauſe known to them, nor any delinquency or fault of theirs expreſſed in the order ſent to them for that purpoſe, their government being according to his Majeſty's grant, and they not anſwerable for any defects in other plantations. That this was what his Majeſty's ſubjects there believed and profeſſed, and thereupon they were all humble ſuitors to their lordſhips, that they would be pleaſed to take into further conſideration their condition, and to afford them the liberty of ſubjects, that they might know what was laid to their charge, and have leave and time to anſwer for themſelves, before they were condemned as a people unworthy of his Majeſty's favour or protection. That as for the *quo warranto* mentioned in the order, they aſſured their lordſhips they were never called to anſwer to it; and if they had, they doubted not but they had a ſufficient plea to put in. That they came into theſe remote parts with his Majeſty's licence and encouragement; and, in

in the confidence they had of that aſſurance, they had tranſported their families and eſtates, and there had built and planted, to the great enlargement and ſecuring of his Majeſty's dominions in thoſe parts; ſo if their patent ſhould be taken from them, they ſhould be looked on as renegadoes and outlawed, and ſhould be forced either to remove to ſome other place, or to return into their native country again; either of which would put them to unſupportable extremities; and theſe evils, among others, would neceſſarily follow: 1. Many thouſand ſouls would be expoſed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men. 2. If they were forced to deſert that place, the reſt of the plantations being too weak to reſiſt alone, would, for the moſt part, diſſolve and go with them; and then the whole country would fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, who would ſpeedily embrace ſuch an opportunity. That if they ſhould loſe all their labour and coſts, and be deprived of thoſe liberties which his Majeſty had granted them, and nothing laid to their charge, nor any failing to be found in them in point of allegiance, it would diſcourage all men from the like undertakings upon confidence of the royal grant. Laſtly, If their patent was taken from them, the common people there would conceive his Majeſty had caſt them off, whereby they were freed from their allegiance and ſubjection, and thereupon would be ready to confederate themſelves under a new government, for their neceſſary ſafety and ſubſiſtence, which would be of dangerous example to other plantations, and perilous to themſelves, of incurring his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, which they would by all means avoid. That upon theſe conſiderations they renewed their ſupplications to their lordſhips, that they might be ſuffered to live in that wilderneſs, and that this poor plantation, which had found more favour from God than many others, might not find leſs favour from their lordſhips; that their liberties ſhould not be reſtrained, when others were enlarged; that the door ſhould not be kept ſhut unto them, while it ſtood open to all other plantations; that men of ability ſhould not be debarred from them while they gave encouragement to other colonies. That they dared not queſtion their lordſhips proceedings; they only deſired to open their griefs where the remedy was to be expected: If in any thing they had offended his Majeſty and their lordſhips, they humbly proſtrated themſelves at the footſtool of ſupreme authority; but let them be made the object of his Majeſty's clemency, and not cut off from all hope of favour, in their firſt appeal. Thus, with their earneſt prayers to the King of kings for long life and proſperity to his ſacred Majeſty and his royal family, and for all honour and welfare to their lordſhips, they humbly took leave *."

* This is a true copy compared with the original on file, as atteſted by Edward Rawſon, ſecretary: but the records of the ſeſſion take no notice of it.

It

It was never known how this anſwer was received; but it is certain, that no further demand was made; and ſoon after moſt of the lords of the council loſt their authority. Allegiance in an Engliſh-born ſubject is ſaid to be perpetual, and to accompany him wherever he goes: but if their charter had been taken way at this time, the body of the people would have abandoned the country, and either have incorporated with the Dutch, or ſought a *vacuum domicilium*, a favourite expreſſion with them, in ſome part of the globe, where they would, according to their apprehenſions, have been free from the controul of any European power.

The ſettlements were extended this year beyond Merrimack River; and many of the inhabitants of Lynn removed to Long Iſland, where they obtained a ſettlement from Lord Stirling; but were ſoon diſturbed by the Dutch. Some other ſettlements were intended to be formed, independent of the eſtabliſhed colonies. This humour, however, was of no long continuance; for in a few years all the colonies found an union or confederacy neceſſary for their defence, not only againſt the Indians, but againſt the French and Dutch; ſo that there could be no encouragement for ſmall bodies of men to ſit down any where, independent or unconnected. All that had begun any ſettlements between the Maſſachuſets and the Dutch, joined with Connecticut or New Haven, except the Rhode-Iſlanders, who were covered by the other colonies; and all to the eaſtward applied to the Maſſachuſets that they might incorporate with them.

The year 1638 was memorable for a great earthquake throughout New England; it happened on the ſecond of June, and was a remarkable æra; for, ſo long after the earthquake, was an expreſſion common
1639. with the people of New England many years. In 1639, the former governor, deputy and aſſiſtants, were continued. The primary views, in their removal from England, were certainly the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. What the planters brought with them, conſiſted principally of materials for their buildings, neceſſary tools for huſbandry, ſtock for their farms, and clothing for their families. Little is ſaid of trade for the firſt ſeven years, except an inconſiderable traffic with the natives by barter of toys and cloth, in exchange for furs and ſkins: but the people in general were ſoon diſpoſed to agriculture, and to bring under improvement ſuch quantities of land as would afford them neceſſary ſupport. In a few years, the land produced more than was conſumed by the coloniſts, who ſent the overplus to the Weſt Indies, and the Wine Iſlands, from whence returns were made in the produce of thoſe countries, or in bullion; the moſt of which, together with the furs procured from

from the natives, went to England, to pay for the manufactures continually neceſſary from thence. As hands could be ſpared from huſbandry, and labour in providing their houſes, they were taken off; ſome employed in ſawing boards, ſplitting ſtaves, ſhingles and hoops; others in the fiſhery; and thoſe who were capable, in building ſmall veſſels for the fiſhery, coaſting, and foreign trade. Thus gradually and inſenſibly they ſeem to have fallen into that traffic moſt natural to the country, and adapted to their peculiar circumſtances, without any premeditated ſcheme or projection for ſo ſalutary a purpoſe or conſtitutional view. Laws were enacted to encourage the fiſhery; as alſo ſumptuary laws for the reſtriction of exceſs in apparel and other inadequate expences: a ſpirit of induſtry and frugality became prevalent; and this has been called among them the golden age, in which religion and virtue were eminently diſplayed.

In 1640, Mr. Dudley was governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy-governor: Mr. Winthrop, the former governor, was one of the aſſiſtants; and the others the ſame as the laſt year. The civil war which broke out in England between the king and parliament, put a ſtop to the further increaſe of the colonies of New England; for the ſtar-chamber and the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion court being put down, and the epiſcopal power eclipſed, the Puritans were made eaſy at home, and thought no more of tranſporting themſelves to foreign parts. 1640.

The number of planters that arrived in New England before the year 1640, are computed at about four thouſand, who diſperſed themſelves in different parts of the country, and laid the foundations of the ſeveral towns and villages in it. The whole number of paſſengers that arrived are computed at twenty-one thouſand two hundred, men, women, and children; of whom about ſeven thouſand were now able to bear arms. This ſudden check upon colonization had a ſurprizing effect on the price of cattle; for as the inhabitants multiplied, the price of cattle was advanced, but fell at once this year from 25 *l.* to 5 *l.* It was computed they had twelve thouſand neat cattle, and not above three thouſand ſheep in the colony.

New England was in a flouriſhing condition at the beginning of the civil war in Old England, and continued ſo during thoſe internal commotions. The coloniſts had ſettled and planted about fifty towns and villages, erected forty churches, more than that number of miniſters houſes, a caſtle, forts, priſons, a college, public roads, and all at their own charge, without any public aſſiſtance. The planters had erected com- 1641.

modious houſes, with gardens, orchards, and incloſed grounds, for agriculture. The merchants had convenient warehouſes, ports, wharfs, ſhips, boats, and mariners; the tradeſmen, ſhops and work-houſes; and there was a face of buſineſs in every part of the colony.

Some of the gentlemen returned to England, and ſerved the parliament in the time of the civil war; particularly Edward Winſlow, Eſq. who was one of the commiſſioners of the navy; Edward Hopkins, Eſq. who was one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty; George Downing, afterwards Sir George Downing; and ſome others of conſequence. Some of the miniſters alſo returned, among whom was Mr. Hugh Peters of Salem, who was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and was executed as a regicide in 1660. So that the New England colonies, inſtead of having any acceſſion from the mother-country, evidently decreaſed for the next twenty years, until the perſecution of the Diſſenters, in the reign of King Charles the Second, turned the tide again.

The difficulties particular perſons were under, and the difference of ſentiment upon private affairs, had an influence upon the public tranſactions, which was remarkable even in the election of magiſtrates. Mr. Bellingham was choſen governor, in oppoſition to Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor: but it was diſputed whether they had the majority, and it was ſome time before either of them were admitted to their places. The choice appears to have been diſagreeable to the general court; and the firſt order they made, was to repeal a ſtanding law for allowing one hundred pounds annually to the governor.

The plantation at Springfield, upon Connecticut River, returned to the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſets; and the ſettlers at Piſcataqua alſo ſubmitted to the ſame government. The Maſſachuſets, by thus extending its wing over the inhabitants of New Hampſhire, nouriſhed and cheriſhed them for almoſt forty years; to which muſt be attributed the growth and flouriſhing ſtate of that colony.

Mather, b. vi. p. 54.

1642. Mr. Winthrop was elected governor, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor, in 1642; about which time Mr. Thomas Mayhew obtained a grant of Capewock, or Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth's Iſles, where he formed ſettlements, and made no leſs than three thouſand Chriſtian converts of adult Indians. Theſe Iſlands were for ſome time after annexed to the government of New York, by the name of Duke's-county; but by the charter granted to the colony of the Maſſachuſets Bay, in 1691, they are expreſsly annexed to that colony.

There

There was a general deſign this year, among the Indians, againſt the Engliſh; of which Miantinomo, the Sachem of the Naraganſets, was ſuppoſed to be the principal promoter, and to have drawn ſome other Sachems to join with him: but proper precautions were taken, and the inſurrection immediately ſuppreſſed.

The growth of the ſeveral parts of the colony, at different periods, are worth obſervation, from the tax apportioned this year as following: Hingham 20 *l.* Weymouth 14 *l.* Braintree 14 *l.* Dorcheſter 58 *l.* 10 *s.* Roxbury 50 *l.* Boſton 120 *l.* Dedham and Concord 25 *l.* Water Town 55 *l.* Cambridge 67 *l.* 10 *s.* Charles Town 60 *l.* Salem 75 *l.* Lynn 45 *l.* Ipſwich 82 *l.* Newbury 30 *l.* Saliſbury 12 *l.* 10 *s.* Hampton 5 *l.* Rowley 15 *l.* Sudbury 15 *l.* Medford 10 *l.* and Glouceſter 6 *l.* 10 *s.*

The houſe of commons in England this year paſſed a memorable reſolve in favour of the Maſſachuſets colony, exonerating them from all cuſtoms or duties on goods exported to, or imported from England; which was tranſmitted to the governor by the clerk of the houſe, and ordered by the court to be entered upon the public records, that it might remain to poſterity: this reſolve alſo contained an acknowledgment that the New England ſettlements had been made without any public expence to the ſtate.

About this time, letters came to Mr. Cotton of Boſton, Mr. Hooker of Hertford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, ſigned by the Earl of Warwick and ſeveral other of the nobility, by Oliver Cromwell and many other members of the houſe of commons, and ſome church miniſters, to come over and aſſiſt them in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter: but other letters were ſoon after received, which prevented them from any thoughts of proceeding therein.

The governor and deputy-governor for the laſt year were re-elected in 1643, when the colony was ſo increaſed, that it was divided into the four counties or ſhires of Eſſex, Middleſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. The county of Eſſex contained the towns of Salem, Lynn, Wenham, Ipſwich, Rowley, Newbury, Glouceſter, and Chochichawick: In the county of Middleſex were the towns of Charles Town, Cambridge, Water Town, Sudbury, Concord, Wooburn, Medford, and Lynn village: the county of Suffolk had the towns of Boſton, Roxbury, Dorcheſter, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, and Hull: and in the county of Norfolk were the towns of Saliſbury, Hampton, Haveril, Exeter, Dover, and Portſmouth. 1643.

Theſe townſhips, or diſtricts of lands, may be diſtinguiſhed into four ſorts: 1. Incorporated townſhips, which are ſerved with precepts; and generally ſend repreſentatives. 2. Incorporated townſhips, alſo ſerved with precepts, but ſend no repreſentatives in general. 3. Townſhips incorporated, but in expreſs words debarred from ſending repreſentatives. 4. Townſhips or diſtricts granted to a number of proprietors: but as the conditions of the grant, particularly the ſettling of a certain number of families in a limited ſpace of time, were not fully performed, they were not then qualified to be conſtituted, by act of aſſembly, with all town privileges.

Douglas, I. p. 503.

Ibid. 513. The townſhips were generally granted in value of ſix miles ſquare, to be divided into ſixty-three equal lots; one lot for the firſt ſettled miniſter, as inheritance; one lot for the miniſtry, as glebe-lands; one lot for the benefit of a ſchool; and the other ſixty lots, to ſixty perſons or families, who ſhould, within five years from the grant, erect a dwelling-houſe of ſeven feet ſtud, and eighteen feet ſquare, with ſeven acres cleared and improved, fit for mowing or ploughing; to erect a houſe for public worſhip in five years, and maintain an orthodox miniſter. Every townſhip of fifty houſeholders or upwards to be conſtantly provided with a ſchool-maſter, to teach children and youth to read and write, under penalty of twenty pounds a year for neglect: as alſo, if conſiſting of one hundred houſeholders or upwards, they were to maintain a grammar-ſchool; the penalty was one hundred pounds a year, if conſiſting of one hundred and fifty families; forty pounds, if of two hundred families; and higher penalties according to that rate.

In each townſhip were conſtituted certain town-officers, to be elected at a town-meeting annually in March; ſuch as, a town-clerk; ſeven ſelect-men; a town-treaſurer; twelve overſeers of the poor; ſeven aſſeſſors; ten firewards; five ſealers of leather; ſix fence-viewers; a ſurveyor of hemp; informers of deer; hay-ward; ten cullers of ſtaves; ten viewers of boards and ſhingles; four hog-reeves; twelve clerks of the market; two aſſay-maſters; ſix collectors of taxes; and twelve conſtables.

Sometimes portions of adjoining townſhips were incorporated into a pariſh or precinct, by acts of aſſembly, for the better conveniency of attending divine ſervice: but in all other reſpects, except in miniſterial rates, they belonged to their original townſhips. Any man rateable for twenty pounds principal eſtate to the province-tax, poll not included, was qualified to vote in town-meetings, except in the choice of repreſentatives,

ſentatives, which required a qualification of forty ſhillings a year freehold, or forty pounds ſterling perſonal eſtate.

The dangers to which the colonies in New England were expoſed, from domeſtic and foreign enemies, firſt induced them to think of an alliance and confederacy, for their mutual ſafety and defence. Thoſe of Aquidnick, or Rhode Iſland, were deſirous to join with the others; but the Maſſachuſets refuſed to admit commiſſioners from that colony, to treat upon the terms of agreement with the other commiſſioners. The other four colonies entered into a confederate union, after the manner of the Seven United Provinces of the Dutch Republic in Europe, and an inſtrument was drawn up for that purpoſe, intitled, "Articles of confederation betwixt the plantations under the government of the Maſſachuſets, the plantations under the government of Plymouth, the plantations under the government of Connecticut, and the government of New Haven, with the plantations in combination therewith." This inſtrument conſiſted of twelve articles, whereby it was agreed, I. That the four juriſdictions ſhould thenceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England. II. That the ſaid United Colonies, for themſelves and their poſterity, entered into a firm and perpetual league of friendſhip and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and ſuccour. III. That the plantations which were or ſhould be ſettled, ſhould have peculiar juriſdiction among themſelves as entire bodies; provided that no other juriſdiction ſhould be taken in as a diſtinct head or member; nor ſhould any other plantation or juriſdiction be received, nor any two of their confederates join in one juriſdiction, without the conſent of the reſt. IV. That the charge of all wars, offenſive or defenſive, ſhould be borne in proportion to the number of male inhabitants between ſixteen and ſixty years of age in each colony; and according to the different charge of each juriſdiction, the whole advantage ſhould be proportionably divided among the confederates. V. That upon notice from three magiſtrates of any colony, of an invaſion, the reſt ſhould immediately ſend aſſiſtance. VI. That two commiſſioners ſhould be choſen out of each of the four juriſdictions, to examine and determine upon all affairs of war or peace, not intermeddling with the government of any of the juriſdictions; but if theſe eight commiſſioners ſhould not agree, any ſix ſhould have power to ſettle and determine the buſineſs in queſtion; and if ſix could not agree, then their buſineſs was to be referred to the four general courts of the reſpective provinces: that theſe eight commiſſioners ſhould meet once every year to treat of all affairs; the meetings to be held in rotation, at Boſton, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth. That all matters wherein ſix agreed ſhould be binding upon the whole; and upon a majority

a majority under ſix, the matter to be referred to the general court of each colony, and not to be obligatory unleſs the whole agreed to it. VII. That for preſerving order, a preſident ſhould be choſen by the commiſſioners out of their number every year. VIII. That the commiſſioners ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh agreements and orders, in general caſes of a civil nature, for preſerving peace among themſelves, and preventing all occaſions of war or differences with others. IX. That no colony ſhould engage in war but upon a ſudden exigency; in which caſe, it was to be avoided as much as poſſible, without conſent of the whole. X. That, on extraordinary occaſions, four of the commiſſioners ſhould have power to direct war, which could not be delayed, and to ſend for due proportions of men out of each juriſdiction, as well as ſix might do, if all met. XI. That if any of the confederates ſhould break theſe articles, the injury ſhould be conſidered and ordered by the commiſſioners for the other juriſdictions, that both peace and this confederation might be inviolably preſerved. XII. That this perpetual confederation being conſidered both by the general court of the Maſſachuſets, and the commiſſioners for the three other colonies, was confirmed by the Maſſachuſets, Connecticut,
1643. and New Haven on the 19th of May, 1643, and alſo by Plymouth on the 7th of September following.

This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England from its inſtitution until the reſtoration; and this union ſubſiſted, with ſome alterations, until the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commiſſion from King James II.

From the time of this confederacy, the four reſpective colonies of New England are to be looked upon as one general body, relative to all the public tranſactions with their neighbours; though the private affairs of each province were managed by magiſtrates and courts of their own. For many years, commiſſioners met annually in September, and occaſionally at other times; but in the latter part of the union, the meetings were triennial. A ſpecial and principal part of their buſineſs, after the firſt years, was the goſpelizing the Indians; and the ſociety eſtabliſhed by the parliament for propagating the goſpel in New England among the Indians, made the commiſſioners their correſpondents and agents; which powers and truſt were continued after the grant of a new charter by King Charles II. and a particular account of all their proceedings in this capacity are preſerved in their records.

1644. Mr. Endicot was this year choſen governor, and Mr. Winthrop deputy-governor. The general court ſhewed a prudent compliance with the powers

powers prevailing in England, and paſſed an order for maintaining peace in the colony: and when the dependance of a colony is truly conſidered, nothing leſs is ordinarily to be expected, than an acquieſcence under every alteration of government in the mother-country.

As the Indians were daily acquiring the uſe of fire-arms, the commiſſioners paſſed an act, that no perſon within any of the United Colonies ſhould ſell any kind of arms or ammunition to an Indian, under penalty of twenty for one; nor any ſmith, or other perſon, mend any gun or other weapon for an Indian, under the like penalty.

Some of the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth removed to a tract of land near the promontory of Cape Cod, and built the town of Eaſt Ham.

Mr. Dudley was choſen governor, and Mr. Winthrop deputy-governor for 1645. The commiſſioners aſſembled at Boſton, to terminate the differences between the Sachems of Narraganſet and Mohegin; which was enforced by ordering three hundred men to be raiſed and march againſt the Narraganſets, who intended ſuddenly to break out againſt the Engliſh, but were now intimidated, and ſubmitted to pacific terms. 1645.

Though the public peace of the Indians was preſerved, the commonwealth was in diſorder from inteſtine commotions. The inhabitants of Hingham, in the county of Suffolk, quarrelled about the election of their chief military officer, and Mr. Deputy Winthrop would have compelled the rioters to give bond to appear at the quarter-court, which they refuſed, and he committed them to priſon for contempt of government. The majority of the town were inflamed at the impriſonment of their friends, and ſigned a petition to the general court for a free hearing, and freedom of ſpeech to plead their common liberties.

The court and great part of the country were much offended at this petition; and a declaration was publiſhed by order of court, in anſwer to the petition, and in vindication of the government; which was a proceeding derogatory to the honour of the ſupreme authority. The petitioners were ſummoned before the court, impriſoned, and fined for ſeditious and contemptuous expreſſions. Mr. Winthrop was obliged by the party to anſwer in public to the complaints againſt him, to which he conſented, although he ſhewed them how unreaſonable it was to call a governor to account during the time of his adminiſtration. He came down from the bench, pleaded his cauſe at the bar, was honourably acquitted, and

C. Mather, b. ii. p. 13.

and resumed his seat on the bench, where he addressed the assembly on the impropriety of licentiously obstructing the regular course of government.

The court and people were so entirely satisfied with this conduct of Mr. Winthrop, and overcome with his condescension, that they chose him governor of the province every year after, as long as he lived. The petitioners carried their complaint to England, with a petition to the parliament, that they might enjoy the liberties of Englishmen; and added to their prayer, that the petition they had presented to the court at Boston might be considered; as also that certain constitutional queries might be resolved.

Mr. Peters and Mr. Weld were dismissed from the agency in England, to which Mr. Winslow was appointed; who, by his prudent management, prevented any prejudice to the colony from such applications.

1646. As Mr. Winthrop was governor in 1646, Mr. Dudley was deputy-governor; and they were both continued as such to the two following years.

1647. Records of the United Colonies. The number of males in each of the four colonies was carried in to the commissioners, to proportion the sum of 1043 *l.* 10 *s.* 1 *d.* expended for the general service; when it appeared, that the Massachusets proportion of the sum was 670 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* Plymouth's 128 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Connecticut's 140 *l.* 2 *s.* 5 *d.* and New Haven's 104 *l.* 11 *s.*

1648. The civil war had continued some years in England; nor was it terminated until episcopacy was abolished and monarchy destroyed. All the American plantations, except Virginia, inclined to the parliament, and particularly the colonies of New England, because the bishops had been their implacable enemies, and driven them out of the kingdom. One part of the quarrel between the king and parliament was the same for which the colonists abandoned England; therefore the people of New England were attached to the parliamentary interest, which was their own: But although the New England colonies were on the side of the parliament, they were incapable of giving them assistance; and, as spectators at a distance, enjoying all the blessings of peace and plenty, they only heard of the calamities in which their native country was involved.

1649. Mr. Winthrop, the father of the country, died this year, in the sixty-third year of his age, and his death caused a general grief through the colony.

colony. Mr. Endicot ſucceeded him in the place of governor, and Mr. Dudley took the place of deputy-governor. They joined with the other aſſiſtants in an aſſociation againſt wearing long hair; for the rule in New England was, that none ſhould wear their hair below their ears; and it was deemed a greater offence in the clergy, who were eſpecially required to go *patentibus auribus*. Thus, in every age, indifferent things have been condemned as ſinful, and placed among the greateſt immoralities.

SECTION III.

Affairs with the Dutch and French in 1650. *Harvard College incorporated. The firſt proceedings for propagating the Goſpel among the Indians: The Society incorporated for that purpoſe in England. Petition from the general court of the Maſſachuſets Bay to the parliament of England againſt a new patent: and their letter to the Lord-general Cromwell againſt inviting the Coloniſts to remove to Ireland in* 1651. *The province of Main united to the Maſſachuſets in* 1652: *A mint erected at Boſton for coinage of money. Mr. Dudley dies in* 1653. *Mr. Bellingham choſen governor, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor, in* 1654: *Addreſs of the general court to Oliver Cromwell. Mr. Winſlow dies in* 1655: *Cromwell's views in America: Separation of the Anabaptiſts. The perſecution of the Quakers in* 1656: *its prevention by King Charles* II. *in* 1661. *Remarks thereon.*

1650. A Controverſy which had long ſubſiſted between the colony of New Haven and the Dutch at the Manhados, was ſettled by the commiſſioners of the United Colonies in 1650, when Mr. Endicot was again choſen governor of the Maſſachuſets.

Propoſals were made in 1648 to Monſieur D'Aillebout, the governor of Canada, for a free commerce between the Maſſachuſets and that colony. The French profeſſed to be greatly pleaſed, and maintained a correſpondence upon the ſubject until 1650, when their governor ſent an agent to Boſton to ſettle a trade, and conclude an alliance between the government of Canada and the colonies of Maſſachuſets and Plymouth; but being informed that all ſuch matters were left to the commiſſioners of the United Colonies, he returned to Canada, and the next year two gentlemen were ſent with letters to the commiſſioners, intreating aſſiſtance from the Engliſh againſt the Mohawks, whom they repreſented as diſturbers of the trade, both of Engliſh and French, with other Indians. They promiſed a due conſideration and allowance for the expence of the war, and if the Engliſh would not join in it, the French deſired they might be permitted to inliſt volunteers, and be victualled for the ſervice; but if that could not be obtained, they requeſted liberty to paſs through the Engliſh Colonies, by water and land, as occaſion required. The French declared, that until theſe points were ſettled, they could not proceed upon the treaty of commerce. The commiſſioners anſwered, "That the Engliſh engaged in no war before they had full and ſatisfactory evidence that it was juſt; nor before

before peace upon juſt terms had been offered and refuſed: That the Mohawks not being ſubject to them nor in league with them, they could not require an account of their proceedings, and had no means of information what they had to ſay for themſelves: That to make war with the Mohawks, would expoſe the Indians, who were neighbours to the Engliſh, and profeſſed Chriſtianity: That although they were ready to perform all neighbourly offices to the French colony, yet they could neither permit volunteers to be taken up, nor the French and eaſtern Indians to paſs through the Engliſh juriſdiction to invade the Mohawks, leſt they ſhould expoſe, not the Indians only, but the ſmaller Engliſh plantations to danger: That the Engliſh were much diſſatisfied with that miſchievous trade the French and Dutch had begun, and continued, by ſelling guns, powder, and ſhot to all the Indians, which rendered them inſolent: That if all other difficulties were removed, yet they had no ſuch ſhort and convenient paſſage, either by land or water, as might be had by Hudſon's River, to and beyond Aurania* Fort poſſeſſed by the Dutch: That the commiſſioners conceived the French deputies might proceed to ſettle a trade; but if they thought proper to limit it under ſuch reſtrictions, a fitter ſeaſon for theſe treaties muſt be attended, which the commiſſioners would readily improve whenſoever it preſented."

The college at Cambridge became ſuch an object of attention, that this year it was made a body corporate, by act of the general court, and received a charter under ſeal of the colony, dated the 31ſt of May, 1650. The corporation was to conſiſt of a preſident, five fellows, and a treaſurer or burſer; who were declared a body politic and corporate in law, to all intents and purpoſes, by the name of "the Preſident and Fellows of Harvard College." An explanatory act paſſed in 1657, and another in 1672, to perpetuate and confirm the privileges of Harvard College, which continued to be governed under this charter until 1685, when the colony charter was vacated.

A corporation in England, conſtituted for propagating the Goſpel among the Indians, began their correſpondence this year with the commiſſioners of the United Colonies, who were employed as agents for the corporation, while the union of the colonies continued. One profeſſed deſign of the colony charter was goſpelizing the natives, which had been too much neglected. It was in 1646, that the general court of the Maſſachuſets paſſed the firſt act or order to encourage the goſpel

* Albany.

among the Indians, and it was then recommended to the elders to conſider how it might be moſt properly done. Mr. Elliot ſignalized himſelf in this attempt, and was remarkably inſtrumental in converting many Indians, whoſe underſtandings he endeavoured to enlighten, by drawing them from their rude, ſavage, and wandering way of life, to civility, cohabitation, and government. Collections were made in England to promote this ſalutary work, for the advancement of which the parliament paſſed an act or ordinance incorporating the Society.

Letters were alſo publiſhed from the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon the miniſters of England and Wales, to ſtir up their congregations to a liberal contribution for the promotion of ſo glorious an undertaking. This collection enabled the Society to purchaſe an eſtate in land of about 600 *l.* a year: but, upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. the charter became void, and was ſoon after renewed by the intereſt of Lord Chancellor Hyde.

1651. Mr. Endicot was choſen governor in 1651, 1652, and 1653; Mr. Dudley deputy-governor. The committee for the ſtate in England imparted their mind to Mr. Winſlow, agent for the colony, reſpecting the government of the ſeveral juriſdictions in New England; he acquainted Mr. Dudley therewith, and that an anſwer was expected; in conſequence of which, the court agreed upon a petition to the parliament, and a letter to Oliver Cromwell, then general for the parliament.

It was expected that all proceſſes in the colony ſhould be in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England; or that there ſhould be an acknowledgment of the powers then in being, by a renewal of the patent; but it is certain, that neither propoſal was adopted or eſtabliſhed.

In October 1651, hoſtilities began between the Engliſh and Dutch in Europe; but the Dutch colony at Manhados was in too feeble a ſtate openly to annoy the Engliſh colonies, and therefore deſired to preſerve peace in America, which gave the Engliſh an opportunity to carry on an advantageous treaty with the Dutch.

1652. The province of Main was claimed by the Maſſachuſets as within the bounds of their charter, and commiſſioners were ſent to treat with the principal inhabitants about the ſurrender of their lands.

Sir

Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Captain Maſon, ſo early as 1629, obtained from the council of Plymouth a grant of all that tract of land from the heads of Merrimack River and Sagadahock to Lake Ontario; but as they never occupied it, this grant became obſolete, and may be ſaid to have reverted to the crown. Sir Ferdinando Gorge alſo obtained a grant from the council of Plymouth, in 1635, of a tract of land called the Province of Main, extending from Piſcataqua River to Sagadahock and Quenebec River; which grant was confirmed by the crown in 1639, and afterward purchaſed by the agents of Maſſachuſets Bay of the repreſentatives of Gorge.

The north and ſouth lines running inland were a hundred and twenty miles: the front or ſea line, and the rear line, might be about eighty miles; that is, the contents of the province of Main might be about nine thouſand ſix hundred ſquare miles; in which ſea line were the townſhips or diſtricts of Kittery, York, Wells, Arundel, Biddeford, Scarborough, Falmouth, and others, whoſe principal inhabitants now ſubmitted to the Maſſachuſets, and the province was made a county by the name of Yorkſhire, from which time the towns ſent their deputies to the general court at Boſton; and to this county was annexed the territory of Sagadahock.

As the trade of the province increaſed with the Weſt Indies, where the buccaneers or pirates were numerous at this time; and as part of the wealth which they procured from the Spaniards was brought to New England in bullion, it was thought neceſſary to erect a mint for coining ſhillings, ſix-pences, and three-pences, with no other impreſſion at firſt than N E on the one ſide, and XII. VI. or III. on the other: but it was now ordered, that all pieces of money ſhould have a double ring with this inſcription, MASSACHUSETS, and a tree in the center on one ſide, with NEW ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other ſide. No other colony ever preſumed to coin any metal into money, and no notice was taken of it by the parliament or protector: it was even indulged by Charles II. for more than twenty years; and although it was made one of the charges againſt the colony, when the charter was called in queſtion, yet no great ſtreſs was laid upon it.

At the ſame ſeſſion, a committee or council of trade was appointed, after the example as expreſſed in the order of the parliament: they were to meet at Boſton or Charles Town to receive propoſals for promoting trade; but nothing came from this attempt. Maſſachuſets Records.

1653. Mr. Dudley died the 31ſt of July 1653, in the 77th year of his age, greatly lamented, as he was a principal founder of the colony, and had recommended himſelf by great firmneſs and fidelity in diſcharge of his truſt. He had never been out of the magiſtracy, and generally either governor or deputy-governor. Mr. Cotton, one of the miniſters at Boſton, died a ſhort time before, and was eſteemed the oracle of the colony: he was in the 68th year of his age, and was interred with great ſolemnity.

1654. Mr. Bellingham was choſen governor, and Mr. Endicot deputy-governor, at a time when the peace with the Dutch, together with "the hopeful eſtabliſhment of government in England," occaſioned a public thankſgiving in the Maſſachuſets, whoſe general court, on the 24th of Auguſt 1654, tranſmitted an addreſs to Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector.

1655. Mr. Winſlow, who had been governor of Plymouth colony, and agent to the Maſſachuſets in England, died this year, at the head of an expedition to Hiſpaniola, and his body was honourably committed to the ſea between Domingo and Jamaica, on the 8th of May.

Cromwell appears to have been the firſt who had a true ſenſe of the importance of the colonies to their mother-country. The expedition to Hiſpaniola was by him well intended, though badly executed, and his plan for enlarging the national intereſt in America no doubt extended further than the conqueſt of that iſland.

The ſeparation of the Anabaptiſts from the eſtabliſhed churches of the colony began at Rehoboth, in Plymouth patent, in 1650; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed: after which began what has been generally called the perſecution of the Quakers, whoſe ſect firſt appeared in England in 1644, and ſoon ſpread into America.

1656. No perſon appeared in New England who profeſſed the opinion of the Quakers until 1656, when Mary Fiſher and Ann Auſtin came from Barbadoes; and ſoon after, nine others arrived in the ſhip Speedwell of London. Their head-quarters were at Salem, where they made ſeveral converts, and ſeemed to join with the Antinomians and Anabaptiſts. They were unhappily ſucceſsful in ſeducing the people, not only to attend to the myſtical diſpenſation of the light within, as having the whole of religion contained in it; but alſo to oppoſe the good order, both civil and

Dr. Mather. b. vii. p. 22.

and ſacred, erected in the colony. They impiouſly declared, that they were immediately ſent from God; and blaſphemouſly aſſerted, they were infallibly aſſiſted by the Holy Spirit: they alſo pretended to deſpiſe the power of the civil magiſtrates, and gave great diſturbance to the government; diſſuading the people from bearing arms, and declaring all military defence unlawful to Chriſtians. This doctrine was deemed particularly dangerous to an infant ſtate ſurrounded by Indian enemies: on which account they were impriſoned, and their books ordered to be publickly burnt. The court paſſed ſentence of baniſhment againſt them all; though at this time there was no ſpecial proviſion by law for the puniſhment of Quakers, who came within a colony law againſt heretics in general. At the next ſeſſions an act was paſſed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the maſter of any veſſel who ſhould bring a known Quaker into the colony, and requiring the maſter to give ſecurity to carry the Quaker back again; as alſo that the Quaker ſhould be ſeverely whipped, and kept to hard labour until tranſportation. A further penalty of five pounds was laid for importing, and the like for diſperſing Quakers books, with ſevere penalties for defending their heretical opinions.

Three perſons were puniſhed under this act, which was not ſufficient to deter other Quakers from coming into the country; and the general court made the following more ſanguinary laws: "That whoever brought any Quaker there ſhould forfeit 100 *l.* That thoſe who concealed a Quaker, knowing him to be ſuch, ſhould pay forty ſhillings an hour for ſuch concealment: and any Quaker, after the firſt conviction, if a man, was to loſe one ear, and a ſecond time the other; a woman, each time to be ſeverely whipped, and the third time, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron; beſide every Quaker, who ſhould become ſuch in the colony, was ſubjected to the like puniſhments." Three Quakers had their ears cut off accordingly, yet others arrived; and a farther law was made for puniſhing with death all Quakers who ſhould return into the juriſdiction after baniſhment. Some were impriſoned, others whipped; ſeveral baniſhed, and a few hanged; which proceedings were very unjuſtifiable. 1657. 1658.

Such a degree of perſecution raiſed a great clamour againſt the government, and ſullied the glory of their former ſufferings, from the epiſcopal power, "for now it appeared, that the New England Puritans were no better friends to liberty of conſcience than their adverſaries; and that the queſtion between them was not, whether one party of Chriſtians 1659. Neale, I. 329.

ſhould have power to oppreſs another, but who ſhould have that power." Great numbers of the common people were offended at theſe proceedings, as well as the generality of ſober perſons in the ſeveral nations of Europe, which obliged the magiſtrates to publiſh a declaration in vindication of themſelves, as agreeable to the example of England in their proviſion againſt Jeſuits.

It has been obſerved, upon this declaration, that the law of putting Quakers to death was contrary to the laws of England, and conſequently a forfeiture of the colony charter; the court began to be ſenſible that the putting men to death for their religious proceedings was odious in the eye of the world; that in the caſe of the Quakers it could not anſwer their ends, for the more they perſecuted, the more bloody work they had upon their hands; therefore it was reſolved to whip them as vagabonds. The Reſtoration of King Charles II. was alſo favourable to the Quakers, who had intereſt to prevail upon that Monarch to put a ſtop to the ſufferings of their friends in New England, and to obtain an order to the following effect: "That his Majeſty having been informed that ſeveral of his ſubjects in New England had been and were impriſoned there, whereof ſome had been executed, and others were in danger to undergo the like; his Majeſty thought fit to ſignify his pleaſure in that behalf for the future, and required, that if any of thoſe people called Quakers were there then condemned to ſuffer death, or other corporal puniſhment, or that were impriſoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, the magiſtrates were to forbear to proceed any further therein, but ſhould forthwith ſend the ſaid perſons over to England, together with their reſpective crimes, or offences laid to their charge; to the end ſuch courſe might be taken with them there, as ſhould be agreeable to his laws and their demerits."

This put an effectual ſtop to the ſufferings of the Quakers on account of their principles; but ſome of them were afterward puniſhed as vagabonds, and criminals againſt the ſtate. It would have been more rational if the magiſtracy of the Maſſachuſets had directed their moſt eminent Miniſter to anſwer Mr. Barclay's Latin Treatiſe for Quakeriſm in the ſame language, on account of its univerſality. The people called by the ludicrous name of Quakers were afterward remarkable for a laudable frugality, reciprocal friendſhip, and moral honeſty. They attained a conſiderable intereſt in the Commonwealth; peerage-like, they were indulged with affirmation, inſtead of a judicial oath; and in New England they were exempted by laws from paying rates to the townſhip miniſters.

From

From 1656 to 1660, there are few other facts relative to the public affairs of the colony that are worth tranſmitting to poſterity. The rapid increaſe of the Maſſachuſets Colony, together with the figure which many of the firſt ſettlers made in England before their removal, and the correpondence which they maintained with their friends of great diſtinction there many years after, eclipſed the colony of New Plymouth, whoſe growth and progreſs would otherwiſe have been thought conſiderable.

SECTION IV.

Mr. Endicot choſen governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy-governor, in 1660. *The Maſſachuſets corporation congratulates King Charles* II. *on his reſtoration. His Majeſty's letter in anſwer. The King proclaimed in New England, in* 1661. *Declaration of the general court of the Maſſachuſets of their rights by charter. Synod held at Boſton, in* 1662, *concerning baptiſm of infants. Hampſhire county eſtabliſhed. Miniſters arrive in New England, in* 1663, *after the act of uniformity. The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven united by charter, in* 1664. *New York conquered from the Dutch. Commiſſioners appointed by the King to ſuperintend the government of the colonies in New England. Addreſs of the general court of the Maſſachuſets colony to his Majeſty thereon. Letter from Lord Chancellor Clarendon to the Maſſachuſets corporation againſt their addreſs. The propoſitions of the commiſſioners to Plymouth juriſdiction. Mr. Endicot dies in* 1665, *and is ſucceeded as governor of the Maſſachuſets by Mr. Bellingham. Form of the oath of allegiance taken there. State of the colony. Diſputes between the commiſſioners and the general court in* 1666.

1660. THE government of New England ſubmitted to all the changes in Old England for the laſt twenty years: they owned the parliament, acquieſced in the Commonwealth, ſubmitted to the Protector, and at laſt addreſſed the King.

Mr. Endicot was choſen governor, and Mr. Bellingham deputy-governor in 1660, when Simon Bradſtreet, Eſq. ſecretary of the Maſſachuſets colony, and the reverend Mr. John Norton, were ſent with an addreſs of congratulation to his Majeſty, upon his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, in which the coloniſts made ſignal expreſſions of their loyalty, and endeavoured to juſtify their conduct toward the Quakers. They told the King, that the Quakers were open capital blaſphemers; open feducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Chriſt, the bleſſed Goſpel and from the Holy Scriptures, as the rule of life; open enemies to government itſelf, as eſtabliſhed in the hands of any but men of their own principle; malignant promoters of doctrines directly tending to ſubvert both church and ſtate. After which, the Coloniſts ſupplicated his Majeſty for his gracious protection of them in the continuance both of their civil and religious liberties, according to the grantees known end of ſuing for the patent conferred upon the plantation by his royal father.

The

The King received their addreſs in a gracious manner, and ſent back letters to the colony, ſignifying, that the expreſſions of their loyalty and affection to him were very acceptable; that he would confirm their privileges, and give them all kind of protection and encouragement. The coloniſts, however, were not ſatisfied with the conduct of their agents, who might have flattered the court too much, or promiſed more for their country than they ought.

His Majeſty's gracious pardon to all his ſubjects was likewiſe declared, for all treaſons during the late troubles, except to ſuch as ſtood attainted by act of parliament, if any ſuch ſhould have tranſported themſelves thither: but then it was required, "That all their laws ſhould be reviewed, and ſuch as were contrary or derogatory to the royal authority and government ſhould be annulled and repealed; that the oath of allegiance ſhould be duly adminiſtered; that the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhould be in the name of his Majeſty; that freedom ſhould be given to all ſuch as deſired to uſe the Book of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in the manner eſtabliſhed in England; and that they might not undergo any prejudice thereby, all perſons of good and honeſt lives and converſations ſhould be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and their children to Baptiſm: that in the choice of governor and aſſiſtants, the only conſideration to be had ſhould be of the wiſdom, virtue, and integrity of the perſons to be choſen, and not of any faction with reference to opinions and outward profeſſion: that all freeholders of competent eſtates, though of different perſuaſions concerning church government, ſhould have their votes in the election of all officers, civil and military; and finally, that this letter ſhould be publiſhed."

Whaley and Goffe, who had been two of the proſcribed regicides, arrived at Boſton; and the governor received a royal mandate to ſecure them: but they were ſecreted in ſeveral parts of New England for many years.

The King was not proclaimed in the colony until the 7th of Auguſt 1661. 1661, when it was done in the following form: "Foraſmuch as Charles II. is undoubted King of Great Britain and all other his Majeſty's territories and dominions thereunto belonging, and hath been ſome time ſince lawfully proclaimed and crowned accordingly; We therefore do, as in duty bound, own and acknowledge him to be our Sovereign Lord and King, and do therefore hereby proclaim and declare his ſacred Majeſty Charles II. to be lawful King of Great Britain, France, and Ire-

land, and all other the territories thereunto belonging: God Save the King."

All proceſſes were ordered to be iſſued in his Majeſty's name; a committee was appointed to conſider of other matters; in conſequence of whoſe report, at the ſeſſions of the general court, held at Boſton the ſame year, a formal declaration was made of their charter rights.

1662. Great debates aroſe among the miniſters of New England concerning the right of the grandchildren of church members to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, whoſe immediate parents had not entered into the communion. The importance of this matter ſprung from hence: the miniſters baptized none but the children of thoſe of their communion; ſo that if, either through fear, or any other motive, they did not become actual church members when they were of age, none of their poſterity could be admitted to Baptiſm; and this was become a very common caſe, ſince the grandchildren of the firſt planters began to riſe up in the world. The diſpute began in Connecticut, but ſoon became general, and a ſynod of the elders and meſſengers of all the churches in the Maſſachuſet colony was convened at Boſton, in the month of September, by order of the general court.

Mather, b. v. p. 64. Neal, I. p. 554. The reſult of this ſynod was printed by order of the general court, and is particularly mentioned by their eccleſiaſtical writers, who obſerve, that almoſt all the churches of New England were divided upon this occaſion.

The inhabitants upon Connecticut River being increaſed to the three townſhips of Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley, were made a county, by the name of Hampſhire, at the ſeſſions of the general court.

The ſpirit of the church ran very high in England againſt the Preſbyterians and Independents, with whom the biſhops would come to no terms, but by an act of uniformity, which took place on St. Bartholomew's day. About two thouſand miniſters were turned out of their benefices, and ſome of them followed the example of their predeceſſors, the Puritans, by removing to New England, where they ſpent the remainder of their lives.

1663. Some violent ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in New England, which ſpread an univerſal conſternation among the people, but no conſiderable damage enſued.

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The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were united by the royal charter, which was obtained by John Winthrop, Eſq; ſon of the late governor of the Maſſachuſets; and the United Colonies elected him annually their governor as long as he lived. 1664.

The war between the Engliſh and Dutch broke out about this time, and King Charles II. was reſolved to diſpoſſeſs the Dutch of their ſettlements upon Hudſon's River, which was firſt diſcovered by Captain Hudſon, an Engliſhman, who ſold it to the Dutch in 1608, without conſent of the crown: the King therefore looked upon the Dutch as intruders, and made a grant of the whole country called Nova Belgia to his brother, the Duke of York, who gave it the name of New York. A ſquadron of men of war, with ſome land forces, under the command of Sir Robert Carre were ſent to expel the Dutch, who were eaſily reduced, and ſubmitted to the Engliſh government.

Sir Robert Carre, Colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, Eſqrs. were alſo commiſſioned to call at New England, to hear and determine ſuch differences as ſubſiſted among the Colonies.

The commiſſioners alſo brought with them letters from his Majeſty to the ſeveral colonies, and particularly one to the governor and council of New Plymouth, wherein his Majeſty declared, that "he took them into his immediate protection, and had ordered the commiſſioners to ſettle the bounds and juriſdictions of the ſeveral colonies."

The line between the Maſſachuſets and Plymouth was fully and amicably ſettled and ſurveyed, by a committee from each colony, whoſe return was accepted by the general courts, and ordered to be recorded.

From the reſtoration until the charter was vacated, the colony never ſtood well in England; ſo that the principal perſons, both in church and ſtate, were always apprehenſive they ſhould be deprived of their privileges. The commiſſioners arrived at Boſton in July, and opened their commiſſion; in conſequence of which, the general court of the Maſſachuſets colony drew up a long addreſs to the King, concluding thus: "Royal Sir, it is in your power to ſay of your poor people in New England, they ſhall not die. If we have found favour in the ſight of our King, let our life be given us at our petition (or rather that which is dearer than life, which we have ventured our lives and willingly paſſed through many deaths to obtain) and our all at our requeſt: Let our government live, our patent live, our magiſtrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments

ments live; ſo ſhall we all yet have farther cauſe to ſay from our hearts, Let the King live for ever."

The Coloniſts alſo ſent ſupplicatory letters to ſeveral of the nobility, and particularly to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who ſent a letter to the Maſſachuſets colony, directed to "the Governor and Gentlemen," wherein his lordſhip informed them, "That he had peruſed their petition to his Majeſty, and confeſſed to them, he was ſo much a friend to their colony, that if the ſame had been communicated to nobody but himſelf, he ſhould have diſſuaded the preſenting the ſame to his Majeſty, who, he doubted, would not think himſelf well treated by it, or the ſingular care he had expreſſed of his ſubjects in thoſe parts ſufficiently acknowledged: but ſince he found, by their letter to the Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Boyle, that they expected ſome effect from their petition, upon conference with them, they had all agreed not to hinder the delivery of it, though he had read to them the inſtructions the commiſſioners had; and they confeſſed that his Majeſty could not expreſs more grace and goodneſs for that his plantation, nor put it more out of their power, in any degree, to invade the liberties and privileges granted to them by his charter: That he knew not what they meant by ſaying, the commiſſioners had power to exerciſe government there altogether inconſiſtent with their charter and privileges; ſince he was ſure their commiſſion was to ſee and provide for the due and full obſervation of the charter, and that all the privileges granted by that charter might be equally enjoyed by all his Majeſty's ſubjects there: He knew they were expreſsly inhibited from intermeddling with, or inſtructing the adminiſtration of juſtice, according to the forms obſerved there; but if, in any extraordinary caſe, the proceedings there had been irregular, and againſt the rules of juſtice, as ſome particular caſes, particularly recommended to them by his Majeſty, ſeemed to be, it could not be preſumed that his Majeſty would leave his ſubjects of New England without hope of redreſs by an appeal to him, which his ſubjects of all his other kingdoms had free liberty to make."

1665. The propoſitions of his Majeſty's commiſſioners to Plymouth's juriſdiction were as follow:

"1. That all houſeholders, inhabiting in their colony, take the oath of allegiance; and that their adminiſtration of juſtice be in his Majeſty's name. 2. That all men of competent eſtates and civil converſation, though of different judgment, might be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to chooſe and be choſen officers, both civil and military. 3. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, competent eſtates, knowledge, civil

civil lives and not ſcandalous, might be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and their children to Baptiſm, if they deſired it; either by admitting them into the congregation already gathered, or permitting them to gather themſelves into ſuch congregations where they might enjoy the benefit of the Sacrament, and that difference in opinion might not break the bonds of peace and charity. 4. That all laws and expreſſions in laws derogatory to his Majeſty, if any ſuch had been made in the late troubleſome times, might be repealed, altered, and taken off from the file."

The court conſented to the firſt, ſecond, and fourth of theſe propoſitions; but they made ſome exceptions to the third; and declared, "that the league between the four colonies was not with any intent to caſt off their dependance upon England; a thing which they utterly abhorred."

Mr. Endicot, the governor of the Maſſachuſets, died the 15th of March, 1665, and was interred at Boſton with great honour and ſolemnity. He was ſucceeded by Mr. Bellingham; after which many altercations paſſed between the Kings commiſſioners and the general court, the latter of whom preſcribed the oath of allegiance in the following form:

"Whereas I, A. B. am an inhabitant within this juriſdiction, conſider-
"ing how I ſtand obliged to the King's Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors,
"by our charter and the government eſtabliſhed thereby, do ſwear accord-
"ingly, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I
"will bear faith and true allegiance to our ſovereign Lord the King, his
"heirs and ſucceſſors:

"So help me God."

For the form of their Conſtitution, they referred to their patent; and alleged, "That the annual charges of government were about 1200 *l.* for their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; but they had none impoſed by civil authority; all that was enjoined by that, was attendance on public worſhip on Lord's days and other occaſional days. That the people who maintained, alſo choſe, their miniſters, whoſe adminiſtrations were known, and they hoped conſonant to the word of God; or if any deviated, in ſuch caſe they made uſe of a ſynod and the civil authority. That the militia conſiſted of about four thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe: that they had a fort at the entrance of Boſton harbour, with ſix guns; two batteries in the harbour, and one at Charles Town. That the number of their ſhips and veſſels were, about eighty from twenty to forty tons; about forty from forty to one hundred tons; and about a dozen ſhips above one hundred tons."

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The commiſſioners in their reply ſaid, " They ſuppoſed the King and his council, and the Church of England, underſtood the word of God as well as the Maſſachuſets corporation: they feared ſuch anſwers would highly offend the King; and adviſed to an ingenuous and free conſent to what he deſired." The court then ſent a meſſage to the commiſſioners, whereby they deſired to be excuſed from a direct anſwer to the queſtion, " Whether they acknowledged his Majeſty's commiſſion?" They choſe rather " to plead his Majeſty's charter, and his ſpecial charge to the commiſſioners not to diſturb them in the enjoyment of it; but they were ready to give ſuch an account of their proceedings, as that the commiſſioners might be able to repreſent their perſons and actions to his Majeſty." The commiſſioners inſiſted on a direct anſwer to their queſtion; to which the court declared, " It was enough for them to give their ſenſe of the powers granted to them by charter; and that it was beyond their line to determine the power, intent, or purpoſe of his Majeſty's commiſſion."

The commiſſioners then ſummoned the governor and company of the colony to appear before them, to anſwer the complaint of Thomas Dean and others, for injuſtice done unto them; but the court drew up a declaration againſt ſuch proceedings, and ordered the ſame to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet. The commiſſioners referred the whole to his Majeſty, and broke off from any further conference; after which, they went to New Hampſhire and the province of Main, where they appointed juſtices of the peace, and exerciſed divers acts of government. They had no better ſucceſs at Connecticut than in the Maſſachuſets colony; but they met with leſs oppoſition at Plymouth and Rhode Iſland.

The government of the colony apprehended they ſhould not be thought culpable for refuſing an entire ſubmiſſion to the abſolute authority of the commiſſioners, which muſt have ſuperſeded their charter; and if this authority had been once admitted, they would have found it very difficult ever after to have ejected it. Some part of their conduct may appear extraordinary; particularly their refuſing to make the oath of allegiance neceſſary, unleſs with reſtrictions and limitations; and to cauſe all proceedings at law to be more expreſsly in his Majeſty's name and by his authority: But it ſhould be obſerved, that thoſe perſons who had the greateſt influence among them, had ſome ſingular ſentiments upon the nature of civil ſubjection, which they diſtinguiſhed into neceſſary and voluntary. That from actual reſidence within any government neceſſarily aroſe ſubjection, or an obligation to ſubmit to the laws and authority thereof; but birth was no neceſſary cauſe of ſubjection. That the ſubjects of

of any prince or ſtate had a natural right to remove to any other ſtate, or to another quarter of the world, unleſs the ſtate was debilitated and endangered by ſuch an emigration; and even in that caſe, if they were deprived of the right of all mankind, liberty of conſcience, it would juſtify a ſeparation; and, upon their removal, their ſubjection determined and ceaſed. That the country to which they themſelves had removed was claimed and poſſeſſed by independent princes, whoſe right to the ſovereignty thereof had been acknowledged by the Kings of England. They therefore looked upon themſelves obliged, and accordingly, as appeared by their records, actually had purchaſed, for valuable conſiderations, not only the ſoil, but the dominion, lordſhip, and ſovereignty of thoſe princes; and without ſuch purchaſe, in the ſight of God and men, they had no right or title to what they poſſeſſed. That the King, indeed, in imitation of other princes of Europe, who laid claim to countries merely from the diſcovery of them, had granted this country to certain of his ſubjects; and the firſt planters thought it proper to purchaſe the title of ſuch grantees, to prevent moleſtation from them or from other ſtates; and they had alſo received a charter of incorporation from the King, containing a mutual compact, from whence aroſe a new kind of ſubjection, to which they were held, and from which they never would depart.

This was what they called voluntary civil ſubjection, ariſing from compact; from whence it followed, that whatſoever could be brought into queſtion relative to their ſubjection, muſt be determined by their charter. In a ſhort time, however, they were contented fully to comply with the oath of allegiance without qualifying it, and to give up other points which they had before inſiſted upon: And their poſterity, who claim by birthright as well as charter the peculiar privileges of Engliſhmen, and who enjoy the protection, are very ſenſible that they likewiſe owe the allegiance of Engliſh ſubjects, which, by a general rule of law, is not conſidered as local, but perpetual and unalienable.

The King recommended, by a letter dated the 22d of February, 1665, to the governor and council of the Maſſachuſets, an expedition againſt Canada; to which the court, in their anſwer to Lord Arlington, July 17, 1666, ſaid, that "having conſulted with Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova Scotia; and with the governor of Connecticut, they concluded it was not feazable at preſent, as well in reſpect of the difficulty, if not impoſſibility of a land march over the rocky mountains and howling deſerts, about four hundred miles, as the ſtrength of the French there, according to reports."

His Majeſty ſent a letter, dated the 10th of April, 1666, to the colony of New Plymouth, acknowledging his having received a ſatisfactory account from his commiſſioners, both of the good reception they had given them, and alſo of their dutifulneſs and obedience to him.

Another letter of the ſame date was alſo ſent by the King to the Maſſachuſets colony, requiring deputies to be ſent to England to anſwer to the complaints of his commiſſioners of oppoſition to their authority; and commanding the coloniſts to annul their proceedings relative to that affair.

This letter was delivered by Mr. Maverick to the governor, when he was aſſiſting in a court of aſſiſtants for the trial of cauſes; affirming it came under cover with a letter from the King to Sir Robert Carr and the other commiſſioners. The governor aſſembled a ſpecial court on the 11th of September, to conſider of the letter; and the elders were deſired to give their advice. Several perſons petitioned the general court to comply with the royal order; but they were cenſured for intermeddling: Some of the elders, however, inclined that the two magiſtrates ſhould be ſent, and thought they ought to obey for conſcience ſake; but this was oppoſed by others, who urged, "that if two might be ſent for, ſo might ten; that the civil magiſtrate was the miniſter of God for the good of the people, and ſo far as his commands tended to their good, they ought to obey; but none would ſay it was for the good of the colony to ſend away their rulers." At laſt it was agreed to ſend Mr. Secretary Morrice a letter, wherein the court ſeemed willing to doubt the genuineneſs of his Majeſty's letter; and excuſed themſelves from ſending any perſons over; ſuppoſing the ableſt among them could not declare their cauſe more fully than it had been already done.

The commiſſioners influenced ſome of the inhabitants of the towns in New Hampſhire to ſign a petition and complaint to his Majeſty of the wrongs they had ſuſtained from the Maſſachuſets, "who had uſurped the government over them:" but this was oppoſed by the majority, who declared their diſſent; and all the towns deſired to be conſidered as part of the Maſſachuſets colony, as they had been for many years before.

Mr. Danforth, Mr. Luſher, and Mr. Leveret were alſo appointed to ſettle the peace in the province of Main, by bringing the people to an orderly ſubmiſſion; which was attended with ſome difficulty.

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As to the proceedings between the commiſſioners and the colony, it appears, on the one hand, that the government had not ſufficient excuſe for non-compliance with what the King required; which might have prevented ſuch a commiſſion from iſſuing. But, on the other hand, that commiſſion ſeems a ſtretch of power, which might ſuperſede the charter in many reſpects; and in the conduct of the general court, upon this occaſion, there is no appearance of an obſtinate perverſe ſpirit, but a modeſt ſteady adherence to what they imagined their juſt rights and privileges. At the ſame time they endeavoured, not only by repeated addreſſes and profeſſions of loyalty to appeaſe his Majeſty, but they purchaſed a ſhip-load of maſts, the freight whereof coſt them ſixteen hundred pounds ſterling, and preſented the ſame to the King, who graciouſly accepted that teſtimony of their affection. Beſide, as the fleet in the Weſt Indies was in want of proviſions, a ſubſcription and contribution were recommended through the colony, for bringing in proviſions to be ſent to the fleet for the ſervice of his Majeſty; and it appears by the record that ſeveral towns liberally ſubſcribed.

About two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of St. Chriſtopher's had been taken by the French, and were brought to Boſton, where others were expected, and proviſion was made by the court for the relief and ſupport of ſuch as were in neceſſity. And upon the news of the great fire in London, a large collection was made through the colony for the relief of the ſufferers.

From 1666 to 1670, Mr. Bellingham was annually choſen governor, and Mr. Willoughby deputy-governor. Mr. John Wilſon, the firſt miniſter of Boſton church, died on the 7th of Auguſt, 1667, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age: he had been their paſtor thirty-ſeven years, and left a moſt amiable character. 1667.

Some extraordinary incidents occaſioned the magiſtrates to promote a "reformation of manners:" a letter was therefore printed, and addreſſed, from the governor and council, "To the Elders and Miniſters of every town within the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſets in New England;" wherein they exhorted them to follow the examples of Holy Scripture, and required them to be very diligent and careful to catechiſe and inſtruct all people under their charge in the ſound principles of the Chriſtian Religion: "The effectual and conſtant proſecution thereof, they hoped, would have a tendency to promote the ſalvation of ſouls, to ſuppreſs the growth of ſin and profaneneſs, to beget more love and unity among the people, and more reverence and eſteem of the miniſtry." 1668.

About this time, the diſpleaſure of the government ran very high againſt the Anabaptiſts and Quakers, who were ſeverely treated by fines, impriſonment, and baniſhment; which occaſioned a letter from the principal diſſenting miniſters in London to the governor of the Maſſachuſets, "beſeeching him to make uſe of his authority and intereſt, for the reſtoring ſuch to their liberty as were in priſon on account of religion, and that their ſanguinary laws might not be put in execution for the future."

Mather, b. vii. p. 28.

1669. The Anabaptiſts in both Englands were certainly in ſuch very low repute at this time, that their enemies thought it not worth their while to confute them with arguments, but took a ſhorter way to ruin them, by ſlander and villany. The Quakers alſo renewed their complaints in London concerning the ſufferings of their friends in New England, where none of the penal laws had been put in execution againſt them ſince 1661, except what related to vagabonds.

The inhabitants of Boſton were now grown ſo numerous, that the two meeting-houſes would not hold them; therefore a third church was gathered out of the firſt, and Mr. Thacher was appointed miniſter. Mr. Richard Mather, miniſter of Dorcheſter, died the 22d of April, 1669, in the 73d year of his age; he left behind him four ſons, all educated for the miniſtry; 1. Mr. Samuel Mather, firſt fellow of Harvard College; 2. Nathaniel; 3. Eleazer; and 4. Doctor Increaſe Mather, father of Doctor Cotton Mather, who wrote the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of New England.

1671. The colony began to make a greater figure than ever; for the report made by the commiſſioners to the King had produced no further troubles from England, where the plague, the fire of the metropolis, and the diſcontents among the people, operated in favour of the Colonies. The Maſſachuſets governed New Hampſhire and Main without oppoſition; and were beginning ſettlements even further eaſtward. The French were removed from their neighbourhood on the one ſide, as alſo were the Dutch and Swedes on the other. The trade of the coloniſts was extenſive; and no cuſtom-houſe was eſtabliſhed. It is true, the acts of parliament of the 12th and 15th of King Charles II. for regulating the Plantation-trade, were in force, but the governor, whoſe buſineſs it was to carry them into execution, was annually to be elected by the people, whoſe intereſt it was that they ſhould not be obſerved. Some of the merchants and principal inhabitants became very wealthy, while a ſpirit of induſtry and frugality prevailed through the colony: but ſoon afterward happened a change of affairs.

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The number of ſtudents in Harvard College was ſo much increaſed, 1672.
that a contribution of 1895 *l.* of which 800 *l.* was collected in Boſton, was raiſed to enlarge the building. With this money, and ſome other aſſiſtance, a new college was erected, which retained the original name: and, on this occaſion, the general court paſſed a new act for confirming the college-charter, granted in 1650, and for encouraging donations to it. Governor Bellingham died on the 7th of December, 1672, in the eightieth year of his age: He was bred a lawyer, and was ſevere in his principles againſt the Anabaptiſts and Quakers, but of incorrupted integrity. John Leveret, Eſq. ſucceeded Mr. Bellingham in the government of the Maſſachuſets colony, and ſoon after died Mr. Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth colony, in the 73d year of his age, greatly beloved and univerſally lamented, as a gentleman of amiable manners and uncorrupted integrity.

The ſtrict union which had ſubſiſted between the civil and eccleſiaſtical parts of the conſtitution, became much weakened and in danger of being broke; but neither the church of New Haven, nor the elders of the church of Boſton could be wholly juſtified in this diſpute.

The houſe of deputies appointed a committee to enquire into the prevailing evils of the land, and they reported, among other cauſes, the declenſion from the primitive foundation work; innovation in worſhip, opinion, and practice; and invaſions of the rights, liberties, and privileges of churches.

Several of the miniſters preſented an addreſs to the general court, wherein they ſolemnly profeſſed that "they ſtill adhered to the ſafe and ſober principles of the congregational way, in oppoſition to ſeparation, morellian, or anarchical confuſion and licentious toleration." They made this profeſſion to vindicate their integrity and innocency from the charge of innovation and apoſtacy.

The whole colony were evidently engaged in this diſpute; for out of fifty members, the number of the houſe this year, there were only twenty of the former members; which produced a profeſſion, "That the court would adhere to the primitive ends of their coming over; and retain the ſober principles of the congregational way, and the practice of their churches, in their pureſt and moſt athletic conſtitution."

It is thus apparent, that the civil had a great attachment to the eccleſiaſtical power; and as long as the charter continued, the clerical influence prevailed.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Mr. Leveret chosen governor of the Massachusets in 1673.—*The war with the Indians, called Philip's war, in* 1675: *its origin, progress, and conclusion. The English troops enter the country of the Narraganſets, and compel them to submit to terms of peace and amity. Philip and his allies defeated in several engagements. Mr. Winslow appointed general of the united forces of the respective colonies. The grand attack upon five thousand Indians in their fortified swamp. Ravages committed by the Indians in* 1676. *The death of Philip, and end of the war. Remarks.* —*Insurrection of the Indians in the eastern parts of New England suppressed. General remarks.*

1673. MR. Leveret was governor of the Massachusets colony in 1673, and was annually continued till his death in 1676. His father, Mr. Thomas Leveret, removed with his family from Boston in Lincolnshire, in 1633.

The war with the Indians, commonly called Philip's war, broke out about this time, and endangered the very being of the colony. The English, on their arrival, had such ideas of the Sachems, that respect was shewn them at the first meetings, in some proportion to what would have been required by the prince of a petty state in Europe: but the sordid minds of the best of them, and the little authority they had over their own subjects, soon rendered them contemptible. At New Plymouth, the governor, in the first treaty with Massasoiet in 1620, acquainted him that King James considered him as his good friend and ally; which was too great an honour for Massasoiet, who was content to acknowledge the king to be his sovereign; and the next year the governor caused the petty Sachems to sign an instrument, in which they owned themselves to be subject to King James. The domestic quarrels of the Indians were a further security to the English, who endeavoured to restrain them from an open war with each other; yet kept up so much contention as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to the English, as umpires, necessary from time to time.

Old Massasoiet died in 1662, after which his two sons Wamsutta and Metacomet came to the court of Plymouth, and requested to have English names given them; whereupon the court named the elder brother Alexander, and the younger Philip: but notwithstanding their high pretensions of

of friendſhip to the Engliſh, the court had ſoon after information that Alexander was ſoliciting the Narraganſets to make war upon them. He was prevented in this deſign by Mr. Winſlow, who brought him priſoner to Plymouth, where he was treated with great humanity and reſpect; but his great ſpirit ſwelling with revenge for the diſgrace he was under, threw him into a fever, which occaſioned his death. He was ſucceeded by his brother Philip, a bold and daring young man, who thought it his temporary intereſt to deſire the continuance of that amity which had ſubſiſted between the government of Plymouth and his late father and brother. At the ſame time he promiſed, "for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, to remain ſubjects to the King of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors; to obſerve ſuch conditions as had been formerly made, and particularly that he would not unjuſtly raiſe war with any of the natives, or diſpoſe of any lands without the privity and appointment of the Engliſh governor;" who, in return, promiſed "to continue with him in friendſhip, and to afford him ſuch aſſiſtance and advice as they juſtly might."

The Indians within the Maſſachuſets bounds were not under one general Sachem, but divided into ſmaller governments, which were brought to acknowledge the ſubjection of the Maſſachuſets: but the laws could not reſtrain all perſons from ſelling muſkets or ammunition to the Indians, who were generally furniſhed with both, and were become expert markſmen in 1670, when the Pocanokets, or Wampanoags, under Philip, were ſuſpected of hoſtile intentions, and he was charged by the Engliſh with being haughty, perfidious, and impious. In fact, they charged him "with pride and ambition, in aſpiring to the ſovereignty of a country, which he would have enjoyed as his inheritance if they had not prevented; with perfidy, in breaking promiſes made while under reſtraint, and in the power of thoſe to whom they were made; and with impiety, in refuſing to receive his religion from his enemies."

Philip was induced to meet the Engliſh commiſſioners at Taunton, where a writing was drawn up, which he conſented to ſign, acknowledging his paſt breach of faith, and promiſing future fidelity. He thereby alſo engaged, "to reſign up to the government of New Plymouth all his Engliſh arms, to be kept by them for their ſecurity, ſo long as they ſhould ſee reaſon." His ſubmitting to the acknowledgment in writing was of little conſequence; becauſe the Indians in general will promiſe any thing required of them to remove an impending danger, or to procure an immediate benefit. Accordingly, when Philip was at liberty, he thought no more of his engagements; and many ſtrange Indians reſorted to him.

At

At this time there was a breach in the union between the colonies from ſome miſunderſtandings, which were ſoon rectified, and ſome alterations made in the articles. The court of Plymouth wrote to the Maſſachuſets, that they were preparing to make war againſt Philip, who came to Boſton, and agreed "for himſelf, his council, and ſubjects, to acknowledge themſelves ſubject to the King of England, and the government of New Plymouth, and to their laws. To pay unto the government of Plymouth one hundred pounds in ſuch things as he had, in the term of three years. To ſend unto the governor five wolves heads yearly. To ſettle any difference between his people and the Engliſh. To make no war without the governor's approbation; and not to diſpoſe of any lands without his conſent."

The Engliſh were too much inclined to conſider the Indians as a race of beings by nature inferior to them, and born to ſervitude. Philip was a man of high ſpirit, who could not bear to ſee the Engliſh extending their ſettlements over the dominions of his anceſtors, and he could never reſt until he brought on the war which ended in his deſtruction.

War was proclaimed in Boſton againſt the Dutch, on the 28th of May, 1672, in conſequence of the King's declaration of war publiſhed in England; and this was the firſt inſtance of any public declaration of war in the colony. About the ſame time, the union between the three colonies was renewed by commiſſioners, and ratified by the general court at Boſton. The commiſſioners were now to meet but once in three years, unleſs upon extraordinary occaſions; and the proportion of men, for any general ſervice, was ſettled for fifteen years to come as follows; Maſſachuſets 100, Plymouth 30, and Connecticut 60.

The timber caſtle at the entrance of Boſton harbour was accidentally deſtroyed by fire, on the 21ſt of March 1673; after which, a new fortreſs of ſtone was erected, ſaid then to be a ſtrong work.

1674. From 1671 to 1674 there appears no material tranſaction relative to the Indians; but it is affirmed, that Philip was all that time engaging them to unite againſt the Engliſh in all parts of the colony. His principal ſeat of reſidence was at Mount Hope, from whence he removed to other places for hunting and fiſhing, particularly to Namaſket or Middleborough; and he had a hunting-houſe in Taunton, near a ſwamp called the Fowling-pond, which was afterward ſet off from Taunton, and with other lands made a town by the name of Raynham. The Indians about Hadley intimated the deſigns of Philip, whom the Narraganſets were

were to furniſh with four thouſand men. The war was hurried on by a piece of revenge which Philip cauſed to be taken upon John Sauſaman, a praying Indian, who had been brought up in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion, and diſcovered to the governor of Plymouth the hoſtile meaſures that were taking by Philip; on which account the latter got Sauſaman aſſaſſinated as he was travelling the country alone. The murder was ſoon diſcovered, and the two murderers apprehended by the governor of Plymouth, who had them tried by a jury, half of whom were Indians, upon whoſe verdict they were convicted, and executed, according to the Engliſh laws.

Mr. Winſlow was then governor of Plymouth, and wrote to Mr. Leveret, the Maſſachuſets governor, as following: "I do ſolemnly profeſs we know not any thing, from us, that might put Philip upon theſe motions; nor have heard that he pretends to have ſuffered any wrong from us, ſave only that we had killed ſome Indians; and intended to ſend for himſelf for the murder of Sauſaman*." This action of Philip, in procuring the death of that Indian, who had been his principal counſellor and ſecretary, was conſidered as a horrid crime; but Philip looked on Sauſaman as a traitor and renegade, who had juſtly forfeited his life. The Indians left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends; but puniſhed traitors by public execution. 1675.

The Indians at this time were not the ſame kind of men as when Mr. Winſlow the father firſt went againſt them. The Engliſh had been almoſt ſixty years among them, and had taught them, among other cuſtoms, one very dangerous, the uſe and practice of arms.

Philip was enraged at the puniſhment of his ſubjects by the Engliſh laws; he aſſembled a numerous body of men, and plundered ſome part of the colony in the neighborhood of Swanzey, where an Engliſhman was ſo provoked, that he fired upon an Indian, and wounded him. The Indians killed and wounded ſeveral Engliſhmen; upon which the Maſſachuſets and Plymouth troops aſſembled, and marched to Swanzey, where they eſtabliſhed their head-quarters, being in all about three hundred men, under the command of Major Savage and Captain Cudworth, who purſued the Indians into a ſwamp, and then ravaged their towns.

The Maſſachuſets government ſent Captain Hutchinſon as their commiſſioner to treat with the Naraganſets, who favoured Philip in their hearts,

* Dated July 4th, 1675.

and waited only a convenient opportunity to declare openly for him: but the Engliſh army marched into the Naraganſet country, and obliged thoſe Indians to ſubmit to the following terms: "1. That the Sachems ſhould ſeize and deliver up to the Engliſh governments all ſuch of Philip's ſubjects as ſhould come within their territories. 2. That they ſhould uſe all acts of hoſtility againſt Philip and his ſubjects until a ceſſation of arms. 3. That they ſhould make ſatisfaction to the Engliſh for all injuries, or deliver the offenders. 4. That all hoſtile preparations ſhould ceaſe. 5. That the Sachems ſhould deliver up four of their principal men as hoſtages for the performance of this agreement. 6. The commiſſioners engaged to the Sachems, that if they ſhould ſeize and deliver up Philip alive, they ſhould receive forty trucking cloth coats; or twenty, if they brought in his head; for each of his ſubjects, the deliverer ſhould receive two coats, and one coat for every head. 7. The Sachems renewed and confirmed to the Engliſh all former grants. 8. And ſolemnly agreed to remain true friends to the Engliſh governments."

When the treaty was concluded, the Engliſh forces returned to Taunton, and purſued Philip into a ſwamp, where they loſt fifteen men, and killed ſeveral of the enemy, but were obliged to abandon the enterprize; which encouraged other Indians to commence hoſtilities.

The Nipnets killed five people in the Maſſachuſets colony; whereupon Captain Hutchinſon was ſent with twenty horſemen to Quabaog, or Brookfield, from whence ſome of the principal inhabitants accompanied him toward the chief town of the Nipnets, who formed an ambuſh of three hundred men, and killed ſixteen Engliſh, among whom was Captain Hutchinſon. The others eſcaped to Quabaog, where the Indians purſued, and burnt almoſt all the houſes in the town.

Philip eſcaped from the ſwamp at Pocaſſet, and joined the Nipnets in another ſwamp about ten miles from Brookfield, with about forty men, beſide women and children. The Indians upon Connecticut River began their hoſtilities about the ſame time; as likewiſe thoſe upon Merrimack River; whereby the utmoſt terror was ſtruck through the whole Maſſachuſets colony: but Plymouth was leſs affected, becauſe the Naraganſets had not engaged.

Several ſkirmiſhes happened about Hatfield, in which the Indians had the advantage. Hadley was attacked on the 1ſt of September, while the people were at church, as it was a Faſt Day; which broke up the ſervice, and obliged them from prayers to have recourſe to arms. While they

were in the utmoſt confuſion, a grave perſon is ſaid ſuddenly to have appeared in the midſt of them, and not only encouraged the congregation to defend themſelves, but ſet himſelf at their head, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by his conduct were repulſed. As ſuddenly, the deliverer of Hadley diſappeared; and the people were left in conſternation, utterly unable to account for this ſtrange phenomenon, which it ſeems they were never able to explain*.

The commanders in that part of the country began to garriſon the towns, and to collect a magazine of proviſions at Hadley. About four thouſand buſhels of corn were in ſtacks at Deerfield, where Captain Lothrop was ſent, with eighty men, to guard it down in carts: but they were attacked by eight hundred Indians, who cut off all the Engliſh except eight. Captain Moſeley was then quartered with his company at Deerfield, and came out too late to reſcue Captain Lothrop; but he kept his men compact, and fought the whole number of Indians three hours, with the loſs of only two men, until Major Treat came to his aſſiſtance, with one hundred and ſixty Mohegin Indians, and put the enemy to flight.

The Springfield Indians had lived in ſuch a good correſpondence with the Engliſh for about forty years, that great confidence was repoſed in them; but Philip induced them to take his part, and join in a plot to deſtroy the town. The ſtratagem was happily diſcovered; though too late to prevent the Indians from deſtroying ſeveral houſes and barns. This inſtance of perfidy appears to have increaſed the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the other Indians in the vicinity of Boſton, although many went out with the Engliſh forces againſt the enemy.

An alarm was made at Boſton, about ten in the morning, on the 23d of September, when twelve hundred men were in arms before eleven, and all diſmiſſed before twelve, as it proved a falſe ſignal by an intoxicated centinel. At the ſeſſions in October, the general court ordered, "That no perſon ſhould entertain, own, or countenance any Indian, under the the penalty of being a betrayer of the Maſſachuſets government. That a guard be ſet at the entrance of the town of Boſton; and that no Indian be ſuffered to enter without a guard of muſketeers, and not to lodge in town. That any perſon might apprehend an Indian, finding him in town, or approaching it, and that none be permitted to come in by water." Articles of war were alſo agreed upon by the general court, for the better diſcipline of their forces.

* Anecdote from Governor Leveret's family.

The Indians attacked Hatfield with all their force and fury, but were repulſed, and withdrew to the Naraganſets country, which they made their general rendezvous. The commiſſioners of the United Colonies therefore agreed, to raiſe one thouſand men, and march againſt the enemy. The Maſſachuſets were to raiſe five hundred and twenty-ſeven; the remainder by the other two colonies; and Mr. Winſlow, the governor of Plymouth, was appointed general.

The Maſſachuſets forces marched from Boſton, on the 8th of December, and were joined at Pettyguamſcot, on the 18th, by the Plymouth and Connecticut men. The night was ſtormy, and the men had no covering; but, at break of day, they marched through the ſnow about fifteen miles, until noon, when they arrived at the edge of the ſwamp where the enemy lay, to the number of about five thouſand men, who knew of the army coming againſt them, and fortified themſelves with all the art and ſtrength in their power. The Engliſh, ſuddenly and unexpectedly fell in upon this ſeat of the enemy, without drawing up in order of battle, or conſulting how to begin the aſſault. The Indians fired upon the Engliſh as they entered the ſwamp, and followed them to their fortreſs, which was upon a riſing ground, in the middle of the ſwamp, palliſadoed all round, and within a thick hedge. At one corner only, was a gap the length of one log, where the breaſt-work was not above four or five feet high: but the Indians had placed a block-houſe oppoſite this paſſage, at which the Engliſh could enter, and no where elſe. The captains entered at the head of their companies: the two firſt, Johnſon and Davenport, were ſhot dead at the entrance, as were many of their men; beſide the Captains Gardner, Gallop, Siely, and Marſhal, likewiſe loſt their lives. When the Engliſh were entered, they attacked the Indians, who fought deſperately, and beat the Engliſh out of the fort; but the Engliſh continued their attack about three hours, and their advantage was ſuch, that they began to fire the wigwams, which were five or ſix hundred, and in many of them the Indian women and children periſhed; while the ſurvivors fled into a cedar ſwamp at a little diſtance, without any neceſſaries of life. The day was almoſt ſpent, which induced the Engliſh to retire, with their dead and wounded men, who were eighty-five killed, and a hundred and forty-five wounded; but the Indians loſt one thouſand fighting men in the action, beſide many old men, women, and children, who periſhed by the fire, cold, and famine. The Indians repoſſeſſed their fort, and the Engliſh forces retired to Boſton. This was a very gallant action, and the memory of it ought to be preſerved, for the honour of thoſe that were engaged in it.

Church. Hubbard. Mather.

The Indians abandoned the Naraganſet country, and aſſaulted Lan- 1676.
caſter, on the 10th of February, when they burnt ſome houſes, and killed or captivated forty-two perſons, among whom were Mrs. Rowlandſon, who was the miniſter's wife, and her children. Miſchief was alſo done at Marlborough, Chelmsford, and Sudbury, about the ſame time: but, on the 21ſt, the Indians fell upon Medfield, in which were two hundred and fifty ſoldiers, who were unable to prevent them from burning half the town, and killing eighteen of the inhabitants. The indians alſo burnt ſeven houſes at Weymouth on the 25th; but they committed no farther acts of hoſtility nearer to Boſton, which was about ſeventeen miles diſtant.

Where Philip ſpent the winter was never certainly known; ſome conjectured that he went to the Mohawks, others that he ventured to Canada, which his friends ſaid was his intention in the fall. He knew the premium ſet upon his head, therefore diſguiſed and concealed himſelf, ſo that little was heard of him until about the time he was ſlain.

In March, the Indians attacked Northampton and Springfield, upon Connecticut River, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough, in the Maſſachuſets; as alſo Warwick and Providence in Rhode Iſland; where they committed great ravages, burning the houſes, deſtroying the cattle, and maſſacring the inhabitants. Captain Peirce, at the head of fifty Engliſh, and twenty Indians of Cape Cod, were drawn into an ambuſhment, and ſurrounded by five hundred Indians, who killed every Engliſhman, and moſt of the friendly Indians; but the Engliſh fought ſo valiantly that they ſlew about one hundred and fifty of the enemy. After this, the Indians burnt forty houſes, beſides barns, at Rehoboth.

In April, the Connecticut men, under Mr. George Deniſon of Stonington, killed and took priſoners forty-four of the enemy; and ſoon after he took and ſlew ſeventy-ſix more, without the loſs of a man in either of theſe exploits. Between theſe two ſucceſsful actions happened an unfortunante one for the Maſſachuſets, who loſt Captain Wadſworth, and fifty of his men, in attempting to relieve Sudbury.

In May and June, the enemy appeared in various parts of the colony; but their vigour abated, as their diſtreſſes increaſed; while the Mohawks attacked and killed fifty of them.

In July, the Connecticut forces killed or took one hundred aud forty of the enemy in the Naraganſet country. The Maſſachuſets and Plymouth volunteers

volunteers were equally ſucceſsful in ſeveral parts; but no commander was more fortunate than Colonel Church*, of Plymouth colony, who made Philip his principal object, upon whoſe life or death depended war or peace. The captain was informed by an Indian, that Philip was returned with many Indians to his old quarters at Mount Hope, where he might be eaſily ſurprized. Parties were ſent out, who brought in many Indians, and more ſurrendered upon promiſe of mercy, which obliged Philip to ſeek for his own ſecurity. He fled from one ſwamp to another, abandoned by his friends, until his uncle and ſiſter, and at laſt his wife and ſon, were taken priſoners. Reduced to this miſerable condition, he was killed, on the 12th of Auguſt, as he was flying from a party under Colonel Church, out of a ſwamp near Mount Hope. An Indian ſhot him through the heart: his body was quartered and ſet upon poles, and his head was carried in public to Plymouth, where his ſkull was preſerved as a curioſity.

This was a finiſhing ſtroke, as the parties of Indians that remained unſubdued were drove from one ſwamp to another; ſo that before winter, moſt of them were killed, taken, or obliged to ſurrender; though a few fled to the diſtant Indians, or the French. In all the promiſes of mercy, thoſe were excepted who had been principal actors in any murders of the Engliſh; and none had promiſe made of any thing more than their lives. Many of the chiefs were therefore executed at Boſton and Plymouth; moſt of the others were ſold, and ſhipped off for ſlaves to Bermudas and other parts. There was ſcarce a family in the two colonies that had not loſt a relation or friend, and the people in general were much exaſperated.

The Indians in the eaſtern parts of New England had ſtronger provocations to quarrel with the Engliſh than thoſe in the weſtern and ſouthern parts. The Indians bordering on the provinces of Maine and New Hampſhire, beyond Piſcataqua River, had carried on a very profitable trade with the Engliſh, who had ſettled there from the Maſſachuſets. Neale. They treated the natives like ſlaves, of which they were truly ſenſible; and within a month after breaking out of the Philippic war, they gave the Engliſh to underſtand, they would bear their inſults no longer. Encouraged by the example of the Wampanoags, Naraganſets, Nipmucs, Saconets, and Pocaſſets, the Tarenteens, or eaſtern Indians, fell upon the Engliſh, deſtroying their houſes and plantations as often as they had a fair opportunity.

* He publiſhed an account of his campaign.

The

The government at Boſton, informed of the diſtreſs that the Engliſh were in, ſent a body of men to their relief, under the command of Captain Hathorn, Captain Syll, and others, who ſurprized four hundred Indians, as they were buſy in plundering Major Waldron's houſe at Quochecho, and took them all priſoners. About two hundred, who were found in arms, were ſold for ſlaves; a few were executed for having been guilty of murder; and the others were diſmiſſed, on a promiſe of committing no farther hoſtilities.

This blow diſpoſed the ſavages to treat with the governor and council of the Maſſachuſets; ſo that articles were agreed upon about three months after the death of the Sachem Philip, between them and the Sachems of Penobſcot, who paid ſuch little regard to the articles, that the Maſſachuſets were obliged to ſend Major Waldron, with two hundred men, to ſee them executed. This intimidated the Indians, who concluded a kind of general peace, on terms not very honourable for the Engliſh, who were to allow a certain quantity of corn yearly to the Indians, and pay a quit-rent for their lands.

Such was the end of this Indian war, that had continued eighteen months; in which the Engliſh loſt about three hundred and forty men, but above three thouſand Indians periſhed. This was a fatal ſtroke to the ſavages, who were perpetually dwindling away by inteſtine wars and new diſeaſes; while the coloniſts frequently had recruits from England, and built ſeveral new towns and forts, in New Hampſhire and Main, within a few years.

In the height of the diſtreſs of the war, and while the authority of the colony was contending with the natives for the poſſeſſion of the ſoil, complaints were making in England, which ſtruck at the powers of government; and an enquiry was ſet on foot, which was continued from time to time, until it finally iſſued in a *quo warranto*, and judgment againſt the charter thereupon.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Agents ſent to England to anſwer the complaints againſt the coloniſts in 1677.—*Mr. Leveret dies, and is ſucceeded by Simon Bradſtreet, Eſq. as governor of the Maſſachuſets. Mr. Winthrop dies, and is ſucceeded by William Leet, Eſq. as governor of Connecticut and New Haven, in* 1678. —*The caſe of the governor and company of Maſſachuſets Bay decided in* 1679. *The coloniſts ſubmit to the regulations made in England. The agents return from England to Boſton with the King's letter, and requiſitions for the better government of the colony. New Hampſhire made an independent government, and John Cutt, Eſq. appointed preſident in* 1681. —*Mr. Dudley and Mr. Richards ſent as agents to England, in* 1682, *to defend the Maſſachuſets charter, then threatened with a* quo warranto. *The vote of the governor and aſſiſtants thereon in* 1683. *The New England charters ſurrendered. Henry Cranfield Eſq. appointed governor of New England in* 1684. *King James* II. *proclaimed in Boſton. Mr. Dudley appointed preſident in* 1686. *Reſolutions of him and his council concerning their commiſſion.*

1676. MR. Randolph was ſent to the Maſſachuſets with his Majeſty's letter of March 10th, 1675-6, and copies of the petitions of Maſon and Gorges. The King commanded that agents ſhould be ſent over, to appear before him in ſix months after the receipt of the letter, fully inſtructed and impowered to anſwer. Governor Leveret ſummoned a ſpecial court, to meet on the 9th of Auguſt, when it was agreed, "That it ſeemed unto them the moſt expedient way of making anſwer unto the complaints of Gorges and Maſon, about the extent of the patent line, to do it by appointment of agents, to appear and make anſwer for them; ſo as to negociate the affair with ſafety unto the country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majeſty, in the preſervation of their patent liberties:" to which the reaſons for their opinion were ſubjoined.

1677. Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley were choſen agents, and went to England, where a hearing was had before the Lords of the Committee of the Council, upon the principal parts of their agency, in both of which they were unſucceſsful. The province of Main was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs, both as to ſoil and government; and with reſpect to Maſon's claim, it was determined, that the Maſſachuſets had a right to three miles north of Merrimack River, to follow the courſe of the river ſo far as it extended; and that the expreſſions in the charter could nor warrant the over-reaching thoſe bounds by imaginary lines.

Governor

Governor Leveret died, and was ſucceeded by Simon Bradſtreet, Eſq. 1678.
John Winthrop, Eſq. governor of the United Colonies, of Connecticut and New Haven, alſo died about the ſame time, and was ſucceeded by William Leet, Eſq. who had formerly been governor.

In all the confuſions of grants, or copies of grants, the greateſt ſtreſs 1679.
was laid upon that of the 7th of November 1629: upon which occaſion, Sir William Jones, his Majeſty's attorney-general in England, gave his opinion upon the whole caſe, which was entirely in favour of the coloniſts; and a commiſſion was iſſued from the crown for the government of New Hampſhire; whereupon the Maſſachuſets deſiſted from any further exerciſe of juriſdiction; except as to the towns of Saliſbury, Ameſbury, and Haverhill, which, by their original grants from the Maſſachuſets colony, extended above three miles from Merrimack.

The Quakers renewed their complaints againſt the colony, for recent acts of intolerance; and ſome other regulations occaſioned murmurs among the general part of the inhabitants, who found that exceſſive penalties prevented proſecutions, and that multiplying laws, with ſuch penalties, impaired the weight and authority of the penal laws.

Several addreſſes were made to the King from the general court, who paſſed ſome laws in favour of the crown; particularly an act to puniſh high treaſon with death; and another, requiring all perſons above ſixteen years of age to take the oaths of allegiance, on pain of fine and impriſonment. The governor and magiſtrates took thoſe oaths without any reſervation: the King's arms were ordered to be carved, and put up in the court-houſe; but it was a more difficult thing to conform to the acts of trade, which the coloniſts at firſt apprehended to be an invaſion of their rights, liberties, and properties. They ſoon after, however, ſubmitted to the acts of navigation and trade, which they ordered punctually to be obſerved, conſidering that they were coloniſts, and therefore ſubject to the controul of the parent ſtate.

This year died Joſiah Winſlow, Eſq. governor of Plymouth colony, 1680.
and the firſt New Engliſhman that was advanced to that honour. He was ſucceeded by Robert Treat, Eſq. and Mr. Thomas Danforth was appointed deputy-governor of the Maſſachuſets, in which office he continued with governor Bradſtreet until the diſſolution of the government.

The agents were detained in England until this time, and thought themſelves not at liberty to return without the expreſs permiſſion of his Ma-

jeſty: but the popiſh plot prevented an attention to plantation affairs, and the agents were diſmiſſed at London, from whence they came to Boſton, with the King's letter of the 24th of July 1679, containing the following requiſitions:

"I. That agents be ſent over in ſix months, fully inſtructed to anſwer and tranſact what was undetermined at that time. II. That liberty of conſcience be given to ſuch perſons as deſired to ſerve God in the way of the Church of England, ſo as not to be diſcountenanced from ſharing in the government, or ſubjected to other incapacities. III. That no other diſtinction be obſerved in making of freemen, than that they had competent eſtates, rateable at ten ſhillings, according to the rules of the place, and that ſuch, in their turns, be capable of the magiſtracy, and all laws made void that obſtructed the ſame. IV. That the ancient number of eighteen aſſiſtants ſhould be obſerved, as by charter. V. That all perſons in office ſhould take the oath of allegiance. VI. That all military commiſſions, as well as the proceedings of juſtice, ſhould run in his Majeſty's name. VII. That all laws repugnant to the laws of England for trade, ſhould be aboliſhed."

Few objections were made to theſe inſtructions, and the colony of Main continued under the protection of the Maſſachuſets; but New Hampſhire was made an independent government, and John Cutt, Eſq. was appointed the firſt preſident.

1681. The deſign of taking away the colony charters now became evident; and a new matter of charge was brought in England againſt the Maſſachuſets; which was the coinage of money. The coloniſts alleged, that this cuſtom began in the times of the late confuſions, to prevent frauds on the pieces of eight current among them; and if they had treſpaſſed upon the royal prerogative, it was through ignorance.

1682. Mr. Dudley and Mr. Richards were diſpatched as agents to England; and a public faſt was obſerved throughout the colony, to pray for the preſervation of their charter and ſucceſs to the agency. The agents, in their firſt letter to the general court, acquainted them, "that his Majeſty was greatly provoked by their ſo long neglecting to ſend agents; and they deſired the court to conſider whether it was beſt to hazard all, rather than ſatisfy his Majeſty as to the mode of ſubmiſſion to the laws for regulating trade, ſince they ſeriouſly intended to ſubmit to the ſubſtance."

Lord

Lord Radnor and Sir Lionel Jenkins threatened that a *quo warranto* ſhould proceed: the coloniſts reſented it, and were determined to make no conceſſions of any privileges conferred upon the chartered colony.

It was determined a *quo warranto* ſhould go againſt the charter, and 1683.
that Randolph ſhould be the meſſenger of death. This man was an agent for the King, and endeavoured all in his power to ruin the colony.

The agents arrived at Boſton on the 23d of October 1683; ſoon after Randolph came over with the *quo warranto*, and a declaration from the King, that "if the colony before proſecution would make full ſubmiſſion to his pleaſure, he would regulate their charter for his ſervice and their good."

Two hundred copies of the proceedings againſt the charter of the city of London were ſent, at the ſame time, by advice of the privy-council, to be diſperſed through the province: but the governor and major part of the aſſiſtants deſpairing of any ſucceſs from ſuch a defence, paſſed the following vote:

"The magiſtrates have voted, that an humble addreſs be ſent to his Majeſty, declaring they would not preſume to contend with him in a courſe of law; but ſubmitted to his pleaſure: And, for ſaving a default for non-appearance upon the return of the writ of *quo warranto*, that proper perſons be empowered to make defence."

There was not the leaſt pretence of miſgovernment againſt the Plymouth company in their *quo warranto*; but thoſe writs for Connecticut and New Haven were accompanied with a letter from the King, ſignifying, if they reſigned their charter, they might take their choice of being under either Boſton or New York. They petitioned to remain as they were; in which they judged very right.

Rhode Iſland had a valuable charter; but the government there ſaw it was in vain to diſpute with a King, who had forced the city of London to change its ancient rights and privileges for his will and pleaſure, and ſubmitted to that mark of ſlavery. Hampſhire and Main never had a charter; but a ſort of aſſociation, which they readily reſigned into the hands of his Majeſty, and afterward became a royal government, independent of the Maſſachuſets.

1684. King Charles having thus ſeized the charters of New England, ſent over Henry Cranfield, Eſq. to be governor, by a royal commiſſion, which ſuperſeded Mr. Bradſtreet, governor of the Maſſachuſets, Mr. Leet, governor of Connecticut and New Haven, and Mr. Treat governor of Plymouth: but the King died before any new government was ſettled; and King James was proclaimed, on the 20th of April, in the high ſtreet in Boſton, with great ceremony.

1685. The ſymptoms of an expiring conſtitution were ſtill to be diſcovered; and ſeveral of the towns neglected to ſend their deputies, ſo that little buſineſs was done at the court. There appears to have been as much indifference in the legiſlature about public affairs in 1685, as they expected to be ſuperſeded every day. The coloniſts were informed that Colonel Kirke was to be their governor, which made their condition ſeem very deplorable.

1686. The election for 1686 was on the 12th of May, when Joſeph Dudley, Eſq. being left out, Mr. Stoughton refuſed to ſerve; and, on the 15th, the Roſe frigate arrived from England, with a commiſſion to Mr. Dudley, as preſident, and ſome others, gentlemen of the council, to take upon them the adminiſtration of government. A copy of the commiſſion was preſented, and the following anſwer reſolved upon by the court:

"That they conceived, Firſt, That there was no certain determinate rule for the adminiſtration of juſtice; and that which was, ſeemed to be too arbitrary. Secondly, That the ſubjects were abridged of their liberty as Engliſhmen, both in the matters of legiſlation and in laying of taxes, and indeed the whole unqueſtioned privilege of the ſubject transferred upon the commiſſioners, there not being the leaſt mention of an aſſembly in the commiſſion; and therefore the court thought it highly concerned the commiſſioners to conſider whether ſuch a commiſſion was ſafe for the whole: But if the commiſſioners were ſo ſatisfied therein as that they held themſelves obliged thereby, and took upon them the government, although the court could not give their aſſent thereto, yet they hoped they ſhould demean themſelves as true and loyal ſubjects to his Majeſty."

The preſident and council met on the 25th, when the royal commiſſion was publiſhed. The court appointed a committee to take into their cuſtody ſuch papers as referred to the charter, and titles of land, by purchaſe

chaſe from the Indians or otherwiſe; which they ordered their ſecretary to deliver, and adjourned to the ſecond Wedneſday in October.

About this time Mr. Hinckley, governor of New Plymouth, ſent an account of the praying Indians, then in that colony, to the corporation in England; whereby it appeared, they amounted to 1439, beſide boys and girls under twelve years of age, which were ſuppoſed to be above four thouſand.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

From the diſſolution of the charter in 1686, *until the arrival of the province charter in* 1692.

1686. THERE are no public records from the diſſolution of the old charter government in 1686, until the reſtoration of it in 1689; and if there was any book of records, it was ſecreted or deſtroyed.

Mr. Dudley's adminiſtration was ſhort, and not very oppreſſive. The houſe of deputies, indeed, was entirely laid aſide; but the people ſuffered little from the change. Of a preſident and eighteen members of the council, there was only one of the Church of England: The juſtices of peace and officers of the militia were congregational men; ſo that in the main, the perſons only, and not the government, were changed *."

Mr. Dudley the preſident, and Mr. Stoughton deputy-preſident, profeſſed a great attachment to the intereſt of the colony, whoſe church-worſhip had no moleſtation; and the civil juriſdiction was managed as formerly. Trials were by juries as uſual, and even in the vice-court of admiralty, with ſome exceptions as to the power of the marſhal in returning jurors. Mr. Dudley conſidered himſelf as appointed to preſerve the affairs of the colony from confuſion until a governor arrived, and a rule of adminiſtration ſhould be firmly aſcertained: As preſident and ordinary, he took all matters of wills and adminiſtrations into his own hands; ſo that in general the old colony-laws were obſerved, though the government which framed them was diſſolved.

Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Iſland continued their former adminiſtration, until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, a poor knight of Guernſey, who had a commiſſion from King James for the government of New England, and landed at Boſton on the 20th of December, when his commiſſion was publiſhed.

1687. This Sir Edmund Andros had been governor of New York, and the beginning of his adminiſtration in New England promiſed very ſalutary views. He made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of regard to the public good

* Randolph's Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

and the welfare of the people, both of merchants and planters; directed judges to adminiſter juſtice according to the cuſtom of the place; ordered the former eſtabliſhed rules to be obſerved, as to rates and taxes; as alſo that all the colony laws, not inconſiſtent with his commiſſion, ſhould be in force.

The major part of his council* were inclined to the public intereſt, and would have continued under the old form of government. With a proper firmneſs of mind, they might have been ſerviceable while they held their places in council; but they were like the reeds of their colony, and bowed before the blaſts of Engliſh power.

Sir Edmund Andros has been repreſented as a bigotted Papiſt; nor is it impoſſible. He had no affection for his new council of New England, yet he made ſome of them his confidents: it was not long, however, before the caſe of ſome, who apprehended themſelves oppreſſed, came under conſideration; when one of the council told them, "They muſt not think the privileges of Engliſhmen would follow them to the end of world." This gave an alarm through the government, which has never been forgot.

There was but one epiſcopal miniſter in the country; and Sir Edmund conſidered the congregational miniſters as laymen only; though there had been few inſtances of even occaſional aſſemblies for religious worſhip according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England for upward of fifty years. One of the firſt acts of power, after the change of government, was the reſtraint of the preſs, and Randolph was licenſer; but the moſt grievous reſtraint was that upon marriages, as none were allowed to marry except they entered into bonds with ſureties to the governor, to be forfeited if there ſhould afterward appear to have been any lawful impediment.

The King favoured them with a general toleration, which diſſipated the fears of the people from a perſecution; but the more intelligent perſons ſuſpected this as an introduction to popery. Swearing by the book, which had never been practiſed, was now introduced, and ſuch as ſcrupled it were fined or impriſoned. The fees to all officers had been very low under the charter; but they became exorbitant under the new adminiſtration.

* Theſe are not apparent upon any liſt.

As

As the charter was vacated, the greateſt profits aroſe from patents for lands; and the people were told they had no titles to their eſtates, becauſe the general court had not made their grants under the colony ſeal. In the latter part of the adminiſtration, property became more precarious, and petitions were greatly multiplied. The governor and ſome of his council impoſed arbitrary taxes upon the people, who thought themſelves intitled to the liberties and immunities of free and natural-born Engliſh ſubjects, and that conſequently no money ought to be exacted from them but by their repreſentatives. They had no expectation that their charter privileges in general would be reſtored; but they hoped to be allowed a a houſe of repreſentatives, even under ſo arbitrary a prince.

There was a general ſubmiſſion to the taxes, and the aſſeſſments were proportioned upon the inhabitants of the towns by officers appointed by themſelves; which makes it probable, that this was the reaſon of continuing to the towns ſome of their privileges; for every town was ſuffered to meet annually to elect officers; but all meetings for other purpoſes were ſtrictly forbidden. A new model of government was intended, but there was not time to accompliſh it; and the old laws of the colony ſeem to have continued the rule for adminiſtration of juſtice, except where they were ſuperſeded by arbitrary ordinances. The law proceedings were more formal than they had been; but Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton were two of the judges of the ſuperior court, and neither of them inclined to comply with dictatorial commands.

1688. The Indians upon the frontiers, in the ſummer of 1688, renewed their hoſtilities, which were not immediately checked. The governor raiſed about eight hundred men to oppoſe the Indians, who evaded his purſuit, and eſcaped without loſs; but ſome new forts were built at Pejypſcot and Sheepſcot, to prevent their incurſions.

The governor received a new commiſſion, which was publiſhed, with great ceremony, from the balcony of the town-houſe. New York was included in this commiſſion; and Mr. Blaithwait wrote to Randolph as follows:

"If the union of all New England under one governor be acceptable on your ſide the water, what will the joining and annexing to the ſame government be, of all the Engliſh territories in America, from Delaware Bay to Nova Scotia? This is already determined by his Majeſty, and a commiſſion is in hand, conſtituting Sir Edmund Andros governor

alſo of New York, as united to New England: and for the two Jerſeys, *ſcire faciaſes* are expediting towards their union. This, beſides other advantages, will be terrible to the French, and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done." About the ſame time, advice was received that the Queen was ſafely delivered of a Prince, and a general Thankſgiving was ordered by the governor, with advice of the council.

The fate of New England depended upon that of the mother-country, and Mr. Winſlow came from Virginia in April, with a printed copy of the declaration publiſhed by the Prince of Orange on his landing in England. Mr. Winſlow was committed to priſon, "for bringing a traiterous and treaſonable libel into the country," as expreſſed in the mittimus: he offered two thouſand pounds bail, which was refuſed; and a proclamation was iſſued, "charging all officers and people to be in readineſs to hinder the landing of any forces which the Prince of Orange might ſend into thoſe parts of the world." The old magiſtrates and principal inhabitants ſilently wiſhed and ſecretly prayed for ſucceſs to the glorious enterprize, and determined quietly to wait the event: but more impatience was ſhewn by the populace, who ſeized and confined the governor, ſome of his council, and about forty other obnoxious perſons; upon which the old magiſtrates were reinſtated, and ſent a meſſage to the governor, importing, that, "tendering his own ſafety, they judged it neceſſary, he ſhould deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preſerved and diſpoſed of according to order and direction of the crown of England, which ſuddenly was expected might arrive*." 1689.

The governor complied, as he found it was in vain to reſiſt; and the gentlemen aſſembled in the council chamber drew up "a declaration of their grievances;" which was read from the balcony or gallery of the town-houſe, to a great concourſe of people, who heard it with ſatisfaction and applauſe †.

When the popular tumult was abated, the new council began to conſider what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh, in the room of that which was diſſolved; they were joined by many other reſpectable perſons, and took the title of "A Council for the Safety of the People, and Conſervation of the Peace." They choſe Mr. Bradſtreet their preſi-

* Dated at "the Town-houſe in Boſton, April 18th, 1689:" directed "to Sir Edmund Andros Knight."

† This declaration may be found at large in Neale, and other writers; but it is too long to be inſerted here.

dent; Mr. Addington clerk of the council; and Mr. Wait Winthrop commander in chief of the militia: they alſo appointed officers in the ſeveral ports for entering and clearing veſſels; and John Foſter and Adam Winthrop were made treaſurers.

Letters were diſpatched to Plymouth and Connecticut, acquainting the principal gentlemen there with what had been done at Boſton. Thoſe colonies alſo reaſſumed their old form of government; but nothing paſſed relative to New Hampſhire or Rhode Iſland.

When the news arrived at New York, Mr. Nicholſon, the lieutenant-governor, ſent a letter to the gentlemen aſſembled at Boſton, remonſtrating againſt their conduct, to which a ſuitable reply was returned, in juſtification of the meaſures purſued.

The repreſentatives of fifty-four towns met at Boſton on the 22d of May, and ſoon diſcovered a deſign to reaſſume the charter: forty of them were for reaſſumption, and two days were ſpent in debates; but the majority of the council were againſt it, and the people without doors were much divided in ſentiments. On the 24th, the governor and magiſtrates, choſen in 1686, ſigned a paper, declaring "their acceptance of the care and government of the people, according to the rules of the charter, for the conſervation of the peace and ſafety of the people, until, by direction from England, there was an orderly ſettlement of government; provided an addition ſhould be made of fit perſons to aſſiſt them, as was deſired, and that what had been before done be allowed, and the ſtewards be reimburſed: this they did for the ſatisfaction of the people, and from the preſent neceſſity; nor would be underſtood to intend an aſſumption of the charter government. "Their declaration was accepted by the repreſentatives; though all the gentlemen who had joined the governor and aſſiſtants choſen in 1686, were excluded from the new council.

The next day, Mr. Winthrop, with moſt of the other gentlemen who had acted as members of the council, and who had a ſtrong party in favour of their continuing ſo to act, generouſly quitted all claim to it, "in confidence that the people would be inviolably preſerved in their obedience to the directions expected from England, and that the perſons of all the gentlemen confined ſhould be well treated, and promiſed to endeavour to pacify the people, who were diſſatisfied on their account, and to promote the public tranquility, as far as in their power."

A ſhip

A ſhip arrived from England on the 26th, with advice that King William and Queen Mary was proclaimed; which was the moſt joyful news that New England ever received: the fears of the people ſubſided, and were ſucceeded by pleaſing hopes. On the 29th, the proclamation was publiſhed in Boſton, with the greateſt ceremony, and rejoicing.

The repreſentatives of the ſeveral towns aſſembled at Boſton, the 5th of June, upon a new election, and the old government was reſumed, which had continued above fifty years; but this was only the form, without the authority.

Mr. Mather was a faithful agent for the colony in England, where the houſe of commons voted "the taking away the charters of the plantations to be a grievance;" a bill paſſed the houſe for reſtoring charters, and thoſe of New England were expreſsly mentioned: but while the bill lay in the houſe of lords, the parliament was prorogued.

King William promiſed Mr. Mather all the favour in his power for 1689.
the coloniſts; but hinted what had been irregular in their former government: whereupon Mr. Mather undertook, they ſhould reform any irregularities, and Lord Wharton offered to be their guarantee. The King intended to reſerve the appointment of the governor to himſelf; ſo that it was in vain to try for the reſtoration of the old charter; and a new one, with retention of ſome old privileges, was all that could be expected; but application was made, for expreſs power and authority to exerciſe the colony government according to the old charter, until a new one could be ſettled; which was granted.

Sir Edmund Andros, and the other perſons confined, were ordered to be releaſed, and ſent to England, to juſtify themſelves before his Majeſty: but the general court thought it proper to ſend over two of their members to join with Sir Henry Aſhurſt and Mr. Mather in maintaining the charges againſt their oppreſſors, as alſo to ſolicit that the charter might be reſtored, with ſome additional privileges, conſonant to the ſtate of the colonies: but they failed, by repoſing too much confidence in the courtiers of the day.

The Indians were inſtigated by the French to continue their depredations upon the Engliſh in the province of Main and other parts adjacent to the Maſſachuſets Bay colony; therefore the general court meditated an attempt both upon Port Royal and Quebec.

1690. Sir William Phips arrived in New England at this time, and he was thought the fitteſt perſon to command the forces upon ſuch an expedition. This gentleman was a native of New England, and was born in 1650 at Pemaquid, where he kept ſheep until he was eighteen years of age, and then was bound apprentice to a ſhip-carpenter. When he was free, he ſet up his trade, and built a ſhip at Sheepſcot; after which, he followed the ſea, and hearing of a rich Spaniſh ſhip which had been wrecked fifty years ſince near the Bahamas, he gave ſuch an account of it in England, that, in 1683, he was appointed commander of one of the King's frigates, the Algier Roſe of eighteen guns and one hundred men; in which ſhip he went in ſearch of the galleon, and failed. He was ſoon after fitted out by the enterprizing Duke of Albermarle on a ſecond expedition, in a ſhip called the Bridgewater Merchant of about two hundred tons, at the outſet of about ten thouſand pounds. He was ſucceſsful in this attempt, and diſcovered the wreck, out of which he took gold, ſilver, diamonds, pearls, and other rich commodities generally belonging to the cargo of a Spaniſh galleon, amounting to the value of near three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. He brought this treaſure ſafely to England, where it was divided among the adventurers, among whom the Duke of Albermale had ninety thouſand pounds to his own ſhare, and about ſixteen thouſand pounds came to the ſhare of captain Phips, who on this account received the honour of knighthood from King James. Sir William Phips, by a ſeries of fortunate incidents rather than by any uncommon talents, roſe from the loweſt condition in life to be the firſt man in his country.

Eight ſmall veſſels, with eight hundred men, were thought ſufficient for the reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia. The fleet ſailed the 28th of April, reduced the fort with little difficulty, and returned to Boſton the 30th of May; after taking poſſeſſion of the whole ſea-coaſt from Port Royal to Penobſcot and the New England ſettlements. The plunder was thought equal to the whole expence; and the acquiſition was ſo eaſy that the Engliſh court were confirmed in the proſecution of their deſign upon Canada: beſide, the ravages began upon the frontiers by French and Indians, as ſoon as the ſpring opened, made it appear more neceſſary than ever. Caſco fort, with above one hundred perſons, was beſieged and taken on the 17th of May, while the Engliſh forces were gone to Port Royal.

A veſſel was ſent expreſs to England, the beginning of April, with a repreſentation of the expoſed ſtate of the colony, and the neceſſity of the

the reduction of Canada, desiring a supply of ships, troops, arms, and ammunition, to attack the French by sea, while the colony forces marched by land to perform their parts.

Their hands were too full in England to give any attention to this proposal: the Massachusets, however, determined to proceed, and Connecticut and New York engaged to furnish a body of men. It was late in the season to undertake this capital attempt, which was retarded, in expectation of supplies from England, from whence none arrived, and the fleet set sail from Nantasket on the 9th of August. This expedition seems to have been as ill conducted, as it was well contrived; for it was thought Sir William Phips had an armament sufficient to expel the French from Canada. He had between thirty and forty vessels, great and small; the whole number of men on board the fleet were about two thousand; but they came not within sight of Quebec until the 5th of October. Thus they were almost eight weeks in a voyage that, with good winds and weather, might have been made in two or three.

Great dependence was had upon a division of the French forces; but it most unfortunately happened that the two thousand English and fifteen hundred Indians, designed against Montreal, had retreated, and the news of it reached that place before the fleet arrived at Quebec; so that Count Frontenac, the French general, was able to employ the whole strength of Canada against Sir William Phips and his little army; nor is it easy, at this day, to ascertain the cause of the New York and Connecticut forces making an unexpected retreat, after they had marched as far as the great lake of Canada. Indeed, the distracted state of the government of New York, where one party seemed determined to ruin the public interest, if the other had engaged in it, must have contributed to this disappointment, which greatly dispirited the troops under Sir William Phips, who was still determined to proceed in his attempt, in which he might have succeeded, if La Hontan is to be credited; but from the ill success of this undertaking, both the English and French writers have treated it with great ridicule and peculiar contempt.

The next morning after the fleet arrived, Sir William summoned Count Frontenac to surrender the place; which summons exasperated the Count, who returned an insolent answer, wherein the English were called heretics and traitors; and also told, that if it had not been for the revolution, New England and Canada would have been consolidated as one government.

An

An attempt was made to land on the 7th of October, in the morning, by the troops under the command of Major Walley, who acted as lieutenant-general; but he was prevented by a ſtorm from landing his men until the next day, when he put on ſhore all the effective men, whoſe number was reduced to between twelve and thirteen hundred; while the French had aſſembled four thouſand in the town.

It appears that, upon the charge, his officers and ſoldiers ſhewed courage and reſolution enough; yet the enemy giving way, and, by the conveniences of ſwamps and buſhes, having opportunity to ſecure themſelves, kept up a firing upon the Engliſh, who continued their march toward the town, until it was dark; when two-thirds of the army took up their ſtand by a creek, where was a houſe and ſome other ſhelter; and the other part advanced about a quarter of a mile, the better to ſecure the ſhore, and ſee the veſſels.

Upon examining a deſerter, he gave them ſuch an account of the ſtrength of the French, as diſcouraged the Engliſh from advancing any farther. The ſhips were drawn up the next evening before the town, but did little damage to the enemy, and were much ſhattered by the cannon from their batteries. The forces continued aſhore until the 11th, when they precipitately embarked. A council of war was called the day following, and propoſals were made for another attempt, after the troops were refreſhed; but tempeſtuous weather came on, which ſcattered the whole fleet, and they made the beſt of their way back to Boſton, where Sir William arrived the 19th of November. Some of the fleet were blown off to the Weſt Indies, one was loſt upon Anticoſta, and three others were heard of no more.

This was a mortifying ſtroke to New England, where the conduct of Major Walley was cenſured by particular perſons; but no public enquiry was made, and he gave in the journal of his proceedings to the general court.

Sir William Phips ſoon after embarked at Boſton for London, to ſolicit an expedition from thence againſt Canada; and the government of the Maſſachuſets ſent by him an humble addreſs to their Majeſties, to ſhew the neceſſity of ſuch an enterprize. They were unprepared for the return of the forces from Quebec, and the ſoldiers were upon the point of mutiny for their pay: but it was impracticable to raiſe the money in a ſhort time; becauſe the government depended upon ſucceſs, and the treaſure of the enemy to bear the expence of the expedition. Upon this

this occaſion, the aſſembly paſſed an act for levying the money; but the men could not ſtay until it ſhould be brought into the treaſury; and the extreme difficulty to which the government was reduced, occaſioned the firſt bills of credit ever iſſued in the colonies as a ſubſtitute for caſh. Moſt of the colonies afterward adopted that mode, with very different ſucceſs; and it is doubtful, whether the project of a land-bank in England was not taken from this expedient, where it entirely failed.

The debt was paid by paper-notes from two ſhillings to ten pounds denomination; which notes were to be received for payment of the tax to be levied, and all other payments in the treaſury. The ſoldiers, however, were great ſufferers in general, as the notes would not command money, or any commodities at money price: but as the time of payment of the tax approached, the credit of the notes was raiſed: the government allowed five *per cent.* to thoſe who paid their taxes in notes, which then became preferable to caſh, and was a profit to the poſſeſſor, without reſtoring to the poor ſoldiers what they had loſt by the diſcount.

What was the conſequence? fatal enough. The colony encouraged by the reſtoration of credit, afterward iſſued others for charges of government. They obtained good credit at the time of being iſſued; and the charges of government were paid in this manner from year to year. While the ſum was ſmall, ſilver continued their meaſure, and bills retained their value: but when the charges of government increaſed, eſpecially after the ſecond expedition to Canada in 1711, the bills alſo increaſed, and in the ſame or greater proportion the gold and ſilver were exported. There being a cry of ſcarcity of money in 1714, the government ordered fifty thouſand pounds to be iſſued; and one hundred pounds more in 1716, and lent to the inhabitants, to be paid in at a certain period, and to paſs as money in the mean time. Lands were mortgaged for ſecurity: but when the gold and ſilver were gone, and the bills were the only inſtruments of commerce, money became ideal; for no poſſible reaſon could be aſſigned, why a bill of twenty ſhillings ſhould bear a certain proportion to any one quantity of ſilver more than another. Sums in bills were drawing into the treaſury from time to time by the taxes, or payment of the loans; but other ſums were continually iſſuing out, and all the bills were paid and received without any diſtinction either in public or private payments; ſo that, for near forty years together, the currency was much in the ſame ſtate; as if one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling had been ſtamped in pieces of paper of various denominations, and declared to be the money of the government, without any other ſanction than this, that when there ſhould be taxes to pay,

the treaſury would receive this ſort of money, and that every creditor ſhould be obliged to receive it from his debtor. But can it be ſuppoſed that ſuch a medium could retain its worth? No: it ſunk to about one-eighth of its original value. In 1702, the ſum of ſix ſhillings and eight pence was equal to an ounce of ſilver, which in 1749 was judged equivalent to fifty ſhillings. Such was the deluſion, that not only the bills of the Maſſachuſets government paſſed as money, but they received the bills of the government of Connecticut, New Hampſhire, and Rhode Iſland alſo in currency; while the Maſſachuſets bills likewiſe paſſed in thoſe governments. In 1749, however, bills of credit were aboliſhed; and unleſs the evils which they occaſioned ſhould be forgotten, the government, it muſt be preſumed, will never iſſue any more*.

During the attempt upon Quebec, the Indians made ſome terrible incurſions upon ſeveral parts of New England, particularly in the county of York, or province of Main: but when a force was collected to march againſt them, the Indians pretended to be diſpoſed to peace, delivered up ten captives, and agreed upon a truce until the 1ſt of May following, when they were to meet at Wells, to bring in all the Engliſh captives, and ſettle articles for a firm and laſting peace. In conſequence of this truce the land enjoyed reſt for the winter; but at the day appointed, when Mr. Danforth, the deputy-governor, and ſeveral others, with a proper guard, repaired to Wells, no Indians appeared. The deputy-governor returned diſappointed, and a garriſon was left at Wells, where they were attacked by two hundred Indians, who were repulſed there, but killed many perſons at Berwick, Exeter, and other places. A ſmall army was ſent into the Eaſtern country by ſea, and landed at Maqorit, where they were attacked by a great body of Indians, who continued their devaſtations until the next year, when they deſtroyed the town of York, killed Mr. Dummer the miniſter, and made his family priſoners: they alſo murdered about ſixty other perſons, and carried near an hundred into the moſt wretched ſtate of captivity.

* Hutchinſon, p. 403.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

The new charter obtained in 1691;—*A compariſon between this charter and the old one.—Sir William Phips appointed governor of New England; the ſtate of the colony under his adminiſtration: many perſons proſecuted on pretence of witchcraft: Articles of impeachment againſt Sir William Phips; and his death in* 1693.

WHILE the coloniſts were thus diſtreſſed among themſelves, their enemies in England took advantage of theſe misfortunes; which they uſed as an argument againſt the reſtitution of the charter, and imputed all to the bad adminiſtration of government. King William had too much work upon his hands in Europe to have either money or men to ſpare and employ againſt Canada; therefore Sir William Phips was unſucceſsful in his negociation; however, he was ſerviceable to his country, by joining with Sir Henry Aſhurſt and Mr. Increaſe Mather, the New Engliſh agents, to obtain the reſtoration of their charter, which had been in vain ſolicited ever ſince the revolution: His Majeſty had thoſe about him who concurred to ſtretch the prerogative in the two preceding reigns, particularly the earls of Danby and Nottingham, who found it no difficult matter to convince the King, that it was not conſiſtent with his honour to ſuffer any diminution of the royal authority, where it was ſupported by laws. 1691.

The colony agents were divided in opinions, and acted differently in their views. Mr. Wiſwal, a miniſter of Plymouth, accompanied Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes from Boſton to London; but he had no credentials, and joined rather with Mr. Cooke than with Mr. Mather in politics. The people of Plymouth were extremely deſirous of continuing a ſeparate government; or if that could not be obtained, they choſe to be annexed to the Maſſachuſets rather than New York, under which Plymouth was put when Mr. Slaughter was appointed governor.

An order was afterward iſſued to the Lords chief-juſtices Holt and Pollexfen, as alſo to the attorney and ſolicitor-generals, Treby and Somers, to draw up a new charter for the Maſſachuſets, in which Plymouth was included; but Mr. Wiſwal oppoſed it, in hopes of obtaining a ſeparate grant. This offended the ſolicitor-general, who ſtruck out Plymouth, and it was again intended it ſhould be annexed to New York. When this news arrived the people were alarmed; yet their general court per-

ſiſted in deſiring Sir Henry Aſhurſt, their agent, to apply for a ſeparate charter, without intimating that they choſe to be joined to the Maſſachuſets in preference to New York. The ſentiments of many of the beſt men in the colony were known to Mr. Mather; otherwiſe Plymouth might have finally been included in New York commiſſion, although near three hundred miles diſtant.

Mr. Hinckley wrote to Mr. Mather as follows: "Not being in a capacity to make rates for the equal defraying the charge, I ſee little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unleſs their Majeſties, out of their royal bounty and clemency, graciouſly pleaſe to grant it, *ſub forma pauperis*, to their poor but loyal ſubjects of this colony."

When Mr. Mather found it impoſſible to obtain the reſtitution of the old charter, he endeavoured to preſerve as many of the privileges contained in it as he could, and Sir Henry Aſhurſt joined with him in all his meaſures. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes were for the old charter or none at all; and it was doubtful, by their inſtructions, if they had authority to ſolicit for any other: Mr. Oakes, however, ſigned the petition for a new charter, though Mr. Cooke refuſed.

In the firſt draught of a new charter, the governor only was reſerved to the King; the deputy-governor and council and other officers were to be choſen by the people; nor had the governor a negative in any caſe. This draught was made by the attorney-general, according to what he thought the King intended, as expreſſed in council, at which board it was preſented on the 8th of June 1691, when it was objected, that, "by ſuch a charter as this, the King's governor would be made a governor of clouts*;" and an order paſſed for preparing the heads of another draught.

While the Maſſachuſets agents were ſoliciting a charter for that colony, a project was ſet on foot by Dr. Cox, to form a grand colony or ſtate, more extenſive than all the other colonies together; and the original draught of a charter has the following entry upon it: "In the Council Chamber at Whitehall, the 22d of Auguſt, 1690: The Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations are pleaſed to refer the conſideration of this draught of a grant to Mr. Attorney-general, who is deſired to conſider how far the ſame is conſiſting with law, and to report his opinion thereon to the Committee." Mr. Attorney re-

* Mather's Narrative.

ported

ported in favour of the grant; but with ſome legal objections and conſtitutional reſtrictions.

When the heads of another draught for the Maſſachuſets colony were prepared, a copy was given to Mr. Mather, with an order from their Lordſhips, that "if the agents were not ſatisfied therewith, they ſhould bring in their objections to the attorney-general:" but Mr. Mather was ſo diſſatisfied, that he declared "he would ſooner part with his life than conſent to them." He was told, "The conſent of the agents was not deſired; the agents of New England were not plenipotentiaries from a ſovereign ſtate; if they declared they would not ſubmit to the King's pleaſure, his Majeſty would ſettle the country, and they might take what would follow. Sir Henry Aſhurſt and Mr. Mather, however, drew up their objections againſt the minutes, inſiſting upon the royal promiſe, and that charters might as well be refuſed to be reſtored to any of the corporations in England, where they had been taken away, as to New England. Theſe objections were preſented to the attorney-general, laid before the council, and a copy tranſmitted to his Majeſty in Flanders, but all without effect. The King approved of the minutes, he diſliked the objections, and the charter was drawn up accordingly.

Mr. Hampden, upon this occaſion, deſired the opinion of Mr. Hooke, an eminent lawyer, the reſult of which was as follows:

"A middle way ſeems moſt deſirable; *viz.* that new charters be granted to the reſpective colonies, wherein the former to be recited, and the proceedings againſt them reſpectively; and a new grant made *in terminis*, by the words grant and confirm; and reciting the deficiency in the former charter, all thoſe powers may be veſted in the government of the Maſſachuſets for the time being; and the colonies which have no charters to be annexed to the Maſſachuſets colony."

The only queſtion with the agents was, whether to ſubmit to this new ſettlement, or to ſignify to the miniſters of ſtate that they would rather have no charter at all. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Wiſwall continued firm againſt accepting a new charter; which occaſioned conteſts not material to enter into at this diſtance of time.

The new charter of Maſſachuſets Bay may be conſidered as an union or conſolidation of ſeveral ſeparate grants into one legiſlature and juriſdiction, for the more effectual protection of the whole, againſt the incurſions of the French and Indians. It was granted by King William and

Queen Mary, in the third year of their reign *, and incorporated the territories and colonies known by the names of The Colony of the Maſſachuſets Bay, and Colony of New Plymouth; the Province of Main; the Territory called Acadia, or Nova Scotia; and all that Tract of Land lying between the ſaid Territories of Nova Scotia and the ſaid Province of Main, into one real Province, by the name of their Province in the Maſſachuſets Bay, in New England.

The privileges granted by the new charter are not ſo valuable as the old ones were, as appears by the following particulars: 1. That the nomination and conſtitution of the governor, lieutenant-governor, ſecretary, and all officers of the admiralty, are taken from the people and wholly reſerved to the crown. 2. The power of the militia is turned over to the governor, as captain-general. 3. All judges and juſtices of a ſuperior and inferior order, as alſo all ſheriffs, are appointed by the governor, with the advice and conſent of the council. 4. The governor has a negative upon all laws, elections, and acts of government of the general aſſembly and council. 5. All laws enacted by the general aſſembly and approved of by the governor, are to be tranſmitted home for the royal approbation, and if diſallowed within the ſpace of three years, to be utterly void."

It may be alſo farther remarked as to the new charter, that in the delineation of the province of Main the following words are omitted: "And up Sagadahock River to Quenebec River, and through the ſame unto the head thereof, and into the land north-weſtward, until one hundred and twenty miles be ended, being accounted from the mouth of Sagadahock." That Nova Scotia and this neighbouring tract called Sagadahock were annexed by this charter to keep the Engliſh claim, as that territory was then poſſeſſed by the French, who never relinquiſhed their claim until the treaty of Utrecht in 1713: That Nova Scotia, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, was conſtituted a ſeparate property and juriſdiction or government; but Sagadahock ſtill continues annexed to the province of the Maſſachuſets Bay; though as it is not the abſolute property of the province, perhaps from ſo large an extent of a frontier defenceleſs in itſelf, it has been until lately more of an incumbrance than of any advantage. That the council of the preſent conſtitution of the Maſſachuſets Bay may labour under two diſadvantages or difficulties; firſt, to be arbitrarily led or impelled by the governor, to prevent future negatives: ſecondly, as their election is annual, they may be biaſſed by the humour of the majority of the repreſentatives, for fear they ſhould be dropped the

* See the charter at large in the Appendix to Neale's Hiſtory of New England.

next

next annual election. That by the former charter the provincial lands were granted to twenty-ſix proprietors, and ſuch as ſhould be admitted freemen; but by this new charter, theſe lands are granted to the inhabitants in general, to be diſpoſed of by their repreſentatives or general aſſembly. That in the election of all civil officers the council and repreſentatives vote together, but not as two ſeparate negatives: And thoſe officers are, the treaſurer; the impoſt officers; the exciſe officers; the general commiſſary of proviſions, ſtores, and traffic for garriſons and Indian truck-houſes; the attorney-general; and notaries for the ſeveral ſea-ports.

To ſay only, that the people have loſt the nomination of their governor, the management of their militia, the affirmative vote for their laws, and the naming their judges, juſtices, and ſheriffs, is ſufficient to make the difference between the old and new charters appear very much to the diſadvantage of the latter; nor was it thought they had any amends made them in a permiſſion to nominate their firſt governor.

This firſt governor was Sir William Phips, who arrived at Boſton with the charter, on the 14th of May, 1692, and iſſued writs for a general aſſembly, which met the 8th of June following. Although a party was formed which oppoſed a ſubmiſſion to the charter, yet a majority of the court wiſely and thankfully accepted it, and appointed a day of ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God, for "granting a ſafe arrival to his excellency the Governor and the reverend Mr. Increaſe Mather, who have induſtriouſly endeavoured the ſervice of this people, and have brought over with them a ſettlement of government, in which their Majeſties have graciouſly given us diſtinguiſhing marks of their royal favour and goodneſs." 1692.

Mr. Hutchinſon obſerves, that "Sir William arrived juſt at the beginning of as ſtrange an infatuation as any people were ever under: that a conſiderable number of innocent perſons were ſacrificed to the diſtempered imagination, or perhaps wicked hearts, of ſuch as pretended to be bewitched." But he adds, that "having proceeded as far as he propoſed, he left the relation of this unfortunate affair, and other tranſactions and occurrences ſince the preſent charter, to be communicated to the public by ſome abler pen*."

The governor gave his affirmative to the laws which the aſſembly had paſſed, and then declared his reſolution to march againſt the Indians in

* Hutchinſon, p. 416.

perſon.

perſon. The ſeat of war was in his native country, upon Kennebeck River, where the Indians were aſtoniſhed when they heard of his promotion; for they well knew his original, which they thought as mean as their own. He had frequently fiſhed and hunted with them; ſo that he knew all their haunts and receſſes, which enabled him to diſperſe or deſtroy them with the more facility; but they were ſpirited by the French, and fell upon ſome huſbandmen at work in the meadows to the north of Merrimack River; upon advice of which, Sir William Phips haſtened away, with four hundred and fifty men, toward the eaſt.

On his arrival at Pemmaquid, he gave orders for building a new fort there, purſuant to his inſtructions; and accordingly one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in America was erected in leſs than ſix months; it was built of ſtone in a triangular figure, about 737 feet in compaſs without the outer wall, and 108 ſquare within the inner one. It had 28 port-holes, eight feet from the ground; and fourteen guns mounted, ſix of which were eighteen pounders. The fort ſtood about twenty rod from high-water mark, and had a garriſon of ſixty men for its defence: It was named William Henry Fort, and certainly would have been a great ſecurity to the frontiers of the colony upon the eaſt.

In the mean time, Major Church deſtroyed the Indian country about Taconet; while Major Convers ſcoured the woods and laid the foundation of a new fort at Saco, which was finiſhed by Major Hook, who deſtroyed ſeveral Indians, to revenge ſome murders lately committed by them at Oyſter River. The ſavages then appeared in arms above Connecticut River; but the Engliſh came up with them near Quaboag, purſued them to a ſwamp, ſlew moſt of them, and recovered the captives they were carrying into ſlavery.

1693. Theſe ſucceſſes, the building thoſe forts in the eaſt, and augmenting the forces there, inclined the Indians to think ſeriouſly of peace, which was concluded at Fort William Henry, on the 11th of Auguſt, 1693.

By this peace they renounced their French alliance, owned themſelves ſubjects to the crown of England, confirmed the Engliſh in the poſſeſſion of all their lands, and ſubmitted the trade between the Engliſh and Indians to the regulation of the general aſſembly. But this peace was of ſo ſhort a duration, that it is unneceſſary to mention the other articles.

As to the perſons proſecuted at this time upon a pretence of witchcraft, it is hard to believe the leaſt part of the evidence upon which the New England

England witches, ſo irrationally called, were convicted and executed. The law againſt them was unjuſt, cruel, and abſurd; contrary to reaſon, and repugnant to credibility: it was meanly enacted in a ſuperſtitious time, and wiſely repealed in more auſpicious days.

This inhuman perſecution carries with it the greater aggravation, as it was perpetrated by ſanction of law, upon many ignorant maniacs, and other perſons affected in their nerves, if we believe Dr. Douglas, a phyſician long reſident in New England, who ſays, it was an endemial diſtemper of the brain and nerves; for which he phyſically accounts.

Mr. Paris, miniſter of Salem, firſt introduced this tragic ſcene of witchcraft on the ſtage, in February 1692, by declaring that his daughter and niece, the one about nine, the other eleven years of age, were under the power of witchcraft, which was imputed to two very old Indian women, who were barbarouſly treated to extort an involuntary confeſſion from them that they were witches, which they recanted afterward.

Before the end of May, about one hundred perſons were impriſoned upon that account; at which time Sir William Phips aſſumed the government, and iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer for the trials of thoſe accuſed. The commiſſioners were Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, Major Saltonſtall, Major Richards, Major Gidney, Wait Winthrop, Eſq. Captain Sewall, and Peter Sergeant, Eſq. whoſe names ought to be remembered, that it might not be thought a proſecution carried on by perſons of no conſequence.

Under this ridiculous charge of witchcraft, five men and twenty-three women were condemned to die; of whom nineteen were hanged, one preſſed to death, and ſome died in priſon. Mr. George Burroughs, miniſter of Falmouth, was one in this ſacrifice, and perhaps in reſentment from his having quitted the miniſterial office at Salem, where he was executed, to the diſgrace of humanity. Moſt of thoſe who thus ſuffered death were remarkable for piety; and none of them confeſſed any guilt. After theſe twenty diſmal deaths, ſome of the popular clergy addreſſed the governor with thanks for what was already done, and exhorted him to proceed.

Some of the accuſers were thoſe who confeſſed themſelves witches, and others were ſuch to whom the ſpectral ſight was allowed; but they overacted their parts ſo far, that at laſt they accuſed the friends and relations of the governor and magiſtrates, who arreſted the accuſers in high actions

actions for defamation, which put such a stop to farther accusations, that in the superior court, held in January 1693, of fifty-six bills preferred against witches, the grand jury brought in thirty ignoramus; and of the remaining twenty-six, the petty jury convicted only three, who were afterward pardoned.

At this time, about one hundred and fifty persons were in prison, and two hundred more accused; but they were all discharged, and no other accusations allowed. Many of the confessing witches signed a paper, importing that most of their confessions were only assenting to, or repeating what they were directed to declare; being weak in mind, and under terror, from the putting to death all persons accused who did not confess.

It would be very unjust to make this folly and wickedness national and personal; for much the greater part of the inhabitants of New England abhorred these desperate persecutions at the time they were carrying on; and similar infatuations have at times prevailed in many other countries.

In December 1696, a general fast was appointed by the assembly; praying "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people, in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." At this fast, Judge Sewall and several of the jury gave in papers signed, heartily asking forgiveness of all, and declaring that they would not do such things again for the world.

1694. As the frantic heat about witchcraft abated, the complaints against the governor increased, both on account of the loss of their ancient privileges in the charter he had brought over, and the increase and continuance of the taxes for the Indian war, without any suitable success in it. The discontented at last drew up articles of impeachment against him, and transmitted them to the King and council, with a petition that he might be discharged from his government: but this was opposed by a counter-petition from the general assembly, praying that the governor might be continued in his office. These opposite addresses puzzled the cause; but the friends of Sir William Phips flattered themselves that it would terminate in his favour, and he would be restored to the government. He had been ordered home, and sailed from Boston on the 17th of November 1694. The matter was referred to a committee of the council; but Sir William Phips, soon after his arrival at London, was seized with a malignant fever, and died on the 18th of February following. If he had been dismissed from his government, he designed to have gone upon another Spanish wreck,

wreck, which had Governor Broadille aboard *. Sir William had the character of an honeſt man; but his education was very low. He was of a haſty temper, and being a ſtout man, he would uſe his cane and fiſt after he was governor. Some inſtances of that ſort with a captain of a man of war and a collector, occaſioned one of thoſe complaints againſt him in England, which he was ſent for to anſwer †. Mr. Mather, his advocate, writes, "Nor indeed had the hunger of a ſalary any ſuch impreſſion upon him, as to make him decline doing all poſſible ſervice for the public; and that he was not to be reckoned among thoſe who were infamous for infinite avarice and villany ‡. Sir William was not aſhamed of his former low circumſtances; and once in ſailing with a conſiderable armament, in ſight of Kennebeck, he ſaid to thoſe under his command, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept ſheep a few years ago; you do not know what you may come to." He was interred in St. Mary Woolnoth church, London; and Dr. Cotton Mather wrote an elegy upon his death.

New England was now become a great body of people, for there were at leaſt two hundred thouſand Engliſh ſouls in the whole province, and it required a good hand, conſidering their fomenting ſpirits, to keep order among them, without interrupting trade or infringing liberty.

William Stoughton, Eſq. lieutenant-governor, was commander in chief from the departure of Sir William Phips until the arrival of the Earl of Bellamont in 1699. After a few months his lordſhip returned to his government of New York, and Mr. Stoughton was again in the chair, where he continued until his death in 1702, when he was ſucceeded by Governor Dudley.

The principal tranſactions that happened in the colony from 1695 to 1702 were depredations made by the Indians, who were ſupplied with arms by the French, and excited to renew the war againſt the Engliſh: but the barbarians had certainly more native probity than the French, as appears by their obſerving all their treaties with the Engliſh from the Pequot to the Philippic war, near forty years, until the French corrupted both their religion and morals; for if the Indians had any religion at all, it muſt be better than what the friars and jeſuits taught them; a ſpecimen of which Mr. Neal has thought proper to inſert in his Hiſtory §. 1695.

* Douglas, i. 477. † Hutchinſon, p. 397.

‡ Magnalia, book ii. § See Neale, vol. i. p. 284.

When the peace of Ryſwick was concluded, Count Frontenac adviſed the Indians to make the beſt terms of peace they could for themſelves. They applied for that purpoſe to the Engliſh governor, who ſent Colonel Philips and Major Convers to meet the Sachems at Penobſcot, where the conferences began on the 6th of October, when the Indians excuſed themſelves for making hoſtilities, laying the blame on the French. Another treaty was concluded with them, in which they added a more formal ſubmiſſion to the ſovereignty of the crown of England than they had hitherto expreſſed.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

The adminiſtration of affairs under Governor Dudley from 1702 *to* 1715: *The reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia, by General Nicholſon, with the aſſiſtance of the New England forces, in* 1710: *The unſucceſsful expedition againſt Canada, by General Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker, in* 1711: *Remarks on the conduct of the Maſſachuſets government upon that occaſion: a terrible fire in Boſton.—Colonel Burgeſs appointed governor in* 1715. *Governor Dudley dies.—Colonel Shute arrives as governor in* 1716, *when William Dummer, Eſq. was appointed lieutenant-governor. The adminiſtration of affairs under Governor Shute, who returns to England in* 1722, *to exhibit articles of complaint againſt the houſe of repreſentatives; and obtains an additional charter in* 1726.—*William Burnet, Eſq. appointed governor in* 1728.—*He is ſucceeded by Jonathan Belcher, Eſq. in* 1730.—*And he is ſuperſeded by William Shirley, Eſq. in* 1741. —*The other royal officers appointed by the crown. Conteſts between the reſpective governors and houſes of repreſentatives relative to an eſtabliſhed ſalary. As alſo the diſpute about the diſpoſal of the public money.*

WAR was again declared between England and France; but the Indians preſerved a neutrality, and the merchants of New England were ſucceſsful in fitting out privateers. 1702.

Upon the death of the earl of Bellamont, Joſeph Dudley, Eſq. was appointed governor of New England by Queen Anne, to whom the people of that province, on her acceſſion to the throne, ſent a congratulatory addreſs, which was preſented by William Vaughan and Conſtantine Phips, Eſqrs.

Mr. Dudley was ſon to Thomas Dudley, Eſq. who was elected governor in 1645, and died at Roxbury in 1652, aged 77. His ſon ſuſtained many great and arduous poſts, as colony-agent, preſident of the council, chief juſtice, member of parliament in England, and governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay: and his other ſon, Paul Dudley, Eſq. was afterward chief-juſtice of the province, where he was highly reſpected for his great experience in the laws, and was well known abroad by ſome ingenious pieces relating to the natural hiſtory of New England, publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the years 1720 and 1721.

Joſeph Dudley, Eſq. arrived as governor on the 11th of June 1702; he was choſen of the council in 1682; and when the charter was in danger, he was ſent to England jointly with Mr. Richards as colony-agent. As he was a native of the country, and a perſon of abilities, the court of England deemed him a proper perſon to facilitate a change in the adminiſtration of the colony; and accordingly, when the charter was vacated, he was appointed preſident, or protempore commander in chief, in April 1686; in which ſtation he continued until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros as governor at the end of the ſame year, when Mr. Dudley was appointed chief-juſtice. He was diſplaced in 1689; but the next year he was appointed chief-juſtice of New York. He afterward went to England, and in 1701 was elected member of parliament for Newport in the Iſle of Wight, which introduced him to the government of the Maſſachuſets Bay. King William died before Mr. Dudley embarked for his native country; but his commiſſion was renewed by Queen Anne, and he continued governor until the year 1715.

1703. The inhabitants of Jamaica were apprehenſive of an invaſion from the French, and applied for aſſiſtance to the government of New England, which they readily granted, and ſent two companies there under the command of Colonel Walton and Captain Lawrence, who ſerved two years upon the Iſland, and loſt many of their men by ſickneſs. When
1705. Nevis was plundered and ruined by Ibberville, the government of New England generouſly raiſed two thouſand pounds for the relief of the diſtreſſed people of that Iſland; which they ſent in cargoes of flour, ſalt, proviſions, and materials for building, on board two ſhips, neither deſiring nor receiving any returns, when that Iſland came into more proſperous circumſtances.

During this war, the colony remained in a quiet and flouriſhing condition, except ſome domeſtic diſſentions of little conſequence. They took part in the glories acquired by the arms of Great Britain in the war, to recover Spain and the Weſt Indies out of the hands of the houſe of Bourbon; in which they were very inſtrumental, firſt in the reduction of Nova Scotia, and in their endeavours to promote another attempt againſt Canada.

1710. The expedition againſt Nova Scotia was undertaken under General Nicholſon and Adjutant-general Vetch, with inſtructions to all the governors of New England to be aſſiſting therein. General Nicholſon, with ſome Britiſh officers, and Colonel Reading's regiment of marines, arrived

arrived from England at Boſton, on the 15th of July 1710, for the intended expedition.

The armament ſet out from Boſton upon the 18th of September, conſiſting of four men of war, a bomb, and the Maſſachuſets province-galley, with tranſports, in all thirty-ſix ſail. The land forces on board were, the regiment of marines, two regiments of Maſſachuſets Bay, one regiment of Connecticut, with one regiment of New Hampſhire and Rhode Iſland, commiſſioned by the Queen, and armed by her gift. They arrived at Port Royal in ſix days; and after a ſmall affair of cannonading and bombarding, the French governor capitulated on the 5th of October, when the fort was delivered up. The terms of capitulation were, that all the French, being four hundred and eighty-one perſons within the Banlieu, or three miles of the fort, ſhould be under the protection of Great Britain, upon their taking the proper oaths of allegiance: but the other French ſettlers were left to diſcretion, that, in caſe the French made incurſions upon the frontiers of New England, the Engliſh ſhould make repriſals upon the French in Nova Scotia. The garriſon conſiſted of two hundred and fifty-eight ſoldiers with their officers, who were ſhipped to Rochelle. General Nicholſon ſent Major Livingſton, and M. Subercaſſe diſpatched baron St. Caſteen to the Marquis de Vaudreuil general of Canada, with advice of this event, and they arrived at Quebec on the 16th of December. Colonel Vetch was appointed governor of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, where he was left with a garriſon of two hundred marines, and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers, who were relieved the next year by four hundred of the troops deſtined againſt Canada. The men of war and tranſports, on the 14th of October, ſailed for Boſton, where they ſafely returned; and the New England charge in this expedition was upwards of 23,000 *l.* ſterling, which was reimburſed by parliament.

The ſcheme and expedition for reducing of Quebec and Placentia, and conſequently all Canada and Newfoundland, were ſolicited by General Nicholſon, who ſent four Sachems of the Five Nations to England to recommend the attempt. Seven regiments of foot, and a battalion of marines, were ſent from England under the command of Brigadier-general Hill, brother to the new royal favourite Mrs. Maſham, in forty tranſports, eſcorted by a ſquadron of twelve ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, and two bomb-veſſels, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker as admiral; with a fine train of artillery under Colonel King. This formidable armament ſailed from England on the 28th of April, and arrived in Nantaſket River near Boſton on the 25th of June. The caſtle having 1711.

ing given the uſual ſignal to the town of the approach of ſeveral ſhips in the bay, the alarm began about noon, and in a ſhort time the troop of guards, with a regiment of foot, were under arms, and other precautions taken for defence of the place, until the inhabitants were agreeably ſurpriſed to find that it was the Britiſh fleet. As Governor Dudley was then abſent, the gentlemen of the council received General Hill and the Admiral at their landing with all military honours; and the forces on board were ordered on ſhore at Noddes Iſland, where they encamped.

By order from England, a congreſs was held at New London of all the plantation governors north of Penſylvania, to concert meaſures with General Nicholſon; in conſequence of which, the Britiſh troops were to be joined by two regiments from Maſſachuſets Bay, Rhode Iſland, and New Hampſhire, to attack Quebec; while the militia from Connecticut, New York, and the Jerſeys, with the Indians of the Five Nations, ſhould march by land from Albany, under General Nicholſon, to attack Montreal, by way of diverſion to facilitate the grand attempt.

It was alleged, that the grand armament was retarded at Boſton for want of proviſions; and when Admiral Walker demanded a ſupply of ſailors, the governor and council repreſented, that "The ordinary guards for the ſea-coaſt, inland forces, with thoſe detached for the preſent expedition, were upward of two thouſand men; which, upon a ſtrict examination into the muſter-rolls, was more than one-fifth of all the perſons within that government capable of bearing arms: therefore it was inconſiſtent with the ſafety of that her Majeſty's province to ſpare any more men; as there were one thouſand one hundred and ſixty land-forces, and one hundred and ſixty ſailors in their tranſports."

The fleet ſet ſail from Boſton on the 30th of July, amounting to ſixty-eight veſſels of all ſorts, carrying ſix thouſand four hundred and thirty-ſix troops. On the 18th of Auguſt, they anchored in the bay or harbour of Gaſpee, on the ſouth ſide of the entrance of St. Lawrence's River, to wood and water: but, on the 23d, in a foggy night, contrary to the advice of the pilot, they fell in with the north ſhore, and loſt eight tranſports, with eight hundred and eighty-four men, upon the Iſlands of Eggs. In a council of war, it was reſolved, that, "by reaſon of the ignorance of the pilots, it was impracticable to proceed; and that advice ſhould be ſent to recal General Nicholſon from proceeding to Montreal." The fleet anchored in Spaniſh River off Cape Breton on the 4th of September, when it was reſolved, in a general council of war, "not

" not to attempt any thing againſt Placentia, but to return to Great Britain." They ſailed from Spaniſh River on the 16th, and were in ſoundings off the Engliſh coaſt in twenty-one days: but, on the 16th of October, the Edgar was blown up at St. Helen's, with the journals and other papers belonging to the admiral.

The charge incurred by the Maſſachuſets province was upwards of 24,000 *l.* ſterling, which was allowed by parliament, and converted into debentures transferable and bearing intereſt.

Sir Hovenden Walker wrote to Governor Dudley in Boſton as follows: " I concur with the opinion of all the ſea and land officers here, that the government of this colony have prejudiced the preſent expedition, inſtead of aſſiſting it." It was alſo publickly ſaid in England*, that " thoſe who had the principal mangement of this expedition were made to expect, that, upon the arrival of the fleet in New England, they would find there all the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſion; but, contrary to their expectation, above five weeks elapſed before all things could be got in readineſs." But Mr. Dummer† has remarked, that " when the great unfortunate expedition was ſet on foot againſt Canada, the New England people furniſhed more than the quota aſſigned them, and provided all neceſſaries for the Britiſh troops in ſo ſhort a time, that if they had not been animated by an extraordinary zeal, would not have been poſſible; and ſuch a fleet and army, wanting the neceſſaries they did, could not have been diſpatched in ſo ſhort a warning from any port in England."

Soon after the return of the ſhips from the River of St. Lawrence, a terrible fire happened at Boſton, and deſtroyed a great part of the city; upon which occaſion the governor informed the aſſembly, That " he muſt offer them his ſincere ſenſe and condolence of the fleet and forces ſent there by her Majeſty's ſpecial favour. That he had time enough, ſince the account thereof, to conſider the ſeveral articles of her Majeſty's command to this government, for the putting forward that expedition; and he could not charge the aſſembly with neglecting any particular; but, on the contrary, when he peruſed the journals of the proceedings, he thought there was proviſion and expedition made in every article referring to ſoldiers, artificers, pilots, tranſports and proviſion for the ſervice

* Political State, October 1711.

† This gentleman was many years agent for New England at London; a man of great ſenſe, learning, and experience.

of

of her Majeſty's Britiſh forces, as well as their own: therefore he hoped they would ſee reaſon to conſider and repreſent home, for their juſtification, that it might be demonſtrated they were in earneſt to do their duty to the utmoſt for their own benefit and eſtabliſhment, as well as her Majeſty's honour and juſt right, ſet down in the inſtructions for the expedition. That beſide this great article, they had in their view the moſt ſorrowful Providence of God, in ſuffering ſo great a part of Boſton to be conſumed by fire, and, among the reſt, the public buildings; which, if the heavy debts that the war had unavoidably brought upon them, would allow them to reſtore, this general aſſembly muſt conſider what was proper for them to grant, and what directions and orders were neceſſary to put upon the particular perſons that would rebuild their houſes, to ſecure the buildings from the like deſolation."

1713. The peace of Utrecht happened ſoon afterward; and the town of Boſton roſe out of its aſhes, more beautiful and more ſecure than before; ſo that in a few years after the conflagration, the inhabitants there, and through the whole colony, continued increaſing in number, trade, and opulence.

1714. Queen Anne died on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1714, and Mr. Dudley retained his government according to an act of parliament for continuing officers ſix months after the demiſe of a Sovereign; but when that time was expired, the council, in conformity to the charter, took the adminiſtration upon themſelves. However, Mr. Dudley received the King's proclamation for continuing all officers until further orders, and reaſſumed the government, which he held until November 1715, when Colonel Tailer was appointed lieutenant-governor, under Colonel Burgeſs, appointed governor. Coloner Tailer produced an exemplification of the commiſſion or patent granted to the new governor, and as lieutenant-governor under him aſſumed the government on the 9th of November 1715. Governor Dudley died at his houſe in Roxbury near Boſton in 1720, aged ſeventy-three.

1715. Colonel Burgeſs did not come over to his government, and was ſuperſeded by Colonel Samuel Shute, as "his Majeſty's captain-general and governor in chief of the Provinces of the Maſſachuſets Bay and New Hampſhire, and vice-admiral of the ſame."

1716. Colonel Shute was brother to Lord Barrington, and was appointed governor on the 14th of March 1716, by the ſolicitation of Jonathan Belcher Eſq. an eminent merchant of New England, and afterward governor

governor there. The colonel had ſerved under the Duke of Marlborough in Germany, and received ſeveral wounds at the battle of Donawert, where he commanded a troop of horſe. His Excellency arrived at Boſton on the 4th of October 1716; and William Dummer, Eſq. was appointed his lieutenant-governor. He was a natural patron of his country, and his good management in the Indian war, during his adminiſtration, with ſmall expence, will perpetuate his memory among all true lovers of New England.

The governor, in his firſt ſpeech to the aſſembly, intimated there was no ſettled ſalary for himſelf or lieutenant-governor. The aſſembly declined the point of ſalary, but provided an elegant houſe for the reſidence of his Excellency; and the good intelligence between Governor Shute and the aſſembly, kept affairs in ſuch good order, that little material offers for his time in hiſtory, except the following facts:

He propoſed to the aſſembly to refit the fort of Pemmaquid, or rebuild another, that might be a greater ſecurity to the frontiers of the colony. He alſo informed them, that notwithſtanding the law paſſed in England for encouraging naval ſtores, and for the preſervation of white pine trees, his Majeſty had been informed, that great ſpoils were daily committed in his woods in the province of Main, and in ſome parts of Maſſachuſets Bay, by cutting down and putting to private uſe ſuch trees as might be proper for the royal navy: therefore he recommended, that all laws againſt it might be put in execution, and new ones made if thoſe were not ſufficient.

He ſuppreſſed the increaſing inſolence of the Indians on the eaſtern frontiers, and compelled them to accept of more ſubmiſſive terms. He alſo obtained an additional or explanatory charter from the court of Great Britain; which affair was occaſioned as follows: 1717.

The governor was tenacious of the royal prerogative, and was oppoſed by ſome perſons who had an aſcendency over their fellow repreſentatives, as alſo in ſome meaſure over the council, and at laſt endeavoured the ſame over the governor, by aſſuming ſome articles of the prerogative. His Excellency, inſtead of ſending home, was well adviſed to carry his complaints in perſon, and ſupport them there with his intereſt; which he accordingly did in November 1722. He preſented ſeven articles of complaint againſt the houſe of repreſentatives encroaching upon the prerogative: "1. Their taking poſſeſſion of royal maſts cut into logs. 2. Refuſing the governor's negative of the ſpeaker. 3. Aſſuming authority jointly with the governor and council to appoint faſts and thankſgivings. 4. Adjourning 1722.

4. Adjourning themſelves for more than two days at a time. 5. Diſmantling of forts, and ordering the guns and ſtores into the treaſurer's cuſtody. 6. Suſpending of military officers, and mulcting them of their pay. 7. Sending a committee of their own to muſter the King's forces."

Upon a hearing before the King in council, Mr. Cooke, agent for the houſe of repreſentatives, and his counſel, in their name, gave up or renounced the firſt, third, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh articles; acknowledged their faults, induced by erroneous precedents of former aſſemblies. The other two articles were regulated by an explanatory charter, which the aſſembly were directed to accept.

This explanatory charter was dated the 20th of Auguſt, in the twelfth year of King George I. and after reciting, that "whereas, in their charter, nothing was directed concerning a ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, and of their adjourning themſelves; it was thereby ordered, that the governor or commander in chief ſhould have a negative in the election of the ſpeaker; and the houſe of repreſentatives might adjourn themſelves not exceeding two days at a time." By the prudent conduct of Governor Dummer, the aſſembly were induced to accept of this explanatory charter in 1726, by a public act of the general court.

When Governor Shute had obtained this redreſs, he was too infirm to return to his government, and was allowed a penſion of 400 *l.* ſterling a year for life: the chief command in the adminiſtration then devolved upon Lieutenant-governor Dummer, whoſe conduct is univerſally eſteemed; and he was continued in his ſtation until the arrival of Governor Burnet at Boſton, on the 19th of July, 1728.

1728. William Burnet, Eſq. was a ſon of the noted Doctor Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury. He was comptroller-general of the cuſtoms in Great Britain, and exchanged with Governor Hunter, of New York, whoſe health required his return to England: but, upon the acceſſion of King George II. Colonel Montgomery was appointed governor of New York, and Mr. Burnet was made governor of the Maſſachuſets Bay, where he died much lamented on the 7th of September, 1729.

1730. Upon the death of Mr. Burnet, Lieutenant-governor Dummer was chief in the adminiſtration, until the arrival of Jonathan Belcher, Eſq. as governor, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1730. Mr. Belcher was a native of New England, of a good clear paternal eſtate, and conſequently of a true natural intereſt in the country. During his government, he ſtrongly adhered to

his inſtructions; but was ſuperſeded by a commiſſion granted to William Shirley, Eſq. which arrived on the 14th of Auguſt, 1741. This new governor was a gentleman of the law, who had reſided and practiſed in New England for ſeveral years; but the particulars of his adminiſtration are reſerved for another place.

Theſe are the governors and lieutenant or deputy-governors, appointed at home, from the date of the new charter in 1691 to 1756. The other royal officers, reſerved by charter to be appointed by the crown, are the ſecretary and judge of vice-admiralty; therefore it may not be improper here to annex a ſhort account of their ſucceſſion.

I. Secretaries. Iſaac Addington, Eſq. the firſt ſecretary, was appointed by the charter, during pleaſure. He died in 1715, and was ſucceeded by Captain Woodward, who reſigned in 1717, in favour of Mr. Willard, who kept his ſtation in 1748.

II. Vice Admiralty. The charter reſerves to the crown the exerciſe of any admiralty court or juriſdiction, by commiſſion to be iſſued under the great ſeal of the crown, or that of the high admiral or commiſſioners for executing that office. This court of vice-admiralty conſiſts of a judge, a king's advocate, a regiſter, and a marſhal. A ſole judge without a jury, in caſes of high conſequence; but there lies an appeal to the court of delegates in Great Britain.

The ſucceſſion of judges was as follows:

Wait Winthrop, Eſq. on the 22d of May, 1699, was appointed judge of admiralty for New York, Maſſachuſets Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and New Hampſhire. He was ſucceeded by Mr. Atwood in that office, as alſo for the Jerſeys; and, on the 10th of November, 1701, he appointed Mr. Newton his deputy. Roger Monpeſſon, Eſq. on the 1ſt of April, 1703, had a commiſſion as judge for the ſame colonies. Nathaniel Byfield, Eſq. had the like commiſſion granted on the 13th of December, 1707. John Menzies, Eſq. on the 26th of Auguſt, 1715, was appointed judge for Maſſachuſets Bay, Hampſhire, and Rhode Iſland. Upon the death of Mr. Menzies in 1728, Robert Auchmuty, Eſq. was appointed judge *pro tempore* by Governor Burnet, who ſoon after reinſtated Mr. Byfield: but Mr. Auchmuty ſucceeded him in 1733, and was ſuperſeded by Chambers Ruſſel, Eſq. in 1747.

All the officers of this court of vice-admiralty have a power of appointing deputies; and Mr. Cradock was deputy-judge in 1748.

Beſide this court of vice-admiralty in each of the provinces and colonies, there is a juſticiary court of admiralty, for trial of piracies and other crimes committed upon the high ſeas. The members of this court are various in the different colonies; but in the province of the Maſſachuſets Bay, the judges are, the governor, the council, the ſecretary, the judge of vice-admiralty, the commander of the King's ſtation ſhips of war, the ſurveyor-general of the northern diſtrict of cuſtoms, and the collector of the cuſtoms for the port of Boſton.

The ſurvey of the royal timber, eſpecially of maſting trees, extends over the northern provinces and colonies. The officers are appointed from Great Britain; and are a ſurveyor-general, with four ſubordinate ſurveyors: the whole charge of this ſurvey is about 800 *l.* ſterling a year, with conſiderable riding charges, paid by the navy-office.

The officers belonging to the collections of cuſtoms are appointed by the treaſury-board, and warranted by the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in Great Britain; but in this province there are only the two collections of Boſton and Salem.

A deputy auditor was commiſſioned by the auditor-general in Great Britain, to audit the treaſurer's provincial accounts; but, in 1721, this was declared by the general aſſembly of the province to be inconſiſtent with their charter, and was never afterward put in execution.

Before Governor Shute returned to England, he received orders from thence to get an eſtabliſhed ſalary ſettled on the governor; but the aſſembly were in no diſpoſition to leave the governor in a ſtate of independency upon them as to that article. The ſame orders were ſent to his ſucceſſor, William Burnet, Eſq. who moſt ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on ſuch an eſtabliſhment, purſuant to his inſtructions; but with as ill ſucceſs. This intereſted conteſt between the governor and the repreſentatives, occaſioned much warmth in the aſſembly, and ill blood in the whole body of the people, who had before their eyes the ruinous effects of the prodigality of Barbadoes to their governor, Mr. Worſley, which they daily groaned under, and could not take one effectual ſtep toward recalling it. Governor Belcher had a ſalary of 200 *l.* a year ſettled upon him by the government of New Hampſhire; but the aſſembly of Boſton would not follow the leading example. The council, indeed, were compliable, but the houſe of repreſentatives continued inflexible; therefore the governor diſſolved the aſſembly, and remained without any ſalary.

Before

Before the houſe broke up, they made the following minutes on the 1ſt of January, 1731. "After the moſt ſerious conſideration of his Majeſty's inſtruction for fixing a ſalary on his Excellency and his ſucceſſors, together with the rights and privileges of the people, we apprehend the houſe ought not to accede thereto: but at the ſame time we eſteem it the duty of this houſe, as well as their honour, willingly and unanimouſly to give their votes in paſſing acts for the ample and honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's governor." The people were of the ſame ſentiments with their laſt repreſentatives, whom they re-elected to compoſe the new aſſembly, which was alſo diſſolved on the ſame account: but the third aſſembly were equally refractory as to the grand article of ſalary. They ſtill perſiſted in their reſolution to allow the governor 1000 *l.* a year, and leave the continuance of it to ſucceeding aſſemblies; which the governor accepted, and put an end for the preſent to this controverſy; but the royal injunction was ſtill inſiſted upon for eſtabliſhing a ſalary on the governor.

A new difficulty was raiſed in 1733 by the council and repreſentatives, about the diſpoſal of the public money. The governor inſiſted ſuch diſpoſal was only in him; but the aſſembly, who gave the money, argued from thence, that ſuch right was only in them: however this debate was determined by the Britiſh parliament, who voted, "That the complaint from New England was frivolous and groundleſs, an high inſult upon his Majeſty's government, and tending to ſhake off the dependency of the ſaid colony upon Great Britain, to which by law and right they were and ought to be ſubject."

In fact, there was ſtill ſubſiſting in this province a virtuous and public ſpirit, which is the principal ſupport of any country: but it will be afterward ſeen, that this public ſpirit of the Coloniſts has not been always ſo well approved.

SECTION

SECTION X.

The ſyſtem of laws, government, and the civil adminiſtration, eſtabliſhed in the colony.

IT may be obſerved in general, that the mode of juriſdiction is much the ſame in all the four colonies of New England, by juſtices of the peace and their quarterly ſeſſions; by inferior county-courts of common law; and by provincial ſuperior courts for appeals.

They are divided into conſtituted diſtricts called townſhips; which are a kind of bodies corporate, may ſue and be ſued, elect all proper officers, ſend deputies to the houſe of repreſentatives, and make bye-laws. The management of townſhip affairs is in a few perſons, who are called Select Men, annually elected by the qualified voters of the townſhips or diſtricts. In moſt of the other Britiſh colonies, their conſtituted pariſhes act as bodies corporate by cuſtom; the management is in veſtry men, who generally are for life, and the ſurvivors ſupply vacancies.

In the four colonies of New England, juries are returned to the ſeveral courts by election in certain quotas from the ſeveral townſhips, but not by the appointment of the ſheriffs.

As to the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay in particular, it ſhould be remembered, that their original old charter was dated the 4th of March, 1629; ſoon after which, the company in London choſe Mr. Winthrop governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy-governor. At the firſt meeting of the court of aſſiſtants at Charles-Town, on the 23d of Auguſt, 1630, they eſtabliſhed rules of proceeding in all civil actions, and inſtituted ſubordinate powers for puniſhing offenders. The ſupreme authority being in the court of aſſiſtants, they reſolved upon frequent meetings for the execution of it in the manner formerly mentioned.

In 1634, the plantation was greatly increaſed; ſettlements were extended more than thirty miles from the capital town; and it was thought high time to have known eſtabliſhed laws, that the inhabitants might no longer be ſubject to the varying uncertain judgments which otherwiſe would be made concerning their actions. The miniſters and ſome of the laymen were conſulted about a body of laws ſuited to the circumſtances of the colony both civil and religious. Committees of magiſtrates and elders were appointed

appointed almoſt every year, for twelve years ſucceſſively; and while they were fitting a code, particular laws, which were of the greateſt neceſſity, were occaſionally enacted; the whole were collected together, ratified by the court, and printed in 1648. Mr. Bellingham, of the magiſtrates; and Mr. Cotton, of the clergy, had the principal ſhare in this work.

The expence of ſettling the Maſſachuſets Bay colony, for the firſt twelve years, was about two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and the ſettlers were neither neceſſitous nor criminals *. The character of theſe new planters, with the ſtate and condition they were in before they left England, and after their arrival in America, ſo as to ſee the ſource of the peculiarities in their laws and cuſtoms, has been conſidered before; but here is the place to make ſome farther obſervations thereon.

The character which the colony acquired, by the ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of their laws, induced many perſons of pious minds to come over themſelves, and others to ſend their children for education, many of whom remained there. Pennſylvania, by a greater latitude in their ſyſtem, have drawn inhabitants in much greater proportion; but the anceſtors of the New England people valued themſelves upon being a colony for religion; and Mr. Penn had no other motive to found his colony than human policy.

Thoſe who firſt directed the ſprings of government in New England acted ſo far upon principle, that they did not chooſe ſuch puniſhments for crimes, as were merely in proportion to their affecting the ſafety or peace of ſociety; a principle upon which the European nations have been attempting to model their criminal laws for ſeveral ages paſt; but the new coloniſts annexed greater penalties to ſome immoralities and impieties than had been known in their native country; this brought circumſtances under the notice of the civil magiſtrate, which would have eſcaped it in England; and ſome actions might have been judged criminal that would have appeared indifferent to minds leſs ſcrupulous.

Murder, ſodomy, witchcraft, and rape of a child under ten years of age, were the only crimes made capital in the colony, which were ſo in England; and yet, from the above miſtaken principle, the laws of the infant colony were more ſanguinary than thoſe of the mother-country; for many offences were made capital in the former, which were not ſo in the latter. Thus homicide, was either murder, excuſable homicide, or

* Mr. Dummer's defence of the New England charters.

juſtifiable;

juſtifiable; for they did not make the diſtinction of manſlaughter from murder: becauſe the benefit of clergy was of popiſh extract, and burning in the hand appeared to them a ridiculous ceremony.

Blaſphemy, and man-ſtealing, were alſo made capital: ſo was adultery with a married woman, both to the man and woman, although the man was ſingle, and ſeveral have ſuffered death upon this law: but male adultery with an unmarried woman, was not capital.

Perjury, if wilful, with intent to take away the life of another, was death, from Deut. xix. 16. but this crime was never made capital in England, though it highly deſerves that puniſhment: in this inſtance, however, the Maſſachuſets law appears to have agreed with the civil law, the laws of Scotland at this day, and of ſome other European ſtates.

A child above ſixteen years of age, that curſed, or ſmote the father or mother, unleſs provoked by cruelty, or unchriſtianly neglected education; and alſo a ſtubborn and rebellious ſon, according to Deut. xxi. 20. upon conviction, were to ſuffer death. There have been ſeveral trials upon this law; but there appears only one conviction, and the offender was pardoned in 1665.

High-treaſon was not mentioned; becauſe the royal authority had ſunk before they agreed upon their code: but conſpiracy to invade their own commonwealth, or any treacherous perfidious attempt to fundamentally alter and ſubvert the frame of their polity and government, was made a capital offence.

Rapine was left to the diſcretion of the court, to puniſh with death, or otherwiſe. This crime was not capital by the Jewiſh law, and for that reaſon it was not ſo for many years by the colony law: but when complaints were made againſt the colony, in 1678, it was by law made capital.

Several offences were capital upon a ſecond conviction; as the returning of a Romiſh prieſt into the juriſdiction, after baniſhment upon the firſt conviction; and the law was the ſame with reſpect to Quakers.

The denial of either of the books of the Old and New Teſtament, which were all enumerated to be the written and infallible word of God, was either baniſhment or death, for the ſecond offence, at the diſcretion

cretion of the court; and, what is extraordinary, an inhabitant who was guilty of this offence upon the high-ſeas, was made liable to the penalty.

Burglary and theft, in a houſe or fields, on a Lord's Day, were capital upon a third conviction.

Theſe were all the offences which they made capital: but in the firſt draught of the laws, by Mr. Cotton, divers other offences were made capital. Thus, profaning the Lord's Day in a careleſs or ſcornful neglect or contempt thereof; as in Numbers xv. 30—36. Reviling the magiſtrates in higheſt rank; that is, the governor and council; as in Exod. xxii. 18. 1 Kings xxii. 8, 9, 44. Defiling a woman eſpouſed; as in Deut. xxii. 23—26. Inceſt within the Levitical degrees. The pollution mentioned in Levit. xx. 13—16. Lying with a maid in her father's houſe, and keeping it ſecret until ſhe was married to another.

The puniſhment by death was eraſed from all theſe offences by Mr. Winthrop, who left them to the diſcretion of the court to inflict any other puniſhment not capital.

From the ſame prejudice in favour of Iſraelitiſh cuſtoms, a fondneſs aroſe, or at leaſt was increaſed, for ſignificant names for children; of whom the three firſt baptized in Boſton church were, Joy, Recompence, and Pity. The humour ſpread; and the town of Dorcheſter, in particular, was remarkable for ſuch names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependance, Preſerved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfaſt, and others; many of which are ſtill retained in ſome families, in remembrance of their anceſtors.

Profanation of the ſabbath was ten ſhillings penalty.

Fornication might be puniſhed by enjoining marriage, by fines, or corporal puniſhment; and a freeman, convicted of this offence, might be disfranchiſed.

Idleneſs was no ſmall offence; common fowlers, tobacco-takers, and all other perſons who could give no good account how they ſpent their time, the conſtables were required to preſent to the next magiſtrate, and the ſelect-men of every town were required to overſee the families, to diſtribute the children into claſſes, and take care they were employed in ſpinning and other labour, according to their age and condition.

Contempt of authority was puniſhed with great ſeverity, by fines, impriſonment, or corporal puniſhment.

Leſſer offences, as all breakers of the peace, and alſo every offence *contra bonos mores*, the court puniſhed at diſcretion, if there was no determinate penalty.

Negroes were brought in very early among them: but they had a law againſt ſlavery, except priſoners taken in war.

In teſtamentary matters, the county courts had juriſdiction by law. They at firſt ſo far followed the civil law as to conſider real eſtates as mere *bona*, and did not confine themſelves to any rule of diſtribution then in uſe in England, and which were afterward more fully eſtabliſhed by the ſtatute of diſtributions. They conſidered the family and eſtate in all their circumſtances, and ſometimes aſſigned a greater portion to one branch than another; ſometimes they ſettled all upon the widow; in other caſes aſſigned the whole eſtate to the adminiſtrators, or to any relation who would undertake to ſupport or provide for the family, and pay certain ſums to the children when they came to age or marriage. All this ſeems to be neceſſary in a new plantation, where moſt people ſoon ſpent what little perſonal eſtate they had, in improvement upon their lands.

When they eſtabliſhed a general rule, they conformed very near to the rules reſpecting perſonal eſtate in England, only they gave the eldeſt ſon a double portion; and in the real eſtate, the widow was generally conſidered for her dower only; but ſtill, according to the circumſtances of the eſtate and family, the court would conſider the widow, and allow her a greater or leſſer part, and enjoin her to take care of the children unable to provide for themſelves, in proportion to what ſhe received. The common law was altered with reſpect to fee-ſimple eſtates, which deſcended to every child: and it ſeems natural to ſuppoſe, that eſtates in fee-tail ſhould deſcend in like manner, except ſo far as the entail limited or cut the fee; as in gavelkind all the ſons take as heir of the body: notwithſtanding which, the conſtruction of a general tail was ſuch, that the heir at common law took as heir of the body to the excluſion of other children: but traitors and felons might diſpoſe of their eſtates by will, after ſentence; and, if they died inteſtate, diſtribution was made, as in other caſes, becauſe there were no forfeitures.

They held their lands as of the manor of Eaſt Greenwich, in free and common ſocage; from whence they conceived that ſocage-tenure included

cluded all the cuſtoms and properties of gavelkind. They made proviſion, by temporary laws, for the charges of government; which was done for many years in the moſt equitable way, by aſſeſſing every inhabitant in proportion to the profits of his whole eſtate: but after the year 1645, impoſts and exciſes were introduced.

Their military laws at firſt were more ſevere, and every perſon was required to appear in arms once every month for military exerciſe; ſome few perſons in public office only excepted. This was afterward reduced to eight times in a year, and at length to four. Every inhabitant was to be furniſhed with arms and ammunition: but a few months actual ſervice againſt the Indian enemy in Philip's war, made better ſoldiers, than all their exerciſe at home had done in forty years. Upon the diviſion of the colony into regiments, colonels and lieutenant-colonels were appointed to each regiment; which was of no long continuance; for afterward they had a ſerjeant-major to every regiment, and a major-general for the whole, who were choſen by the freemen: but the officers of the ſeveral companies were choſen by their men reſpectively, and preſented to the general court for their approbation.

As to their legiſlative and judiciary forms, with ſome ſpecial cuſtoms, it may be obſerved, that their enacting ſtyle was, "It is ordered by this court, and the authority thereof." For many years, the governor, aſſiſtants or council, not under ſeven; with the deputies or repreſentatives, in a legal capacity, voted together: but, in 1652, that the governor and council ſhould ſit and vote apart, ſo as to conſtitute a ſeparate negative. The governor, deputy-governor, and aſſiſtants, or council called magiſtrates, were the ſuperior court for appeals in civil caſes; and were the court of Oyer and Terminer in caſes of life, member, baniſhment, or divorce. After they were conſtituted two diſtinct houſes, if they happened to differ in any caſes of judicature civil or criminal, the affair was to be determined by a vote of the whole court aſſembled together. The general court only had power to pardon condemned criminals: no general court was to continue above a year; and the governor when preſent was preſident in all courts. The governor, deputy-governor, or majority of the aſſiſtants, might call a general aſſembly, which was not to be adjourned or diſſolved but by a vote of the ſame.

The officers annually elected by the freemen in general, were, the governor, deputy-governor, aſſiſtants, treaſurer, major-general, admiral, commiſſioners for the United Colonies, and ſecretary.

By an act in 1641, the freemen had liberty to chooſe deputies for the general court, either in their own county or town, or elſewhere, as they thought proper, ſo as they were freemen inhabiting that juriſdiction: but this law was not re-enacted under the new charter adminiſtration.

By a law made in 1654, no common attorney in any inferior court was to be admitted to ſit as a deputy in the general court or aſſembly. In 1634, an order or law was made, that no trial ſhould paſs upon any for life or death, without a jury regularly choſen by freemen: but grand-juries were not legally eſtabliſhed until September 1635, when about one hundred offences were preſented at the firſt court.

In criminal matters, a ſpirit of virtue produced informers, without reproach to their characters; and in criminal proſecutions a bill was to be regularly found by a grand jury, in which they were not very formal; becauſe ſometimes the bill would be indorſed, that the jury had ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion, yet not ſufficient evidence to put upon trial.

As the colony increaſed, and the ſettlements extended remote from the capital, it was found neceſſary to make a diviſion into ſhires or counties; and courts were held in each county; ſome had four in a year, others two, and Main but one. Theſe courts were held by the magiſtrates who reſided in each county, or any others who would attend, together with ſuch other perſons as the freemen of the county ſhould nominate, and the general court approve, ſo as to make five in all, and any three to hold a court, who had power to determine all civil cauſes, and all criminal, that were not capital.

In ſeveral towns, a petty court was eſtabliſhed for ſmall debts and treſpaſſes under twenty ſhillings: and in every town the ſelect-men had power to determine all offences againſt the bye-laws of the place under the penalty of twenty ſhillings: but the bye-laws could not extend to matters criminal in their nature; being limited to the regulation of their buildings, fences, and ſtreets; ſo as to prevent nuiſances, or improve conveniences, for the uſe and accommodation of the inhabitants.

Their judicial proceedings were in a particular ſummary way; and they ſeem to have not much regarded forms in books of entries. At firſt, the parties ſpoke for themſelves; but ſometimes they were aſſiſted by a patron,

patron, or man of ſuperior abilities, who gave his aſſiſtance voluntarily, without fee or reward.

As early as the year 1640, they made proviſion for a public regiſtry; and no mortgage, bargain, ſale, or grant of any realty was good, where the grantor remained in poſſeſſion, againſt any perſons, except the grantor and his heirs, unleſs the ſame was acknowledged before a magiſtrate, and recorded: and all grants that had been before made were to be acknowledged and recorded.

Every marriage, birth, and death was likewiſe regiſtered, firſt in the town, and then in the county regiſter; under a fine of twenty ſhillings for neglect.

For the firſt twenty years, they uſed little formality in their deeds and conveyances of titles to lands: but, in 1651, it was ordered, that no eſtate of inheritance ſhould paſs, unleſs it was expreſſed in the deed or conveyance, "To have and to hold to the grantee and his heirs for ever," or words to that effect: and ſo no eſtate tail, except expreſſed, "to the heirs male of the body lawfully begotten for ever, or to the grantee for life or term of years."

Oaths were adminiſtered with no other ceremony than holding up the hand; which was ſufficient to diſtinguiſh a witneſs from the reſt of the court. Kiſſing, or laying the hand upon the book, was ſcrupled, as an idolatrous ceremony; nor has it ever ſince been practiſed in any of the governments in New England, except when ſpecial commiſſions from Great Britain, to take depoſitions to be uſed in the courts of judicature there, have made it neceſſary.

In 1652, it was enacted, that a Mint-houſe ſhould be erected at Boſton, to coin ſilver of ſterling alloy into 12 *d.* 6 *d.* and 3 *d.* pieces in value leſs than that of the preſent Engliſh coin by 2 *d.* in the ſhilling: the ſtamp to be, within a double ring; on the one ſide, MASSACHUSETS, with a tree in the center; on the other ſide, NEW ENGLAND, with the year 1652; and the figures XII. VI. and III. according to the value of each piece; with a private mark. All the New England coin is dated 1652; though they continued coining for ſome years afterwards; which is a prerogative of the ſovereign, not of a colony: but ſcarce any of this coin appears at preſent; becauſe, with all other ſilver coin, it has been ejected by a paper currency. Excepting Engliſh coin, no other was to be current; and five *per cent.* for charges of coining, was allowed by the

the owners of the ſilver brought into the mint to be coined: but exportation of this coin, except twenty ſhillings for neceſſary expences, was prohibited, on pain of confiſcation of all effects.

In the old charter times, the colony was at firſt divided into the three counties of Suffolk, Eſſex, and Middleſex; but when they aſſumed the juriſdiction of New Hampſhire and province of Main, and ſettled compactly upon Connecticut River, the colony, in 1671, was divided into theſe counties:

Counties.	Chief Towns.
1. Suffolk,	Boſton.
2. Norfolk,	Saliſbury and Hampton.
3. Eſſex,	Salem and Ipſwich.
4. Piſcataqua,	Dover and Portſmouth.
5. Middleſex,	Charles Town and Cambridge.
6. Yorkſhire,	York.
7. Hampſhire,	Northampton and Springfield.

But as they now ſtand, the ſeveral counties, with their courts of general quarter-ſeſſions, and inferior court of common-pleas, are as follow:

1. Suffolk, —	At Boſton; firſt Tueſday of January, April, July, and October.
2. Eſſex, —	Salem; ſecond Tueſday of July, and laſt Tueſday in December; Newbury, laſt Tueſday in December: and Ipſwich, laſt Tueſday in March.
3. Middleſex, —	Cambridge; third Tueſday in May: Charles Town; ſecond Tueſday in December and March: Concord; laſt Tueſday in Auguſt.
4. Hampſhire, —	Springfield; third Tueſday in May; laſt Tueſday in Auguſt: Northampton; ſecond Tueſday in February and November.
5. Worceſter, —	Worceſter; firſt Tueſday in November and February; ſecond Tueſday in May; third Tueſday in Auguſt.
6. Plymouth, —	Plymouth; firſt Tueſday in March; third Tueſday in May, September and December.
7. Barnſtaple, —	Barnſtaple; laſt Tueſday in June; third Tueſday in March, October, and January.

8. Briſtol,

8. Briſtol, —	Briſtol; ſecond Tueſday in March, June, September, and December.
9. York, —	York; firſt Tueſday in April, July, October, and January: Falmouth; firſt Tueſday in October.
10. Duke's County,	Edgartown; firſt Tueſday in March; laſt Tueſday in October.
11. Nantucket,	Sherburne; laſt Tueſday in March; firſt Tueſday in October.

The ſuperior courts of judicature and aſſizes are alſo held in the following manner:

1. Suffolk, —	Boſton; third Tueſday in Auguſt and February.
2. Eſſex, —	Salem; ſecond Tueſday in November: Ipſwich; ſecond Tueſday in May.
3. Middleſex, —	Cambridge; firſt Tueſday in Auguſt: Charles Town; laſt Tueſday in January.
4. Hampſhire, —	Springfield; fourth Tueſday in September.
5. Worceſter, —	Worceſter; third Tueſday in September.
6. Plymouth, —	Plymouth; ſecond Tueſday in July.
7. Barnſtaple, and 8. Duke's County,	Barnſtaple; third Tueſday in July.
9. Briſtol, —	Briſtol; fourth Wedneſday in October.
10. York, —	York; third Wedneſday in June.

By act of aſſembly, occaſionally but not ſtatedly, the times of ſitting of theſe ſeveral courts alter, and as they may be varied from time to time by acts of the provincial aſſembly, the above is only a temporary account.

By charter, the general aſſemblies are allowed to erect judicatories; to hear and determine concerning pleas, whether real, perſonal, or mixed; and all manner of crimes, capital or not capital. In perſonal actions, where the matter in difference exceeds the value of 300 *l.* ſterling, appeals are allowed to the king in council; provided ſuch appeal be made in fourteen days after judgment given; and that before ſuch appeal is allowed, ſecurity be given by the appellants to the value of the matter in controverſy, with coſts and damages, ſo as execution is not ſtaid.

Their

Their judicatories in civil actions were thus conſtituted: 1. All actions under 10 *l.* old tenor, which may now be about 20*s.* ſterling, are at firſt inſtance cognizable by a juſtice of peace. 2. From thence lies an appeal to the county court of common-pleas; which court ſeems of no great conſequence, and generally ſerves, without much pleadings, only to tranſmit it to the ſuperior and provincial court, perhaps the moſt upright of any in the plantations: but all actions not exceeding the value as above, muſt originate in the inferior courts. 3. From the inferior court of common pleas, there is appeal to a ſuperior or provincial court in their circuits; and this is alſo a court of Oyer and Terminer in civil affairs. 4. From this court there is a review to the ſame court of judges, but of another jury. 5. There lies a liberty of petitioning the general aſſembly, as a court of error, upon proper allegations, to order a rehearing before the ſame ſuperior court.

In each county, the governor and council appoint one high-ſheriff, with a power of deputiſing; and any number of coroners, the judges of the ſeveral courts, are generally accepted on recommendation from the governor.

The juries never were appointed by the ſheriffs of the counties; but every townſhip, at a regularly called town-meeting, elected their quota for the county: but as ſome deſigning men officiouſly attended theſe townſhip-meetings, upon particular occaſions, to obtain a packed or partial jury, the jurors were afterward by lot, ſome by chance, and others by rotation: but the privilege of juries ſeems to give the people a negative, even in the executive part of the civil government.

In each county, beſide the civil officers appointed by the governor and council, and the military or militia officers appointed by the governor as captain-general, there is a county-treaſurer, and a county-regiſter or recorder of deeds or real conveyances. Theſe officers are choſen by a joint written vote of the qualified voters in each townſhip of the county, and ſorted in the next quarter-ſeſſions: but the county-treaſurers annually render and paſs their accounts with a committee of the general aſſembly.

The plantations and farms in the old townſhips near Boſton, are generally become ſmall, occaſioned by a provincial act of aſſembly, which divides the real as well as the perſonal eſtate of inteſtates, among all the children or collaterals. The people there are much bigotted to this province law, and frequently die inteſtate: but this humour is attended with ſome advantages; as where a farm thus becomes ſmall, the poſſeſſor cannot

not live by it, and is obliged to ſell to the proprietor of ſome adjoining farm, and move farther inland, where he can purchaſe waſte land in great quantities at an eaſy rate, to the enlargement of the country improvements. Thus in the townſhips which now compoſe the county of Worceſter, about half a century ago, there were not above two hundred families; whereas, in the valuation in 1742, there were found in that county about three thouſand two hundred taxable white male perſons, though the number has been ſince diminiſhed by the late wars upon that continent.

The civil adminiſtration may be divided into the ſupreme court of legiſlature, called the general-court or general-aſſembly of the province; and the ſubordinate executive courts. The great and general-court, or provincial aſſembly, conſiſts of three negatives; the governor, council, and houſe of repreſentatives, in the following manner:

1. The governor is by patent or commiſſion from the king, *durante bene placito*, with a book of inſtructions, which are binding to him, though not ſo concluſive to the houſe of repreſentatives. The military government by land and ſea is ſolely veſted in the governor, who grants all commiſſions in the militia; appoints all judges, juſtices, and ſheriffs; and he has a negative not only in all bills of aſſembly, but likewiſe in all their elections of officers, that of a ſpeaker not excepted. Thus the governor commiſſions all militia and other military officers independently of the council or aſſembly; he nominates all civil officers, except thoſe concerned in the finances, and they are accordingly appointed with conſent of the council. He calls, diſſolves, prorogues, adjourns, and removes the general aſſembly at pleaſure. Some governors have alſo refuſed their aſſent to bills, reſolves, and orders of the general-court; thus a delegated power aſſumes more than the ſovereign authority; for the Kings of Great Britain, eſpecially of late years, have never exerted this branch of their royal prerogative, except upon ſome extraordinary occaſion.

The juſt pecuniary profits of the governor have been always conſiderable, and of late years he has been allowed a ſalary of 1000 *l.* ſterling a year. He has one-third of all cuſtom-houſe ſeizures. The naval office belongs to him, with many fees of various kinds; and in time of war there are fees for granting letters of marque to private ſhips of war, beſide many emoluments ariſing from military tranſactions by land. The governor, however, is not authorized by charter to impreſs men into the military ſervice, to march out of the province, without an act or reſolve of the general-court; nor can he give his aſſent to any act for repealing

any of the ſtanding laws of the province, without a ſuſpending clauſe; that is, until a copy thereof be tranſmitted and laid before the king, to whom the governor is accountable for his conduct upon complaints exhibited againſt him from the colony.

2. The ſecond negative in the legiſlature is, that of the king's or governor's council, called the honourable board; which conſiſts of twenty-eight aſſiſtants or counſellors, to be adviſing and aſſiſting to the governor, and to conſtitute one negative in the legiſlature, ſimilar to the Houſe of Lords in Great Britain. They are annually choſen the laſt Wedneſday in May, by a joint vote of the laſt year's counſellors, and the new houſe of repreſentatives.

This negative is called THE BOARD; but there ſeems to be ſome inconveniencies in the conſtitution of their power, for they may be intimidated by the governor, who has a power of negativing the election of any counſellor, without alleging reaſons; and they alſo ſtand in awe of the members of the third negative, as to their election by the houſe of repreſentatives.

The council are aſſiſting to the governor, by their advice and conſent in appointing all civil officers, except thoſe of the finances; and ſeven of the council make a board. The governor and council have the probate of wills, of granting adminiſtrations, and of divorces; but they appoint a ſubordinate judge of probates in each county. The governor alſo, with the advice and conſent of the council, nominates and appoints judges, commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, and other civil officers; but no ſuch appointment is to be made without ſummons iſſued ſeven days before unto ſuch of the counſellors as ſhould be reſiding within the province at that time.

3. The third negative in the legiſlative body is called "The honourable houſe of repreſentatives," by whom the freemen are repreſented in their lower houſe; not by election from counties, cities, and boroughs, as in Great Britain, and in ſome of the Britiſh colonies; but from certain diſtricts of land incorporated by the names of townſhips, very unequal in extent. Thus Springfield contains upwards of one hundred thouſand acres, and Medford does not contain above two thouſand acres; but generally they ſhould be about ſix miles ſquare, or near twenty-three thouſand acres.

By

By charter, each place is impowered to depute two perſons and no more; yet Boſton is allowed to ſend four, and might be allowed twenty, conſidering its taxes and number of inhabitants in proportion to the whole colony repreſentations; but ſuch proportions are not obſerved in Great Britain: the qualification of an elector is forty ſhillings a year freehold, or other eſtate to the value of fifty pounds ſterling.

By acts of aſſembly, all townſhips under one hundred and twenty qualified voters, are reſtricted to ſend one repreſentative; but with this reaſonable qualification, that no townſhip, conſiſting of leſs than eighty legal voters, ſhall be fined for not ſending a repreſentative.

The votes of the houſe of repreſentatives are regularly printed at the public charge; one copy for each townſhip, and another copy for each member. The preſent enacting ſtyle is, "Be it enacted by the governor, council, and repreſentatives." Thankſgivings and faſts are appointed by the governor and council, at the deſire of the houſe of repreſentatives. When a joint committee of both houſes is appointed, generally one-third is from the council, and two-thirds from the repreſentatives, who inſiſt upon ſeveral privileges, and the following in particular:

1. That the governor's inſtructions from the ſecretary of ſtate of that department, are recommendatory, but not obligatory upon the repreſentatives of the people. And they alſo aſſert, that they are at liberty to vary from any former grants to governors.

2. That the council may only concur or not concur in a tax or any other money-bill; but may make no amendment; and the affair of ſupplying the treaſury always originates in the houſe of repreſentatives.

Although the military are the abſolute prerogative of the crown, the aſſembly, eſpecially the houſe of repreſentatives, have ſometimes complained and admoniſhed the governor, upon extraordinary occaſions, in that reſpect.

Writs for calling a general aſſembly are to iſſue from the ſecretary's office thirty days before their meeting, directed to the ſelect-men, as returning officers; the returns to be made into the ſecretary's office one day at leaſt before the time prefixed for the meeting of the general aſſembly. About one hundred and fifty repreſentatives are ſummoned; and forty conſtitute a houſe. The penalty for non-attendance is five ſhillings

a day. All repreſentatives, with one ſon or ſervant each, to have perſonal protection during their ſeſſions, except in caſes of treaſon or felony: but about one-third of the towns, which have precepts ſent them, return no repreſentatives.

There are a few things in which this houſe of repreſentatives differs from the practice of the houſe of commons in Great Britain; particularly, that a repreſentative muſt be reſident in the townſhip for which he is elected; and that counſellors or repreſentatives may ſerve their country upon wages.

As to Taxes, and Valuations, it is only neceſſary to obſerve; 1. That the provincial Taxes of Maſſachuſetts Bay conſiſt of three articles; exciſe, impoſts, and rates.

I. Exciſe, as ſettled, by act of aſſembly, is upon brandy, rum, and other ſpirits diſtilled; lemons, oranges, and limes. Boſton, with the reſt of the county of Suffolk's exciſe, in 1748, was farmed for 10,000 *l.* old tenor, being about 1000 *l.* ſterling: but this tax has been greatly augmented ſince that time.

II. Impoſt, is by tonnage upon foreign wines and goods; upon ſalt, cotton-wool, and proviſions, the growth of the colony: but prize-goods condemned in any part of the province, and goods from Great Britain, are exempted from impoſt.

III. Rates, are taxes upon polls and eſtates: polls are all white men of ſixteen years of age and upward: eſtates are real, perſonal, and faculty, or income ariſing from their trade and buſineſs. Thoſe exempted from polls and rates are, the governor, lieutenant-governor, and their families; the preſident, fellows, and ſtudents of Harvard College; ſettled miniſters and grammar ſchoolmaſters; as alſo perſons deemed invalids, by age, infirmities, and poverty.

The annual ſupplies, or appropriations, are in many articles: thus, of the 400,000 *l.* old tenor in 1748, there were granted the following ſums:

	£.
For garriſons, armed veſſels, forces upon the eaſtern and weſtern frontiers, —	160,000
Warlike ſtores and commiſſaries diburſements,	136,000
Allowances and grants, ——	72,000

Expended

	£.
Expended where no eſtabliſhment,	12,000
Contingencies, — —	2,000
Repreſentatives wages, —— ——	18,000
Total	£. 400,000

With regard to money-affairs; as the emiſſion of public provincial bills of credit, called paper-money; ſupplies of the treaſury; and government charges; all theſe, at various times, have been expreſſed in different tenors; as old tenor, middle tenor, new tenor firſt, and new tenor ſecond; which laſt was about twelve *per cent.* worſe than new tenor firſt, though they have paſſed indifferently at the ſame value. Theſe various tenors, if reduced to old tenor the original, and to a proper ſtandard of exchange with London, compared with the value of currencies in the other Britiſh Colonies as they ſtood in 1748, will appear thus:

For 100 *l.* ſterling, the currency was for New England 1100 *l.* New York 190 *l.* Eaſt Jerſeys 190. *l.* Weſt Jerſeys 180 *l.* Pennſylvania 180 *l.* Maryland 200 *l.* Virginia 120 *l.* to 125 *l.* North Carolina 1000 *l.* South Carolina 750 *l.* Barbadoes 130 *l.* Antigua 170 to 180 *l.* St. Chriſtopher's 160 *l.* and Jamaica 140 *l.*

SECTION

SECTION XI.

The eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the colony; the univerſity, and ſtate of learning there.

IT was one great deſign of the firſt planters of the Maſſachuſets colony, to obtain for themſelves and their poſterity the liberty of worſhipping God in ſuch manner as appeared to them to be moſt agreeable to Holy Writ. They did not ſuppoſe the form of epiſcopal government to be enjoined by divine authority; and they knew very well, that, upon their arrival in America, they would be no longer ſubject to any dioceſan in England. They muſt however have ſuppoſed ſome form of church-government would be neceſſary; yet they were far from being determined what it ſhould be. The New England Puritans, when at full liberty, went the full length which the Separatiſts did in England; but it does not follow that they would have done ſo if they had remained in their mother-country. Upon their removal, they ſuppoſed their relation both to the civil and eccleſiaſtical government, except ſo far as a ſpecial reſerve made by their charter, was at an end, and that they had right to form ſuch new model of both as was moſt agreeable to their ſituation and circumſtances.

They ſeem to have had no ſettled plan of church-government until the arrival of Mr. Cotton in 1633, who projected the plan of government of the New England churches, which from that time took the name of congregational. This was called the middle way between Browniſm and Preſbyterianiſm, and is ſaid to be diſtinguiſhed by the four following characteriſtics:

1ſt, The ſubject matter of the viſible church; that is, ſaints by calling, ſuch as are acquainted with the principles of religion, who profeſs their faith, and the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Chriſt.

2d, The conſtitutive part of a particular viſible church ought to be a mutual covenanting, to walk together in the Chriſtian communion, according to the rule of the goſpel.

3d, No church ought to be of larger extent, or greater number, than may ordinarily meet together in one place, for the celebration of divine worſhip.

4th, There is no juriſdiction to which particular churches ought to be ſubject, by way of authoritative cenſure.

Theſe are ſaid to be the principles upon which a platform of church-government was eſtabliſhed. By the law eſtabliſhed in the colony, no man could have a ſhare in the adminiſtration of civil government, or give his voice in any election, unleſs he was a member of one of the churches.

The miniſters of the ſeveral churches in Boſton have always been ſupported by a free weekly contribution: but in the country towns compulſory laws were found neceſſary; thus, in 1654, the county-courts were empowered to aſſeſs upon the inhabitants of the ſeveral towns, which neglected the ſupport of the miniſtry, a ſum ſufficient to make up the defect, agreeable to the condition on which the lands were granted.

They laid aſide the faſts and feaſts of the Church of England, and frequently appointed days of thankſgiving, as occaſion required. Beſide occaſional faſts, they conſtantly appointed a day for faſting and prayer, every vernal period, to implore the divine bleſſings upon their affairs the enſuing year: and in the autumnal ſeaſon they had a day of thankſgiving for the favours conferred upon them in the preceding year. By a law of the colony, every perſon abſenting himſelf from the public worſhip, on theſe days, without ſufficient excuſe, was liable to five ſhillings fine.

During the fifty years the old charter continued, there were few inſtances of any ſociety of Chriſtians profeſſedly differing in doctrine, diſcipline, or form of worſhip from the eſtabliſhed churches. The number of Baptiſts was ſmall: the Quakers came over in ſmall parties; nor was there any epiſcopal church in any part of the colony, until the charter was vacated.

They were called Independents, becauſe every congregation was independent of the other churches; but not independent of the civil government. A church conſiſted only of ſo many people as could conveniently meet together in one audience, and under covenant among themſelves. A vote of their brotherhood made and unmade their miniſter, elders, and deacons; nor could a miniſter adminiſter but to his own congregation. They allowed of communion with other churches in word and prayer; but not in ſacraments and diſcipline: and though they adviſed with neighbouring churches, they were under no obligation to follow their advice.

After ſome time they ſtill became more moderate and ſociable, when they converted the deſignation Independent to that of Congregational.

Although

Although they retained the notion of an independent ſupreme eccleſiaſtical power in each congregation, they allowed that ſometimes it might be expedient to have the advice of ſynods and councils. Thus inſenſibly and naturally, for the ſake of good order, they fell into the Preſbyterian mode; and, in fact, have had ſeveral ſynods appointed by the civil legiſlature.

In 1718, it was propoſed in the general aſſembly to call a ſynod of the congregational churches of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay; but this was rejected, becauſe, by the act of union of England and Scotland in 1707, it was provided that the Church of England government, in all the Engliſh Colonies, ſhould be for ever eſtabliſhed.

The teſt went a great way toward producing a general uniformity; and he that refuſed to conform was deprived of more civil privileges than a Nonconformiſt was deprived of by the teſt in England; but both of them muſt have occaſioned much formality and hypocriſy. Beſide this teſt, another reaſon may be aſſigned. As good, if not better lands than any in the colony lay contiguous to it; and men of different opinions choſe to remove where they might enjoy both civil and religious liberty, rather than remain and be deprived of either: ſo that, in this way, birth and quick growth were given to a neighbouring colony, which admitted perſons of all religions, and gave equal privileges in general; therefore as ſoon as what they called a ſectary ſprang up in the Maſſachuſets colony, it was tranſplanted to Rhode Iſland.

Beſide the ſynodal conformity, the Independents of New England became leſs contracted and of more extenſive charity in other articles; ſo that, at preſent, the Congregationaliſts may be eſteemed among the moſt moderate and charitable of thoſe who profeſs the doctrines of Chriſtianity.

Although a church properly conſiſted of no more perſons than could conveniently meet together in one place, cemented by a holy covenant, and admitted into church-membership by perſonal public confeſſion; yet now they have relaxed of that rigidity, and particularly in the following inſtances:

1. In many of their churches they do not require that perſonal public confeſſional appearance to be admitted into church-membership, but only a private application to their paſtor or miniſter, to be communicated to the church only, if required. 2. They admit occaſionally members of other churches to the Lord's Supper, by letters of recommendation. 3. A miniſter may occaſionally adminiſter the ſacraments to a neighbouring vacant church. 4. The brethren of the church, at the ordination of a miniſter,

miniſter, do not lay on hands; but it is done by the laying on of the hands of the miniſters of ſome neighbouring churches invited for that purpoſe; and this is a conſiderable feſtival day in the townſhip or pariſh. 5. A lay-elder may teach and perform all offices except the adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

After all that may be ſaid in favour of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, the ſtrength of it lay in the union with the civil authority. The uſual way of deciding differences and controverſies in churches, it is true, was by a council, conſiſting of the elders and other meſſengers of neighbouring churches; and when there was a general agreement in ſuch councils, the contending parties uſually acquieſced; but if the council happened to differ in apprehenſions among themſelves, or if either of the contending parties were contumacious, it became a common thing for the civil magiſtrate to interpoſe and terminate the diſpute.

In a New England ordination, five diſtinct parts are required: 1. A preparatory prayer. 2. A ſuitable ſermon. 3. A charge. 4. Another prayer. 5. The right-hand of fellowſhip; but ſome join in the impoſition of hands.

The miniſters of the congregational perſuaſion in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay continue to meet annually about the time of the general provincial election of counſellors; not by aſſuming any eccleſiaſtical authority, but only by way of brotherly intercourſe.

The firſt Church of England congregation formed in New England was at Boſton in 1679; it ſtill ſubſiſts and flouriſhes; and, beſide a rector in the election and at the charge of the congregation, there is an annual royal bounty for an aſſiſtant-miniſter or lecturer. In 1748, there were about two hundred and fifty Independent congregations in the new charter province of Maſſachuſets Bay; as alſo ſeven miſſionary congregations; beſide ſome congregations of Iriſh Preſbyterians, Baptiſts, Quakers, and new Separatiſts or Methodiſts.

Of Harvard College.

It was thought neceſſary to erect a collegiate ſchool for the education of youth, and as a ſeminary for a ſucceſſion of able and learned goſpel-miniſters. The general aſſembly, in 1630, granted 400*l.* toward the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a ſchool or college at New Town, about ſix miles

from Boſton; but that money was not then applied, becauſe it was inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe intended; and the deſign was neglected until 1638, when the reverend Mr. John Harvard, lately come from England, died at Charles Town, of which he was miniſter, and by his will bequeathed 779 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* to carry on this uſeful work. Upon his deceaſe, a committee was choſen to manage the undertaking, which now met with encouragement from the other colonies; and ſeveral private gentlemen contributed liberally toward it. When the building was erected at New-Town, that place, upon this account, was called Cambridge, which name it has ever ſince retained; and the college, in honour of its great benefactor, received the name of Harvard College.

It was no better than a *ſchola illuſtris*, or an academical free-ſchool, for the firſt ten years, under the direction of certain overſeers, as appears by an act paſſed by the general court at Boſton in 1642.

The income of a ferry between Boſton and Charles-Town was granted to the college, which is now lett at 600 *l.* New England currency, or 60 *l.* ſterling a year; and this ferry is about three miles from Cambridge; which town increaſed and enlarged in the number of houſes and inhabitants.

This was the conſtitution of the college until the year 1650, when it was incorporated by a provincial charter. Thomas Dudley, Eſq. was then governor of the colony, and Mr. Henry Dunſtar was preſident of the college, which was ſituated in a healthful ſoil.

The college-building conſiſted of a triangular court, whoſe front was open to the fields. The building on the firſt ſide was in 1672, by a contribution through the whole colony of 1895 *l.* 2 *s.* 9 *d.* whereof Boſton furniſhed 800 *l.* and it was called by the former name of Harvard College. The building on the bottom-ſide was erected in 1699, at the charge of Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, and was called Stoughton College, which conſiſted of ſixteen chambers. The third ſide was built in 1720, at the charge of the province, and was called Maſſachuſets Hall, conſiſting of thirty-two chambers. Beſide this court, there was a houſe for the preſident at ſome diſtance from the court; and at a ſmall diſtance behind the Harvard ſide of the court was a neat chapel, the gift of Mrs. Holden of London, widow of Mr. Holden, a late director of the Bank of England.

Harvard College being built, a foundation was laid for a public library, which was a work of abſolute neceſſity; as books were ſo ſcarce in the country, that it was impoſſible for the ſtudents to purchaſe them. The firſt

firſt furniture of this library was the books of Doctor William Ames, the famous profeſſor of divinity at Franequer, whoſe widow and children tranſported themſelves and their effects into theſe parts. Several gentlemen alſo in England made very valuable preſents to it, ſome of books, and others of mathematical inſtruments, ſo that before the end of the century it was increaſed to between three and four thouſand volumes: and if the Cambridge library in New England could not pretend to rival the libraries of European univerſities, yet it contained a collection of the moſt valuable authors that have wrote in the learned languages, and was undoubtedly the beſt furniſhed of any in thoſe parts of the world.

This univerſity never conferred any degree above Maſter of Arts upon any of its members, except Dr. Increaſe Mather; for the charter by which they were incorporated gave them no farther powers; nor was it uſual to confer the degree of Maſter of Arts upon any but thoſe who were of ſeven years ſtanding in the college. Some attempts were made in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary to obtain a new charter, whereby their powers might be enlarged, and they might be capable of conferring the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor in Divinity, after the manner of the European univerſities; but without ſucceſs.

The reſident inſtructors of youth were lately a Preſident, four tutors or philoſophy profeſſors, the Holliſian profeſſor of Divinity, the Holliſian profeſſor of Philoſophy, and a profeſſor of Hebrew. The income or revenue of the college was not ſufficient to defray its charge; therefore ſome of that body received an additional allowance. The four tutors, or profeſſors of Philoſophy, had from 300 to 400 *l.* old tenor a year, with ſome little perquiſites. In 1672 there was not a ſcholar to commence; and of late there were ten Holliſian ſcholars at 10 *l.* old tenor a year. But Mr. Holyoke, the preſident in 1748, was voted 1400 *l.* a year old tenor, out of the province treaſury, beſide the rents of Maſſachuſets Hall. Doctor Wiggleſworth, the Holliſian profeſſor of Divinity, had a ſalary advanced to 380 *l.* old tenor; and the Holliſian profeſſor of Philoſophy had the ſame ſalary.

Proteſtants of any denomination might have their children educated and graduated there; but, in 1746, there were only twelve ſtudents who commenced Bachelors.

Upon the continent of North America there are four colleges; of which two are by charters from home. That of Virginia was dated in

1692; and that for the New Jerſeys in 1746; but the other two were incorporated by provincial or colony charters; Harvard or Cambridge College of Maſſachuſets Bay, and Yale College of Connecticut.

Harvard College never had any remarkable accident or misfortune until lately, when the whole was deſtroyed by fire.

A building adjacent to the college was erected for the education of Indians, at the charge of "the Corporation for propagating the Goſpel in New England," and was called Indian College; but it had no effect, and is converted into a printing-houſe.

SECTION

SECTION XII.

The climate, ſoil, produce, and trade of the colony.

THE Engliſh planters, at the beginning, promiſed themſelves great advantages from the ſoil of New England; and imagined they were opulent, as they had the property of ſo great an extent of territory. The general court allowed no more than two hundred acres of land, in the firſt dividend, for fifty pounds ſterling advanced to the plantation; but the planters ſoon found by experience, that their improved lands were of no greater value than the labour and expence of ſubduing them.

Several opinions, which at firſt prevailed, both of the ſoil and climate, have been preſerved. Wood was a writer of fertile imagination, and lived in the country four years, which appears to have been about the year 1636: He ſays, "the ſoil is, for the general, a warm kind of earth, there being little cold ſpewing land, no mooriſh fens, no quag-mires; the loweſt grounds are the marſhes, over which the ſea flows every full and change. Theſe marſhes are rich ground, and bring plenty of hay, of which the cattle feed, and like as if they were fed with the beſt up-land hay in New England, of which there is great ſtore that grows commonly between the marſhes and the woods. The meadow-ground lies higher than the marſhes, whereby it is freed from the over-flowing of the ſeas; and beſide this, in many places where the trees grow thin, there is good fodder to be got among the woods. There are likewiſe in divers places near the plantations great broad meadows, wherein grow neither ſhrub nor tree, lying low, in which places grows as much graſs as may be thrown out with a ſcythe, thick and long, as high as a man's middle, ſome as high as the ſhoulders, ſo that a good mower may cut three-load in a day. Many object that this is but coarſe fodder; and true it is, that it is not ſo fine to the eye as Engliſh graſs; but, being made into hay, the cattle eat it as well as lea-hay, and like as well with it. The worſt that can be ſaid againſt the meadow-grounds is, that there is but little ediſh or after-paſture, which may proceed from the late mowings more than any thing elſe. For the more upland grounds, there are different kinds; in ſome places clay, others gravel, ſome a red ſand; all which are covered with a black mould, in ſome places a foot deep, in others not ſo much. Such is the rankneſs of the ground, that it muſt be ſown the firſt year with Indian corn, which is a ſoaking grain, before it will be fit to receive Engliſh ſeed. He preferred it before the

counties of Surry or Middleſex, which, if they were not enriched with continual manurings, would be leſs fertile than the meaneſt grounds in New England; wherefore it was not impoſſible, nor much improbable, that, upon improvements, the ſoil may be as good in time as England."

This account of the country is not unfavourabe; but a different idea of it was given in an anonymous manuſcript, which was ſent to England in 1637, and aſſerts, "That the ſoil, for the nature of it, was mixed; the upland rather participated of ſand than clay; yet Engliſh rye liked it not; an argument it was both cold and barren. That the low-lands were for the moſt part covered with underwoods; and the ſoil, which was a mixture of clay and ſand, ſeemed to have been fattened by the continual fall of leaves from the trees growing thereon. That this ſoil was like the woodland in England, beſt at firſt, yet afterward grows more barren. That this raiſed the report of ſo rich a ſoil; but thoſe that came after found, by dear experience, that affection, not judgment was the author of it; for after five or ſix years, it grew barren beyond belief: and whereas, after the land in England proved fertile for graſs, this yielded none at all; but, like the land about Dunſtable, put on the face of winter in the time of ſummer. The author, however, believed, that if they had marle, lime, or other manure, that barrenneſs might in part be cured; but then they were deſtitute of thoſe ſupplies. That the natural coldneſs confuted the opinion of thoſe who conceived it to be orginally fertile; and experience confirmed this to be true; for beans, millets, fitches and roots, which delight in a cold ſoil, proſpered here alike. That hay they had of the low-lands, ſuch as it was; which he thought inferior in goodneſs to reed and ſedge in England; for it was ſo devoid of nutritive virtue, that their beaſts grew louſy with feeding upon it, and were much out of heart and liking; beſide, it bred among them ſundry diſeaſes which they knew not how to cure. That ſome had learned to make better proviſion, by burning the graſs when it was near ripe, and ſo ſuffering a new crop to ſpring out of the aſhes of the old: this they cut down, before it was half ripe, and made it into hay; but this proved like after-meath in Old England, not fit to labour with, yielding a faint nouriſhment, which brought the cattle ſo low, and many times to diſeaſes of which they ſeldom recovered."

Another manuſcript account, of ſome later date, ſays, that "the air of the country was ſharp, the rocks many, the trees innumerable, the graſs little, the winter cold, the ſummer hot, the gnats in ſummer biting, and the wolves at midnight howling: but if it was to be looked upon as the means of grace, i might be called a Canaan."

Mr.

Mr. Hubbard could make a better judgment, as he wrote his manuſcript hiſtory about the year 1680, and ſays, "As for the ſoil, it was for the general more mountainous and hilly than otherwiſe, and in many places very rocky and full of ſtones, yet intermingled with many plains and valleys, ſome of which were ſandy and inclinable to barrenneſs, eſpecially thoſe which abounded with pitch-pines, and there were many ſuch; as likewiſe many ſwamps or boggy places full of ſmall buſhes and underwoods; but here and there were many rich and fertile ſpots of land, ſuch as they called interval land, in level and campaign grounds, that oftentimes were overflown by the channels of water running beſide them, which was ſuppoſed to enrich the ſoil; the fatneſs of the earth waſhed by the rains, and melting of the ſnow from the ſurface of the higher parts of the country, being, by thoſe floods, caſt upon the levels which lie by the ſides of thoſe greater ſtreams. In many ſuch places, their land has been known to be ſown or planted full forty years together, without any conſiderable abatement of the crop, never failing of thirty or forty buſhels an acre. But for the generality of the ſoil, it was of a lighter ſort of earth, whoſe fruitfulneſs was more beholden to the influence of the heavens, advantage of the ſeaſon, ſkill and induſtry of the tiller, than to the ſtrength of its own temper. Such as came thither firſt upon diſcovery, chanced to be there in the firſt part of the ſummer, when the earth was enriched with herbs and flowers, flouriſhing with ſuch early fruits as weather-beaten travellers are wont to refreſh themſelves with beholding; as ſtrawberries, gooſeberries, raſpberries, cherries, and whorts, as they obſerved who firſt landed about Martha's vineyard, from whence they promiſed themſelves and their ſucceſſors a very flouriſhing country, as they did who landed firſt upon the coaſt of Florida. All ſorts of grain ſown in the ſpring, were found to grow pretty naturally there. The cold oftentimes proved ſo extreme as to kill that which was committed to the ground before winter."

From theſe ſeveral accounts ſome judgments may be made of the opinion the firſt Coloniſts had formed of the country. Experience convinced many of them, that the value of the land when cleared, would make but poor wages for their labour in clearing it. However, it is a happy thing, that a fondneſs for freeholds to tranſmit to poſterity, with privileges annexed to them, excited ſo many of the firſt planters of America to hard labour, and ſupported them under hard fare. A great part of this vaſt continent, filled with wild beaſts, and ſavage men ſcarcely ſuperior to them, now affords the neceſſaries and conveniences of a civilized life. Hiſtory affords no inſtance of ſuch great im-

provements in ſo ſhort a time. The ſame paſſion ſtill continues, and affords a proſpect of the like happy effect to diſtant poſterity.

There are timber of many ſorts in the colony, and particularly ſeveral kinds of pine-trees, whereof the principal are the white-pine, a beautiful tree of the beſt uſe for maſting and joiner's work; and the pitch-pine, which produces pitch, tar, roſin, turpentine, and oil of turpentine; various kinds of oaks; the principal for ſhip-building, and other conſtructions, are the white-oak, which is the beſt; the ſwamp-oak, and the black-oak.

The white-pine, or maſting-pine, is of very large dimenſions; and, in 1736, near Merrimack River, a little above Dunſtable, was cut a white pine ſtrait and ſound, ſeven feet eight inches diameter at the butt-end. The commiſſioners of the navy ſeldom contract for any exceeding thirty-ſix inches diameter at the butt-end; and to be ſo many yards in length as they are inches in diameter at the butt-end.

The commiſſioners of the navy agree from time to time with contractors to furniſh certain numbers of ſpecified dimenſions of maſts, yards and bowſprits, with his Majeſty's licence for cutting ſuch trees. But the late contracts have been from Piſcataqua Harbour in New Hampſhire, and Caſco Bay in the province of Main. The maſt-ſhips built peculiarly for that uſe, are generally about four hundred tons, navigated with about twenty-five men, and carry from forty-five to fifty good maſts each voyage.

By the new charter granted in 1691, all trees fit for maſts, of twenty-four inches diameter and upward, twelve inches from the ground, growing upon land not granted to any private perſons, were reſerved to the crown; and the penalty for cutting any ſuch reſerved trees was a hundred pounds ſterling *per* tree: and by ſeveral acts of the Britiſh parliament, this penalty has been extended to all the American provinces, and penalties fixed on the cutting or deſtroying white-pines.

New England abounds in ſaw-mills of cheap and ſlight work, generally carrying a ſingle ſaw. One man and a boy attending on a mill may, in twenty-four hours, ſaw four thouſand feet of white-pine boards, which are generally one inch thick, and of various lengths, from fifteen to twenty-five feet; and of different widths, from one foot to two feet at a medium; and it is reckoned that forty boards make a thouſand feet.

Theſe

Theſe mills commonly ſtand upon ſmall ſtreams, becauſe cheap fitted; but with the following inconveniencies. 1. As the country is cleared of wood and bruſh, the rivulets dry up. 2. In living ſmall ſtreams, there is not water ſufficient to drive the wheel in ſummer. 3. In the winter they are frozen up.

Colonel Dudley, in his frequent ſurveys of new townſhips about fifty or ſixty miles inland, obſerved white-aſh trees, ſtrait and without branchings for about eighty feet, and about three feet diameter at the butt-end. It is as light and much tougher than white-pine; therefore it has been imagined that theſe trees would make ſtronger maſts: but then the land-carriage for ſo great a diſtance is inconvenient.

There are five different kinds of firs in New England; ſome of which are cut into deal-boards, and their bark is uſed by the tanners. The ſpruce or true fir grows ſtrait and tapering; is very beautiful, and uſed as ſpars; but it is apt to caſt or warp; and being too flexile is not fit for large maſts or yards. Its twigs with the leaves are boiled with a beverage made of molaſſes, and is eſteemed good in the ſcurvy and the like foulneſſes of the blood.

The white ſpruce fir grows in ſwamps or marſhes: there are alſo the red ſpruce, the black ſpruce, and the fir turpentine-tree, commonly called the Balſam of Gilead-tree of Nova Scotia.

There are ſeveral kinds of oaks, but the white-oak only is required by contract with the ſhip-builders for conſtruction of ſhipping.

The American pitch-pine, which furniſhes the naval ſtores of turpentine, tar, pitch and roſin, grows on a dry ſandy ſoil, and has leaves about three inches long: but in New England there is another diſtinct pitch-pine, called yellow-pine, whoſe wood has a yellow caſt, but does not yield turpentine ſo plentifully as the pitch-pine of Carolina, which is harder and ſtraiter than that of New England, ſo as to be uſed for maſting, and ſawed into boards for the Weſt India iſlands.

The horn-beam and the button-trees are uſed for windlaſſes, blocks, and turnery work: red-cedar is of excellent uſe for poſts fixed in the earth, and will hold good for a century. The common cheſnut of North America bears a ſmaller fruit, with a capſula not ſo much echinated as in Europe; but it rives well, and is moſt durable for rails in fencing of lands.

In North America are ſo many different kinds of walnuts, that the hunters of the woods report there are almoſt as great a variety of walnuts as apples: but their general diſtinction is into black and white, from the colour of the wood.

Apple-trees are all from Europe, and flouriſh very well. The beginning of October is the height of cyder-making. Ten or twelve barrels of apples are required to make one barrel of cyder, which affords about one gallon of proof ſpirits.

Cherry-trees are natives of New England, and of different kinds.

Grape-vines are natives of New England, and of ſeveral diſtinct kinds.

Saſſafras is plentiful in New England, though not of ſo ſtrong a perfume as farther ſouth.

There are great varieties of gooſeberries, currants, raſpberries, brambles, wild-roſes, and other ſuch productions, unneceſſary to be particularly mentioned; as alſo are their beaſts, birds, fiſhes, and other things that relate more peculiarly to natural hiſtory. It may, however, be obſerved, that Plumier, in his four voyages to America, diſcovered nine hundred new plants, eſpecially in the capillary tribe, with which North America abounds; and that Douglas arrived to the deſcriptions of about eleven hundred indigenous plants in the Maſſachuſets colony.

Grain is produced of various ſorts; but ſcarcely any of them are natural or ſpontaneous. Indian corn is the principal: rye and French beans thrive tolerably well: all kinds of Engliſh grain are ſown, yet they ſeldom grow kindly. Flax grows well, and employs a conſiderable number of hands in the linen manufactory; but the ſoil appears not ſtrong enough for hemp.

The farmers in New England, by ſowing their ſeed early, the ground being prepared in ridges to throw off the rains and melting ſnows, raiſe winter-wheat and rye with good ſucceſs; but their great diſcouragement has been the blaſt. Sir Henry Frankland, ſeveral years ago, imported from Liſbon the ſeed of ſummer-wheat, which has been leſs ſubject to blaſt than any other; and it ripens about ſix weeks from the ſowing, in the Maſſachuſets colony. It has been generally remarked, that between the firſt and tenth of July, the honey-dew falling upon the wheat, cauſes the ruſt or blaſt, if the following morning is hot and calm; but ordinarily,

ordinarily, if the wheat be ſown early, it will be ſo forward that the grain will not ſuffer by it in that time. An idle opinion prevailed among the populace, that ſince the execution of the Quakers, wheat has always blaſted; but this folly was equal to that cruelty.

As the Indian-corn requires frequent ploughings, beſide what are now called horſe-hoeings, as alſo hoeing and hilling by hand, the land is pulverized, and then there is fine tilth neceſſary for Engliſh grain the next year. Indian corn is alſo gathered late, after the froſts ſet in; and if the corn has been well tended, there will be no graſs or weeds when the froſts break up in the ſpring; immediately after which it ſhould be ploughed for the Engliſh grain.

The natural upland graſs of the country, commonly called Indian-graſs, is poor fodder, perhaps not better, if ſo good, as barley-ſtraw. Cattle, remote from the ſea, muſt have ſalt, and a little ſalt hay would undoubtedly be grateful to black cattle, horſes, and ſheep, which may be kept alive through the winter with it; but all creatures prefer Engliſh-hay when they can have both.

Land of a tolerable quality, where Engliſh-graſs, a name given to all imported graſſes, has been mowed, they now find by experience will afford after-feed until the ſevere froſts wither the graſs. It has been made a queſtion, whether the ſeed of the white-clover is not in the earth in all parts of the country? The New England farmers affirm, and there is no doubt of the fact, that if they break up new ground in the woods where no dung has ever been ſpread, and lay it down the next or the ſame year, and give it a thin coat of aſhes, the white-honeyſuckle comes in as thick as if the ſeed had been ſown: but ſome are of opinion, that the plant and flower differ from the Engliſh honeyſuckle.

The two great rivers in this colony are, 1. Merrimack, which comes from the fork near Endicot's tree, where Pomagewaſſet River and the diſcharge of the Pond or Lake Winipiſinket meet, and acquire the name of Merrimack, ſignifying in the Indian language a ſturgeon, with which this river abounds. From this fork it runs ſoutherly about fifty miles to Patucket Falls; and thence it runs eaſterly about thirty miles to Newbury-Bar. Upon this river, the townſhips in a deſcending order lie as follow: On the eaſt and north ſide are Gilman-Town, Canterbury, part of Rumford, part of Suncook, Harry's-Town, Litchfield, Nottingham of New Hampſhire, part of Dunſtable, Dracut, Methuen, Haverhill, Ameſbury,

and Saliſbury of Maſſachuſets Bay. Upon the weſt and ſouth ſide are the townſhips of Contacook, part of Rumford, part of Suncook, Merrimack, and Dunſtable of New Hampſhire; Dunſtable, Chelmsford, Tewkeſbury, Andover, Bradford, and Newbury of Maſſachuſets Bay. The bar at the mouth of this river has only about ten feet of water, and ſhifts; but it is navigable no more than eighteen miles, to Mitchell's Falls in Haverhill. The falls in this river are many; but excepting Dracut or Patucket Falls about thirty miles from the bar, and Amuſkeag Falls about twenty miles higher, all the other falls are paſſable for floats of timber, and for canoes or ſmall boats in freſhes or floods of the river. Many of thoſe called falls are only riplings or veins of ſcattered great rock ſtones. The elbow or flexure of the river, called the horſe-ſhoe, is about two miles above Patucket Falls. There are ſeveral ferries upon the river; and, when it is low, a fording place above Swan's Ferry, twenty-four miles up from the bar; as alſo another above Hunt's or Dracut's Ferry. There are ſeveral rivers and rivulets which fall into the Merrimack.

2. The other great river is Connecticut, an Indian word ſignifying a long river. Upon its banks are three of the New England colonies: Connecticut lies upon it about fifty-two miles: thence Maſſachuſets Bay, by an indent of nine miles, which makes an imaginary diviſional line between theſe colonies; from which line the province of Maſſachuſets Bay lies about forty-ſeven miles direct northerly; and farther north is New Hampſhire indefinitely, or crown lands annexed to the juriſdiction of New Hampſhire.

From the bar at the mouth of Connecticut River to the boundary imaginary line of Maſſachuſets Bay and Connecticut are about ſixty miles. This River of Connecticut, from its long courſe, is ſubject to ſudden floods or freſhes, and at Hertford ſometimes riſes twenty feet; but the tide riſes only a few inches. At the mouth of the river, the tide flows from four to ſix feet; and upon the bar are about ten to twelve feet water. The general courſe of the ſtream is north north-eaſt and ſouth ſouth-weſt: but a ſouth ſouth-eaſt wind will carry a veſſel up all the reaches of this river ſo far as it is navigable, which for ſloops is nearly ſixty miles.

The firſt falls of this river are about ſixty miles from its mouth, at Devotion Iſland in the ſouth parts of Suffield; and the next are about the middle of Suffield, and half a mile in length; both of which are paſſable by boats in channels. Next are the falls in the ſoutherly parts of Northampton, about fifteen miles farther up the river, whoſe banks are generally

generally ſteep and ſandy, loſing on one ſide in different places, and gaining ground on the other ſide in proceſs of time.

The rivulets and brooks, where they fall into the great river, are not paſſable in freſhes and floods, becauſe of the back water. From the mouth of the river to about one hundred and fifty miles up, the breadth appears much the ſame, though in that ſpace it receives many conſiderable ſtreams. Some ferries, where are no habitations, have been kept at the charge of the counties, conſiſting of a large ſcow or flat to carry perſons, cattle, and goods, with a canoe-tender: thus travellers ferried themſelves over, always leaving the flat on one ſide, and the canoe on the other, to fetch the ſcow upon occaſion, particularly at Northfield ferry.

The townſhips upon this river are, 1. Upon its eaſt ſide, in Connecticut Colony; Lime, Eaſt-Hadham, part of Middletown, Glaſtenbury, part of Hertford, and part of Windſor: in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, Enfield, Springfield, Hadley, Sunderland, and part of Northfield: in the province of New Hampſhire, part of Northfield and Wincheſter. 2. Upon its weſt ſide; in Connecticut Colony, are Seabrook, Weſt-Hadham, part of Middletown, Wethersfield, part of Hertford, and part of Windſor: in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, are Suffield, part of Springfield, Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield, and part of Northfield: in the province of New Hampſhire, are part of Northfield, in which ſtands Fort Dummer, maintained at the charge of the Maſſachuſets Bay.

This river falls into the bottom of Maſſachuſets or Boſton Bay, and ſerves to bring floats or rafts of ſhip-timber down by the tide to Boſton from Watertown barcadier, about nine miles. There is another creek or river, a little way eaſt of this, called Myſtick River, of about four miles rafting from the barcadier of Medford townſhip; and from Myſtick barcadier are ſent to Boſton, bricks, tar, and turpentine.

The promontories remarkable are only Point Alderton, about ten miles below Boſton, upon the ſouth ſide of the bay, oppoſite the light-houſe. Here is a good harbour called Hull-gut; and the ſafe road of Nantaſket, ſecured by circumjacent iſlands, where the King's ſhips and merchant ſhips outward and inward bound anchor for a time: it lies about ſeven miles below Boſton, and, by act of aſſembly, is deemed belonging to the harbour of that town.

Cape Anne is the north ſide entrance or promontory of Maſſachuſets Bay. Thatcher's Iſland lies about two leagues eaſt of this harbour; and

near

near that iſland are the rocks called the Salvages. Cape Anne harbour is about eleven leagues north north-eaſt from Boſton: The ſouthern promontory of Maſſachuſets Bay, called Cape Cod, lies about eighteen leagues eaſt by ſouth from Boſton; and the breadth of the entrance into this bay is, from Cape Anne harbour ſouth-weſt fourteen leagues, to the hook or harbour of Cape Cod.

It is only ſince the new charter that ſea-port diſtricts of preventive cuſtom-houſes and branches have taken place. Charles-Town, Boſton, and all the other cuſtom-houſe branches of Maſſachuſets Bay belong to the collection of Boſton. Ipſwich, Cape Anne, Salem, and Marblehead belong to the collection of Salem: and Newbury is a branch of the collection of Portſmouth in New Hampſhire. Beſide there are ſmall creeks and inlets for timber and firewood in ſmall coaſting veſſels, and for curing of fiſh.

The poſt-office is a very beneficial inſtitution, and the province of Maſſachuſets Bay is its moſt conſiderable branch in all North America. The poſt-office in England was ſettled by act of parliament in the twelfth year of King Charles II. and in the reign of Queen Anne a poſt-office for North America was projected by Mr. Hamilton of New Jerſey, which he ſoon effected, and obtained a patent for the management and profits of the ſame. This patent he afterward ſold to the crown; and after the Union, the poſts of Great Britain, Ireland, and America were put under one director by the ſtatute of the ninth of Queen Anne.

The number of inhabitants in this colony has been variouſly repreſented at different periods. In 1656, they had three regiments of militia, Suffolk, Middleſex, and Eſſex; but in 1671 three more regiments were formed, Norfolk or Piſcataqua, Yorkſhire or province of Main, and Hampſhire upon Connecticut River. In 1706, the militia of Maſſachuſets Bay, in their addreſs to Queen Anne, called themſelves twelve regiments; and in 1711, when Admiral Walker demanded a ſupply of ſailors, the governor and council repreſented, that their ordinary garriſons, forces upon the inland frontiers, and troops detached for the Canada expedition, were upward of two thouſand men, which were more than one-fifth in the province who were capable of bearing arms.

In 1722, the ſmall-pox happened to rage in Boſton, where 5980 perſons were ſeized with that diſtemper, whereof 844 died, and about the ſame number quitted the town. Thus it may be eſtimated, that there were about 12,000 people in Boſton at the arrival of the ſmall-pox; for when

when it was over, the ſelect-men ordered a kind of luſtration to be made by Mr. Saller, who reported 10,670 ſouls. By a new calculation in 1742, there were reported 16,382 ſouls in Boſton: add to theſe ſome men lately gone upon the Cuba expedition, beſide ſeveral ſons and apprentices deſignedly overlooked to eaſe the quota of Boſton's provincial tax, the inhabitants may be reckoned about 18,000 at that time. Thus in the ſpace of twenty years, from 1722 to 1742, the inhabitants of Boſton increaſed 6000, or one-third. In the valuation of 1742, of thoſe in Boſton were 1200 widows, and 1000 of them poor; in the alms-houſes 111; in the work-houſe 36; and negroes 1514: dwelling-houſes 1719; warehouſes 106; horſes 418; and cows 141.

When governor Shute returned to England in 1722, he reported to the Board of Trade and Plantations, that in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay were 94,000 people, whereof 15,000 were in the training liſt, diſpoſed into ſixteen regiments of foot, and fifteen troops of horſe; but the alarm-liſt of males, from ſixteen years of age and upward, was about one-third more than the training liſt; becauſe many were excuſed from impreſſes and quarterly trainings. About 25,000 ton of ſhipping were in the two collections of Boſton and Salem at that time.

In the valuation of 1728, for Boſton were about 3000 rateable polls of males from ſixteen and upward; which was nearly the ſame with the alarm-liſt; for inſtance, in 1735, the rateable polls in Boſton were 3637; and in 1733 the alarm-liſt was about 3500; which, allowing for two years increaſes, is nearly the ſame. Captain Watſon, one of the aſſeſſors, out of curioſity examined the books about that time, and found the Church of England people charged not exceeding one-tenth of the rates or taxes in Boſton town.

In 1735, the provincial valuation was 35,427 polls, being white men of ſixteen years and upward; 2600 negroes; 27,420 horſes of three years old and upwards; 52,000 neat cattle of three years old and upward; and 130,000 ſheep of one year old and upwards.

In the valuation of 1742, were 41,000 white men's polls; but in 1747, the houſe of repreſentatives informed the governor, that 3000 was about one twelfth of their fencible men.

The alacrity of the New England militia may be obſerved, by the alarm given by the Breſt ſquadron in September 1746, when 6400 men, well armed, appeared in a ſhort time from the country upon Boſton common; and

and ſome of them travelled ſeventy miles in two days, each with a pack of proviſions for fourteen days, of about a buſhel of corn weight. Connecticut was alſo to have ſent 6000 men, being one-half of their training liſt; who were to be paid by the province for their travel and attendance.

Ship-building is one of the greateſt articles of trade and manufacture in New England, as it employs and maintains above thirty ſeveral denominations of tradeſmen and artificers. In New England ſhip-building, a veſſel fitted to ſea, two-thirds of the coſt is gain to the country; but the other third is iron, cordage, ſail-cloth, and ſmall ſtores from Great Britain.

The ſhips built in Boſton exceed all thoſe of other building-yards; becauſe the merchants and ſhip-maſters inſpect them, and every bad piece of timber or length of plank is cenſured: but in Newbury, where they are not much inſpected, the builders act at pleaſure; and as the contracts are generally to be paid in goods, they build accordingly. The other country building-places are ſtill worſe, particularly North River, where they uſed foreſt-wood of any ſort, inſtead of what is reckoned ſhip-timber.

The great ſupport of New England was the fiſhery, which amounted to about 250,000*l.* a year, including all the ſpecies of cod, herring, mackarel, and whale fiſheries. Great part of this fiſh they were obliged to ſell for molaſſes, as the French would let them have nothing elſe in return; but when the Britiſh parliament laid a duty of three-pence a gallon on French molaſſes, the French miniſtry exacted eight ſhillings a quintal on New England fiſh, which is forty *per cent;* and as the duty on molaſſes amounted to forty *per cent.* more, there was a duty of eighty *per cent.* on ſuch an unprofitable trade as that in fiſh and molaſſes, and upon ſuch a poor employment as the fiſhery, which rather deſerved a public encouragement. Beſide, in New England, it was not only a ſource of trade and wealth, as alſo a nurſery of ſeamen; but it was a neceſſary of life, without which theſe colonies could not ſubſiſt; becauſe it was with their fiſh they ſupplied the want of other proviſions, and purchaſed the corn they eat, which the land would not produce.

The fiſhery may be reduced to five ſeparate heads: 1. The whale-fiſhery. 2. Herring-fiſhery. 3. Cod-fiſhery. 4. The ſmaller fiſheries exportable, but of no conſiderable account. 5. Some fiſh not exportable or merchantable, but of great benefit in preſent ſpending, eſpecially for the poor.

1. Whales.

1. Whales. The New England whalers have diſtinguiſhed about twelve different ſpecies of the whale kind; but the moſt beneficial is the black whale, or true whalebone fiſh, which are very large in the higher northern latitudes. Some may yield 150 puncheons, being 400 or 500 barrels of oil, and bone of eighteen feet and upward; but the whalebone fiſh killed upon the coaſt of New England, Terra de Labradore, and entrance of Davis's ſtreights, are ſmaller; ſo that they ſeldom yield above 130 barrels of oil, and bone of nine feet of 140 lb. weight.

Whales are gregarious, ſwimming in ſhoals, and are great paſſengers: in autumn they go ſouth, and return northward in ſpring. The ſwallow of a true whalebone fiſh is not much larger than that of an Ox; he has only a ſmall fin on each ſide of his head of no great uſe to him in ſwimming; but he ſculls himſelf in the water with a large horizontal tail. Formerly it was imagined that the true whales lived upon a kind of alga or ſea-graſs, or upon an oozy mud; but now it is well known they feed upon ſmall fiſh and ſea inſects that keep in ſhoals.

When whales are much diſturbed, they quit their keeping-ground, and the tracks of their uſual paſſages; thus, as to New England, they formerly ſet in along ſhore by Cape Cod for many ſucceſſive years, when there was good whaling in boats, and proper conders or watchmen on ſhore gave notice when a whale appeared. After ſome years they left this ground, and paſſed farther off upon the banks at ſome diſtance from the ſhore. The whalers then uſed ſloops with whale-boats aboard, and this fiſhery turned to good account. At preſent, the fiſh ſeem to be driven off from theſe banks, and take their courſe in the ocean, where the New England whalers follow them in whaling-ſloops or ſchooners, with two whale-boats and thirteen men; each boat having an harponeer, a ſteerſman, and four rowers.

The New England whalers reckon ſo many hundred weight of bone as it is feet in length; for inſtance, ſeven feet bone gives 700 *lb.* weight. New England bone ſcarce ever exceeds nine feet; and 100 barrels of oil is ſuppoſed to yield 1000 *lb.* weight of bone.

The beſt place for ſtriking a whale is in her belly, about one-third from her gills. The faſt is a rope of about twenty-five fathom; then a drudge or ſtop-water, a plank of about two feet ſquare, with a ſtick through its center, and to the further end of this ſtick is faſtened a tow-rope, called the drudge-rope, of about fifteen fathom. They lance the whale, after

having faſtened her by the harpoon, until dead; but whales killed in deep water, if they ſink, never riſe again.

In New England whaling, they go upon ſhares; one quarter to the veſſel or owners, and the reſt to the company, who victual themſelves.

2. Herrings are peculiar to the coaſts of Great Britain; but thoſe of New England are either of a different ſpecies, or of a bad quality. Notwithſtanding they are a periodical kind of fiſh, their periods are uncertain. They have been pickled and barrelled for the negroes in the Weſt Indies, but turned out not merchantable, and that branch of fiſhery was relinquiſhed.

3. Cod fiſhery. The cod is a fiſh of paſſage, and the New England winter dry-cod are of prime quality. The New England fiſhery have their ſalt from Salt-Tortugas, Cape de Verde Iſlands, Turks Iſlands, the Bahamas, Portugal, and Spain. The fiſhermen victual only with ſalt pork, biſcuit, and rum. All cod-fiſh caught from the beginning of June to the beginning of October are called ſummer-fiſh; the others are called ſpring and fall fiſh, or winter fiſh, which are of the better quality. The ſalt fleet from Tortugas generally arrives in New England about the middle of April; but at Newfoundland they make uſe of ſalt from Liſbon and the Bay of Biſcay, of a milder quality. In Newfoundland, they work their fiſh belly-down; in New England they work them belly-up, to receive more ſalt.

4. Smaller fiſheries uſed in commerce, are ſcale-fiſh, that is haddock, hake, and polluc, which in New England are cured in the ſame manner as dry cod; theſe, together with the dry cod that is not fit for European markets, are ſhipped off to the Weſt India iſlands for the negroe ſlaves, and make a conſiderable article in that trade. Mackarel ſplit, ſalted, and barrelled for the negroes in the Sugar Iſlands, are caught either by hook or net; but thoſe by hook are the beſt. There are two ſeaſons of mackarel, ſpring and autumn: the latter are the beſt; the former appear about the middle of May, very lean, and vaniſh in two or three weeks. Sturgeon are very plenty, ſome of which are twelve feet in length, and 400 *lb.* weight; but the fiſhery is not advantageouſly purſued, ſo that London is ſupplied with ſturgeon from Ruſſia and the Baltic Sea. Salmon abound in all the rivers from Newfoundland to about 41° of north latitude. They ſet in to Maſſachuſets Bay about the middle of April, and continue there only until they have ſpawned; but farther north they continue ſeveral

months. This ſalmon is not of a good quality, therefore not ſo proper for a market as the ſalmon of Great Britain and Ireland. Alewives are of the herring tribe, but ſomewhat larger than the true herring; they are dry and inſipid: ſome are cured in the manner of white herrings, and ſent to the Sugar Iſlands for the ſlaves; but in ſome places they are uſed to manure the land. They are very numerous, but never take the hook: they come up the rivers and brooks into ponds in the ſpring, and return to ſea when they have ſpawned.

5. For ſpending freſh, beſide the abovementioned, which are alſo eat when freſh, there are many ſorts that are not cured and ſhipped off. They are generally well known in New England, and are much the ſame as in Great Britain.

Many fiſh go up the rivers, and into ponds, earlier or later in the ſpring to ſpawn; particularly ſalmon, ſhad, alewives, tomcod, and ſmelts. Several good laws have been made in New England to prevent the paſſages of theſe fiſh being ſtopped by weirs; becauſe they are of great benefit to the inhabitants near theſe rivers and ponds.

The fiſhery in general has decreaſed, and the cod fiſhery in particular, as appears by the following ſtate: In 1716, there were exported 120,384 quintals from the diſtricts of Maſſachuſets Bay, but only 53,000 quintals were exported in 1748.

Rum is a conſiderable article in the manufactures of New England, where it is diſtilled from molaſſes imported from the Weſt India Iſlands: it is vended to all the continental colonies, and the uſe of it has greatly depopulated the Indians.

Hats are manufactured and exported to all the colonies, and are a conſiderable article of trade.

Iron is alſo a great article in manufactures; as it conſiſts of theſe general branches: 1. Smelting-furnaces, reducing the ore into pigs; having coal ſufficient, and appearances of rock-ore. 2. Refineries, which manufacture pigs imported from New York, Pennſylvania, and Maryland furnaces, into bar-iron. 3. Bloomeries from bog or ſwamp ore. One hundred and twenty buſhels of charcoal are ſufficient to ſmelt rock-ore into one ton of pigs; and the complement of men for a furnace is eight or ten, beſide cutters of the wood, coalers, carters, and other common labourers. Bog or ſwamp-ore lies from half a foot to two feet deep:

in about twenty years from digging, it grows or gathers fit for another digging; but if it lies longer, it turns ruſty, and does not yield well: three tons of ſwamp-ore yield about one ton of hollow ware.

The premium or bounty on naval ſtores imported into Great Britain was firſt granted by the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, and afterward continued by the 24th of King George II. The ſeveral ſorts of naval ſtores hereafter mentioned, imported directly from any of the Britiſh plantations in America, in any ſhip that may lawfully trade, manned as by law is required, are to enjoy the following bounty:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Hemp, water-rotted, bright and clean, the ton containing 20 cwt. - - - - -	6	0	0
Maſts, yards, and bowſprits, the ton, allowing forty feet to each ton, girt-meaſure, according to the cuſtomary way of meaſuring round bodies - -	1	0	0
Tar, clean, good, merchantable, well-conditioned, clear of droſs or water, and fit in every reſpect for making of cordage, the ton, containing eight barrels, and each barrel to gauge 31½ gallons, to be well hooped and filled up - - - -	2	4	0
Tar, clean, good, merchantable, well-conditioned, clear of droſs or water, and fit in every reſpect for making of cordage, made from trees prepared according to the directions mentioned, the ton, containing eight barrels, and each barrel to gauge 31½ gallons, to be well hooped and filled up, on the importation thereof -	4	0	0
Pitch, good, clean, merchantable, and well-conditioned, not mixed with dirt or droſs, the ton, containing 20 groſs cwt. neat pitch, to be brought in eight barrels of equal ſize - - - -	1	0	0
Turpentine, good, clean, and merchantable, clear of droſs and water, the ton, containing 20 groſs cwt. neat turpentine, to be brought in eight barrels of equal ſize	1	10	0

Theſe premiums are to be paid by the commiſſioners of the navy, by bills to be made out for the ſame, and delivered to the importers within twenty days after the diſcharge or unlading of the ſhip, in order to be paid in courſe, upon certificate of the reſpective chief officers of the cuſtoms where imported, to whom a certificate has been produced under the hands and ſeals of the governor, lieutenant-governor, or collector of his Majeſty's cuſtoms, and naval officer, or any two of them, reſiding within any

any of his Majeſty's ſaid plantations, teſtifying, that, before departure of the ſhip, the perſon lading the ſame had made oath before them, that the ſaid ſtores were truly and *bona fide* of the produce of his Majeſty's ſaid plantations: and with reſpect to the high bounty on tar, expreſſing that it appeared to them, by the oath of the owner or maker of the tar for which ſuch certificate was granted, that the tar therein mentioned was made conformable to the directions of the act: as likewiſe upon oath to be made by the maſter of the ſhip, at the port of importation in Great Britain, that the ſame were ſhipped within ſome of his Majeſty's plantations in America; and that he knows, or believes, thoſe ſtores were the produce of ſuch plantations. And the ſaid officers of the cuſtoms, before they make out ſuch certificates, are to examine the pitch, by opening the heads of the barrels, ſawing of the ſtaves in the middle, and breaking the barrels, or by ſuch other means as they ſhall think proper, to diſcover whether the ſaid pitch is good and merchantable, not mixed with dirt or droſs; and alſo to examine and ſearch the ſaid tar, to diſcover whether the ſame is good, clean, merchantable, well-conditioned, clear of droſs or water, and fit for making of cordage.

New England turpentine is of a conſiſtence like honey; but that of Carolina is leſs liquid, ſo as to reſemble tallow or ſluſh. The turpentine of New England yields about three gallons of oil in each hundred weight; and the reſiduum in diſtillation is about $\frac{7}{12}$, called roſin; the ſtill not exceeding one half full of turpentine, for fear it ſhould boil over. The ſtills in Boſton are ſmall, and three barrels of turpentine of 300 *lb.* weight each may be wrought off in three hours. After the oil is drawn off the roſin is to run from the ſtill.

There are two kinds of oil drawn from turpentine by diſtillation; but varniſh is from half roſin and one half oil of turpentine boiled up together, and is ſold at the ſame price with oil of turpentine.

Pitch has been generally brought to Great Britain from Denmark and Sweden; but as the merchants of thoſe countries put exorbitant prices on this commodity, it occaſioned the Britiſh government to give particular encouragement to their planters in North America to make pitch; in which they have ſucceeded ſo well, that great quantities have been ſent from New England, Virginia, and Carolina. It is abſolutely eſſential to a trading nation, for pitching their veſſels and cables; therefore the making of it ſhould be carefully attended to in the Britiſh plantations; for if they can ſupply the mother-country with naval ſtores, it will take the

the balance of trade out of the hands of the northern nations, and be a great ſaving to Great Britain.

Lumber, in a commercial ſenſe, ſignifies wood or timber cut down or ſawed by mills, in New England, and other colonies in America; which is carried to the Sugar colonies, and there exchanged for the product of thoſe iſlands. This ſort of lumber conſiſts in deals, timber-balks, ſhingles, barrel-boards, clap-boards, pipe-boards or pipe-holt, white-boards for ſhoemakers, boom and cant ſpars, bow-ſtaves, cap-ravens, clap-holt, ebony wood, heading for barrels, hoops for coopers, oars, barrel-ſtaves, trunnels, ſpeckled-wood, ſweet-wood, ſmall ſpars, oak, plank, wainſcot, and lignum-vitæ; which, by the ſtatute of the 8th of King George I. and the 1ſt of King George II. whether wrought or unwrought, of the product of the Britiſh plantations in America, may be imported directly from thence into Great Britain, free of all duties.

The merchants of New England, in exchange for their naval ſtores and lumber, receive from the Weſt India Iſlands, ſugar, molaſſes, rum, ginger, indigo, and cotton, much more than is neceſſary for home conſumption. They have alſo ſupported a conſiderable trade with the French Sugar Iſlands for that lumber; but the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands complained of it, as a great encouragement to the French, who could not ſupport their ſugar plantations without ſupplies from New England and the other Britiſh northern colonies.

It has been recently ſaid, that Great Britain is a country of manufactures without materials; a trading nation without commodities to trade upon; and a maritime power without either naval ſtores or materials for ſhip-building. That it is this ſituation, which renders both trade and plantations ſo eſſentially neceſſary, for the ſupport of Great Britain, as well as agriculture; whereby as many people are perhaps maintained in Britain, as by the produce of the lands. When the Colonies make ſuch commodities as are wanted in the mother-country, of which there are many, they muſt depend upon her for the vent of ſuch products, on which they rely for their daily ſubſiſtence; and as Great Britain is the beſt market in the world for ſuch commodities, that makes their dependence their intereſt, and intereſt rules the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

An Account of the Colony of Connecticut in New England.

SECTION I.

The origin of the colony; and its charter granted by King Charles II. *The counties and towns; with their number of repreſentatives and jurymen. The legiſlative power and courts of judicature. Rates and taxes. Number of people, and militia. Abſtract of ſome of their laws.*

IT has been a matter of queſtion with ſome perſons, whether the Britiſh Colonies and Plantations in North America are not prejudicial to Great Britain; and a moot point with others, whether of any advantage to it? but it may be ſafely advanced, that the trade and navigation of Great Britain are greatly increaſed by her Colonies and Plantations, who are a ſpring of wealth to the mother-country, ſince they work for her, and their treaſure centers in her: beſide, as the Britiſh laws have tied the Colonies faſt to the mother-country, it muſt be through her own fault and miſgovernment if they ever fail to enrich Great Britain; or all or any of them become independent of it.

The people in Europe, the public boards not excepted, have long entertained a very indiſtinct notion of theſe ſettlements; and the American ſettlers were too indolent to make themſelves ſufficiently acquainted with the real ſtate of their neighbouring colonies. Some of them even ridiculouſly placed a confidence in what has been as vainly aſſerted by de la Motray, who publiſhed ſeveral large volumes of his travels, and among others, his travels in New England; though it is well known he reſided there only a few days, and was generally at his lodgings in Boſton, with company of no intelligence.

The United Colonies of New England from 1643 to 1663, were Maſſachuſets Bay, Plymouth, Hertford, and New Haven: but during the civil war in England, the Colonies in America were neglected, and acted at pleaſure; particularly thoſe at Hertford and New Haven, who afterwards became united as a plantation of induſtrious huſbandmen.

The

The colony of Hertford ſprung from an emigration of ſome diſcontented ſcrupulous perſons who inhabited a few towns near Boſton, ſuch as New Town, Dorcheſter, Water Town, and Rockſbury; from whence about one hundred of them went, under their leaders and teachers, ſuch as Homes, Hopkins, Ludlow, and Hooker; who removed ſouth-weſt to a pleaſant country upon Connecticut River, and gradually made the ſettlements of Hertford, Weathersfield, Windſor, Springfield, Enfield, Suffield, and others; which migration happened in the ſummer of 1636.

Some of theſe were within the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets Bay; and thoſe who were without formed themſelves after the model of that colony, by ſubſcription of articles, as a voluntary, not legal juriſdiction. They elected magiſtrates the ſame year, and formed the colony of Hertford: but, in 1637, people from England, under the direction of Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, and others, purchaſed lands of the Indians, and began another diſtinct voluntary juriſdiction upon Long Iſland ſound called the colony of New Haven. Both colonies remained diſtinct until the reſtoration of King Charles II. when his majeſty incorporated them by royal charter into the preſent colony of Connecticut, which example was followed by King William and Queen Mary, who united the colonies of Maſſachuſets Bay and New Plymouth into the preſent province of the Maſſachuſets. The Pequot Indians gave the new planters all the diſturbance they could, which obliged them to unite together in a body for their defence: but the Indians picked up ſeveral ſtragglers, whom they put to death with the utmoſt barbarity.

The colony of New Haven alſo met with a conſiderable loſs at ſea in the year 1647, when they had finiſhed a new ſhip at Rhode Iſland, of about one hundred and fifty tons, and freighted it for England with the moſt valuable effects of the country; but the ſhip periſhed at ſea, with all on board, among whom were ſix of the principal perſons in the colony, and others of inferior rank, who took their paſſage in her. The people were ſo diſpirited by this accident, that they would have broke up the plantation, if they could have agreed upon a place to ſettle on, more to their ſatisfaction.

The ſame year the colony of Connecticut alſo ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of the reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker, paſtor of the church at Hertford in that colony, where he was juſtly conſidered as the father of it. He was born at Marfield in Leiceſterſhire, in 1586, and was educated in Emanuel College in Cambridge, of which he was fellow.

He

He was ſilenced for non-conformity by biſhop Laud, and embarked for New England in 1633, where he firſt became paſtor at New Town; but that place being too confined for his congregation, they removed by his encouragement, in 1635, to the banks of the River Connecticut, and built the town of Hertford, where he ſpent the remainder of his days.

The firſt volunteer governor of Hertford colony was Edward Hopkins, Eſq. who was born in England in 1600, and died there in 1657. Mr. Hains was alternately choſen governor with him; to whom ſucceeded Mr. George Willis, Mr. Thomas Wells, and Mr. John Webſter.

Theophilus Eaton, Eſq. an eaſt country merchant of London, and one of the patentees of Maſſachuſets colony, ſettled with ſome planters in 1637 at New Haven, where he was governor many years ſucceſſively, and died in 1657, when he was ſucceeded by Mr. Francis Newman, who continued governor four years, and died. Mr. Leet, a lawyer, was the next ſucceſſor, and continued governor until Hertford and New Haven were united into one colony in 1662.

John Winthrop, Eſq. ſon of governor Winthrop of Maſſachuſets Bay, arrived at Fort Saybrook in 1635, as agent from the Lords Say and Brook, who built that fort at the mouth of Connecticut River, and ſold it to the ſettlers in 1644. Mr. Winthrop was choſen governor of Hertford colony; and, upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. he went to England, where he obtained the royal charter for incorporating the two colonies into the preſent colony of Connecticut, of which he was governor fourteen years, and died at Boſton, on the 5th of April 1676, aged ſeventy-three. Mr. Leet acted as deputy-governor to Mr. Winthrop, whom he alſo ſucceeded as governor, and continued as ſuch ten years, until his own death.

The Connecticut charter was granted by King Charles II. in the fourteenth year of his reign; and was an excellent charter for the people, who were thereby rendered in a manner independent of the crown, as they were impowered to chooſe their own governor, deputy-governor, and twelve aſſiſtants, who, with the deputies or repreſentatives of the people, were to hold two annual aſſembles, and ordain all laws for the good of the community. It is ſaid, Mr. Winthrop procured the King's favour in this peculiar manner, by preſenting him with a ring, which King Charles I. had on ſome particular occaſion given to his grand-

ſather. Some diſaffected perſons, however, in each colony, oppoſed the union at firſt; but they were ſoon ſatisfied and reconciled.

In the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. the colony of Connecticut tacitly dropped their charter or juriſdiction, which they reaſſumed at the revolution, and it ſtill ſubſiſts. The government is in the hands of the repreſentatives of the freemen or people, as was alſo the property: but at preſent no colony or general lands remain, except ſome Indian reſerves; and ſo it is in Rhode Iſland, which alſo preſerved its charter by yielding to the ſtorm like Connecticut, inſtead of reſiſting like the Maſſachuſets.

As to their diſputes with the French of Canada and their Indians, they were in common with the Maſſachuſets colony: but the Indians are now almoſt extinct. They have a ſmall reſerve upon the eaſt ſide of Connecticut River at Piſtol Point in Weathersfield: there is another reſerve upon New London River, in the northern parts of that townſhip, called Mohegins; and there are a few of the Nianticks about five miles weſt from New London.

The partition line between New York and Connecticut, as eſtabliſhed on the 1ſt of December 1664, runs from the mouth of Memeroncock River, a little weſt from Byram River, north north-weſt, and was the ancient eaſterly bounds of New York, until the 23d of November 1683, when the line was run nearly the ſame as it was ſettled in 1713.

The Duke of Hamilton's grant took in part of the preſent colony of Connecticut; for that grant was from Narraganſet Bay to Connecticut River, and back into the country until it met with Maſſachuſets ſouth line: but as this was never purchaſed of the Indians, nor ever ſettled, it has been deemed as obſolete; though ſome attempts were made to revive this claim.

The preſent Counties are as follows: 1. Hertford County; 2. New Haven County; 3. New London County; 4. Fairfield County; and 5. Windham County. Theſe counties ſend in all about a hundred repreſentatives, of which every townſhip ſends two, excepting ſome which are poor, pay no colony rates, and conſequently ſend no repreſentatives to the general aſſembly or legiſlature.

In Connecticut, and all over New England, every conſtituted townſhip is a corporation: but in this province the qualification for a voter or

freeman, is to be twenty-one years of age, with a freehold rated in the common liſt at fifty ſhillings, or perſonal ſtate rated at forty pounds, beſide his poll or perſon.

Townſhip meetings or aſſemblies are impowered to make prudential laws or orders, with a penalty of tranſgreſſion not to exceed twenty ſhillings. Townſhip officers are to be choſen annually in December; that is, ſelect-men, not exceeding ſeven; and liſters, or aſſeſſors, not exceeding nine. Town-clerks are to regiſter marriages, births, and burials. No perſon is to be admitted an inhabitant of a town, but by the conſent of the ſelect-men; and no ſtranger is to reſide exceeding a limited number of days without liberty from the ſelect-men; and the entertainer is finable. A ſtranger continuing after being warned out, may be fined ten ſhillings a week, or whipped, not exceeding ten ſtripes. A ſtranger entertained above four days, the entertainer is to be at the charge if taken ſick. Vagrants are to be ordered from conſtable to conſtable back to the place from which they came; and if they return, they are to be whipped.

One year's reſidence qualifies a perſon for an inhabitant; and all elections are to be by a major part of the qualified voters. The freemen of each town are to meet in September to elect repreſentatives for the general aſſembly; and alſo to put twenty perſons in nomination for the next general election in May. In April, the twelve aſſiſtants are to be choſen by the freemen of each town out of the twenty nominated perſons, to be ſent ſealed up to the general aſſembly; with the votes for the governor, deputy-governor, ſecretary, and treaſurer; as alſo votes for the repreſentatives for the May aſſembly, called proxies, returned by the conſtable of each town.

There are two general-courts annually: the firſt at Hertford, called the court of election, held on the ſecond Thurſday in May, where the freemen elect a governor, deputy-governor, twelve aſſiſtants, a ſecretary, and treaſurer. The ſecond at New Haven, on the ſecond Thurſday in October. In the general-court ſubſiſts the power of making laws, granting levies, diſpoſing of colony lands, erecting of judicatories and officers, granting pardons in criminal or capital caſes, and diſſolving and proroguing of themſelves. The governor, deputy-governor, or ſecretary may call a general-court upon emergencies: and every town may ſend one or two deputies, except ſome places who are not qualified, as before obſerved. No member of the general-court, during its ſitting, can be arreſted, except for treaſon or felony. Previous to all other buſineſs, the houſe of repreſentatives are to chooſe a ſpeaker and clerk; and the houſe are the only

judges concerning their own election. The abſence of a member each day is a fine of ten ſhillings, tobe paid to the colony treaſurer; but the governor in the upper houſe, and the ſpeaker in the lower houſe, have a caſting vote.

As to the courts of judicature, all caſes exceeding the value of forty ſhillings are to be determined at common law by a jury of twelve men. The jurymen in the ſeveral courts are to be choſen at a town-meeting, held yearly in January. The qualification is fifty ſhillings freehold at leaſt, rated in the general liſt. The names of the jurymen ſo choſen are put in a box with a lock, and when any number of jurymen are ſummoned to ſerve at any court, the town conſtable ſhould at random draw ſo many out of the box as is required from that town. Any juror ſo drawn, and not appearing at the court, the penalty is ten ſhillings.

The preſent enacting ſtyle of the general aſſembly is, "Be it enacted by the governor, council, and repreſentatives, in general-court aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame." All judges and juſtices are appointed by the general-aſſembly, and commiſſioned by the governor with the provincial ſeal; but the governor, deputy-governor, and aſſiſtants, are juſtices *ex officio*.

As to the courts where no juries are required, though the caſe may be of conſiderable value, there are,

1. The court of probates, conſiſting of one judge, and a clerk appointed by him, who are to hold a court in each of the following diſtricts, called the diſtrict of Hertford, New Haven, New London, Fairfield, and Windham; Plainfield, Guilford, Woodbury, Stamford, Eaſt Hadham, Litchfield, Danbury, and Norwich. In difficult caſes they may call in two or three juſtices of the quorum; but any perſon aggrieved may appeal and review to the next ſuperior court of the county.

2. The court of vice-admiralty; has the ſame judge and other officers of that court which ſerve for the province of New York.

3. The juſticiary court of admiralty, for trials of crimes committed at ſea, conſiſts of judges, ſome of the colony of Connecticut, and others from the province of New York, purſuant to the inſtructions from home.

In this colony is no particular court of chancery; but in ſome caſes the general-aſſembly act as a court of chancery or equity.

Juſticiary

Juſticiary courts of Oyer and Terminer, called aſſizes and general-gaol delivery, are the ſame with

The ſuperior court; which is a court of judicature, itinerant from county to county. It conſiſts of one chief judge, and four other judges, three of whom are a quorum, and have cognizance of all pleas of the crown that relate to life, limb, or baniſhment; of divorce; of all pleas real, perſonal, or mixed. This court is to be held in each county twice a year; and the judges are to appoint and ſwear their own clerk.

An inferior court of judicature is alſo to be held in each county twice a year, by a judge, with two or more juſtices of the quorum commiſſioned for that purpoſe, to determine all civil cauſes, real, perſonal, or mixed; as alſo all criminal matters not extending to life, limb, divorce, or baniſhment; and they have power to levy a county tax.

A ſpecial county court may be called upon any extraordinary occaſion, and may adjourn themſelves to any diſtant time.

The general-aſſembly hear writs of error againſt proceedings of the ſuperior court: and where an inferior court exceeds its juriſdiction, the judges of the ſuperior court may grant a prohibition, with the ſame power as the court of King's Bench in England.

A juſtice may determine in any caſe not exceeding forty ſhillings, if land is not concerned. An appeal lies from a juſtice to the county court, and from thence a review to the next county court, or appeal to the next ſuperior court. In a debt upon bond, bill, or note, for a value not exceeding forty ſhillings, no appeal is allowed, and if not exceeding ten pounds, no appeal is allowed from a county court.

No appeals were allowed to the King in council; yet ſome have gone to England by way of complaint, at a conſiderable expence; but no relief was procured, excepting the caſe of Mr. Winthrop, who obtained a declaration of the King in council, "That their law concerning dividing land inheritance of an inteſtate was contrary to the law of England, and void:" but in ſubſequent caſes this colony paid no regard to that declaration.

No perſon is to be kept in priſon, if he appears to have a ſufficient eſtate; and where no eſtate appears, the debtor muſt ſatisfy the debt by ſervice.

Idle perſons and drunkards may by warrant be brought before a juſtice. All ſuch perſiſting offenders are diſabled from making of contracts, and their goods are to be under the management of the ſelect-men, who may ſell all or part of their perſonal eſtates, and, on deficiency, diſpoſe of their perſons to ſervitude for a certain time, to pay their juſt debts: but no real eſtate can be ſequeſtered without an order of the general-aſſembly; and an appeal lies from the ſelect-men to the county court.

Some peculiar laws have been made in this colony, for the regulation of public houſes of entertainment, and to preſerve the decency of ſociety. The publican is to be properly licenſed by the magiſtrates, ſelect-men, grand-jurymen, and conſtables; to be nominated annually in January, and approved of by the next county court. The houſe-keeper is not to ſuffer minors or ſervants to ſit tippling; ſtrangers and foreigners excepted; under a fine of ſix ſhillings. No perſons are to keep company in public houſes on the evening following the Lord's-day, or days of faſt. Any perſon found in a tavern the night before or after the Lord's-day, or after nine o'clock in any other night, is to be fined three ſhillings; with ſome exceptions. By ſpecial warrant, houſes may be broke open in ſearching after perſons in taverns; and inhabitants are not to ſit in a tavern drinking above one hour at a time, except upon particular occaſions, under a fine of ſix ſhillings. Tavern-hunters are to be poſted up at the tavern-doors, with a prohibition of entertaining them, upon penalty of three pounds. No tavern-keeper can bring an action for drink ſold after two days; and none but licenſed houſes to ſell ſtrong liquors in quantities exceeding one quart of wine or ſpirits, or one gallon of any other liquor, under a fine of three pounds for the firſt offence, ſix pounds for the ſecond, and ſo doubled for every offence; but if not able to pay, to be whipped not leſs than ten, and not more than fifteen ſtripes for every offence.

Connecticut has kept free from the difficulties which the other provinces have ſuſtained from paper currencies. At times, by the prudent adminiſtration of the juriſdiction of Connecticut colony, their taxes were only from four thouſand to five thouſand pounds currency a year, whereas the polls and rates of the Maſſachuſets Bay, at the ſame time, were about four hundred thouſand pounds currency a year.

Taxes conſiſt in the articles of rates, impoſts, and exciſe, as in the Maſſachuſets in general, but not in particulars.

I. In

I. In Connecticut, one penny rate produces four thouſand five hundred pounds currency; for in moſt of the colonies real eſtates are commonly valued only at ſeven years purchaſe. Rates comprehend the poll-tax; on which account every perſon is annually to give in a liſt of his polls and rateable eſtate, on or before the 10th of September, and thoſe liſts are to be returned in October to the general-court. Every male perſon, from ſixteen to ſeventy, is to be ſet in the liſt at 18 *l.* but the perſons exempted from rates and polls * are as in the Maſſachuſets. Every ox, at 4 *l.* Each ſteer, cow, or heifer of three years and upward, at 3 *l.*; a ſteer or heifer of two years, at 40 *s.*; and a ſteer or heifer of one year, at 20 *s.* Each horſe and mare of three years old and upward, at 3 *l.*; of two years old, 40 *s.*; and of one year old, 20 *s.* Each ſwine one year old, 20 *s.* Every dwelling-houſe, with adjoining land, 20 *s.* an acre: plow and mowing land in ſome counties, 15 *s.* in others 10 *s.* and ſome 7 *s.* 6 *d.* an acre: boggy mowing meadow land, 5 *s.* an acre; and all upland paſture or mowing land, 8 *s.* an acre; but peculiars are to be aſſeſſed by the neareſt towns. All allowed attornies at law, 50 *l.* their admiſſion; and others higher, in proportion to their buſineſs: but all tradeſmen are to be rated at the diſcretion of the liſters †.

II. The impoſts: there is a high duty on the exportation of all timber and lumber to the adjacent governments of Maſſachuſets, Rhode Iſland, New Hampſhire, and New York; which was intended as a kind of prohibition, that the colony might not be drained of thoſe materials. The impoſts upon rum is one penny a gallon, if imported directly from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands; and two pence from all other parts: but a draw-back is allowed on exportation. The governor, with advice of the council, may, by proclamation, prohibit the exportation of grain and other proviſions, for a limited time, in caſes of neceſſity.

III. Exciſe: there is three pence a gallon upon all wine and diſtilled liquors; which duty is much leſs than in the Maſſachuſets, and is applied to defray county charges. The county courts appoint receivers of the exciſe, with fee of two ſhillings per pound, and the receivers may agree with the public houſes by the year.

The act for regulating maritime affairs, has nothing peculiar in it.

* Theſe are the governor, deputy-governor, aſſiſtants, miniſters of the goſpel, preſident and tutors of the collegiate ſchools, ſtudents there, ſchool-maſters, and poor, aged and infirm perſons, who are all excuſed.

† All theſe are almoſt double rated to what they are in the Maſſachuſets.

Connecticut

Connecticut contains about one hundred thouſand men, of which one-fourth are capable of bearing arms. In 1740, at a great ſtruggle, there were about four thouſand freemen voters; and the training militia of this colony may conſiſt of about fifteen thouſand men.

By the act for forming and regulating the militia, the governor is to be captain-general; and the deputy-governor, lieutenant-general: the military companies of the ſeveral townſhips are formed into thirteen regiments of foot, and to each regiment one troop of horſe. The field-officers of each regiment, as colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, to be appointed by the general-aſſembly, and commiſſioned by the governor. After being embodied, the whole are to be aſſembled once in four years, or oftener, for regimental exerciſe; but the companies are to be trained four times a year, and every ſoldier who does not appear is fined three ſhillings.

The Connecticut adminiſtration have reduced all their public fees and fines to proclamation money; and as they have exiſted as a government for above a century, they have acquired ſuch experience as to have formed an excellent body of laws, which were lately reviſed and publiſhed in 1750, in a ſmall folio of 258 pages; containing the moſt plain, conciſe, natural, and equitable laws for the plantations hitherto extant.

In this authoritative reviſal of their municipal laws, the introductory law or act is in the manner of a magna charta, for ſecuring the general privileges of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the colony; for it was thereby enacted, "That the life of no man ſhould be taken away, nor his honour or credit be ſtained; neither his perſon arreſted, reſtrained, baniſhed, diſmembered, or otherwiſe puniſhed; he ſhould not be deprived of his wife and children, nor his goods or eſtate taken from him, or endamaged, under the colour of law, or countenance of authority; unleſs by virtue of ſome expreſs law of the colony warranting the ſame, eſtabliſhed by the general-court, and ſufficiently publiſhed; or in caſe of defect of ſuch laws in any particular caſe, by ſome clear and plain rule warranted by the word of God."

All his Majeſty's ſubjects within this colony, whether inhabitants or not, are to enjoy the ſame juſtice and law that is general for the colony, in all caſes proper for civil authority, and courts of judicature in the ſame, without delay or partiality.

Every town is to have a ſealer of weights and meaſures; and all caſks are to be of the London aſſize. Every town muſt have a peculiar brand for their horſes, on or near the left ſhoulder.

Common

Common intereſt is ſix *per cent. per ann.* letting of cattle and maritime affairs excepted.

Any book-debt not accounted for with the original debtor in ſeven years, is not pleadable after the debtor's death. Upon execution iſſued, the creditor ſhall, at the uſual place of the debtor's abode, demand the debt; upon non-payment, he may levy execution upon the proper moveables *, and ſet up a liſt of the ſame upon the town-poſt, to be ſold by outcry after twenty days; but in a deficiency of goods, and upon the creditor's refuſing lands, the debtor's body may be ſeized.

Any debtor in a debt not exceeding 20 *l.* may confeſs judgment before a ſingle juſtice; and debtors committed to gaol, on ſwearing they have not effects to the value of 5 *l.* are to be ſubſiſted by the creditors at a certain rate.

No action is to be brought for bill, bond, or note, but within the ſpace of ſeventeen years; nor can any action of treſpaſs or defamation be commenced but within three years; and the fine for defamation not to exceed ten pounds.

The capital crimes are conſpiracy againſt the colony, wilful murder, blaſphemy, ſodomy, beſtiality, wilfully firing houſes, diſfiguring or diſmembering, and falſe witneſs in caſe of life and death.

Single perſons committing fornication are to be fined 33 *s.* or whipped; and every perſon playing at dice, cards, or tables, to be fined twenty ſhillings. All fines impoſed by the general court, belong to the colony-treaſury; if impoſed by the county-court, to the county-treaſury; and if impoſed by an aſſiſtant-judge, to the townſhip treaſuries.

A bill of divorce and liberty to marry again may be granted by the ſuperior courts, in caſes of adultery, fraudulent contract, ſeven years abſence not heard of, or wilful deſertion for three years.

Forgery was three days public pillory, double damages to the injured party, and incapacity of being an evidence in law: the form of their oath is, "You ſwear by the name of the ever-living God." Perjury was 20 *l.* fine, and ſix months impriſonment; if unable to pay the fine, to be pilloried with both ears nailed, and incapacitated from giving evidence.

* For neceſſary apparel, houſehold goods, tools, and arms, are excepted.

For burglary or robbery the penalty was branding, ears cut off, and whipping; but the third offence was death. Theft was fine, whipping, or ſervitude. Buying goods of ſlaves, the penalty was treble value, ſervice, or whipping; and the penalty for receiving or concealing ſtolen goods was the ſame as theft.

Any ſlave or Indian ſtriking a white man, the penalty was whipping, not exceeding thirty ſtripes. An Indian convicted of drunkenneſs, was to pay five ſhillings, or ſuffer ten laſhes. All the Indians in a townſhip ſhould be muſtered once a year, and the requiſite laws read to them. An Indian, Molatto, or Negro, travelling without a paſs, may be ſeized as a runaway. Idleneſs and drunkenneſs are the general vices of Indians, therefore the penalty of ſelling ſtrong liquor to an Indian was ten ſhillings a pint.

The eſtabliſhed religions are Preſbyterians, Congregationaliſts, and conſociated miniſters; whoſe pariſh churches are under the direction of the county-courts; but tolerated miniſters from thoſe profeſſions are left at large. There are about 150 eſtabliſhed miniſters, and ſeveral who are tolerated. In ſome townſhips are many pariſhes or precincts. They begin and end the Lord's-day at the ſetting of the ſun, according to the Jewiſh manner, which is prevalent through all New England among the Congregationaliſts. Schools are well regulated, and have a colony allowance. Every eccleſiaſtical ſociety of ſeventy families or upward, ſhould have a ſchool for the inſtruction of children to read and write; and a grammar-ſchool to every principal town; beſide one college in the colony.

The laws relating to the obſervation of the Sabbath are too puritanical and ſevere. Theſe are under the inſpection of the grand-jury, tything-men, and conſtables. They are numerous as well as ſtrict, but they ſeem gradually to droop, and will ſcarcely be revived.

Criminal perſons making their eſcape from the authority of other provincial governments to this colony, may be remanded back to the place of perpetration.

There are ſevere penalties on cutting down of trees, or firing of woods and lands; and the accuſed, if there is no proof, muſt exculpate himſelf by oath. But it is very extraordinary, that all kinds of delinquents are to pay the charge of preſentment, whether guilty or innocent.

The age of conſent for marriage, is to the man fourteen, and to the woman twelve; but contracts of perſons under parents, guardians, or maſters,

are of no validity; and no perſon unmarried is to keep houſe of himſelf, without permiſſion of the magiſtrates, under the penalty of twenty ſhillings a week.

No perſon is to be married unleſs publiſhed in ſome congregation, or publickly poſted up eight days before ſuch marriage. No perſon is to join people in marriage, beſide a juſtice in the county, or an ordained miniſter of the pariſh where the parties dwell; but any juſtice or miniſter marrying perſons without publication, and certificate of the conſent of the parents or guardians, is to pay a penalty of twenty pounds. Degrees of kindred forbidding marriage are according to the Levitical law, and ſuch marriages are declared to be void; the offenders to ſit upon the gallows with a rope about the neck, to be whipped, and to wear the letter I on their arm or back.

Any man endeavouring to gain the affections of a maid, without liberty of courtſhip from the parents or guardians, he is to pay five pounds for the firſt offence.

SECTION II.

Boundaries of the Province; mountains, rivers, produce, and manufactures; trade and navigation. Account of Yale College at New Haven. An account of the Indian charity-school lately founded at Lebanon in Connecticut.

THE Province of Connecticut is about ſixty miles ſquare; bounded by the ſea on the north, New York on the weſt, the Maſſachuſets on the north, and Rhode-Iſland on the eaſt. The charter boundaries have been already deſcribed; but its preſent boundaries are as follow: Its north line upon Maſſachuſets Bay of about 72 miles, ſettled in 1713; its eaſterly line upon the colony of Rhode Iſland of about 45 miles, ſettled in 1728; its ſoutherly line upon Long Iſland ſound, being a ſea line of about 90 miles, in a direct weſt-ſoutherly courſe, from the mouth of Pakatuke River to the mouth of Byram River; its weſterly line as finally ſettled with New York.

Connecticut is a good country as to climate and ſoil, and is valuable for grain and paſture; it is generally broken land, that is, hills and dales, but well watered. The people of any country are happy, where the meaner inhabitants are plentifully and wholeſomely fed, and warmly and decently clothed; which is the caſe in Connecticut, as it is chiefly inhabited by induſtrious huſbandmen.

Simſbury, or the copper mine hills, are their higheſt lands; but not fertile, as it is ſaid of metallic ore hills in general.

The principal rivers are, the Connecticut, the Thames, and the Houſatonick or Stratford River.

1. Connecticut River, with its branches and townſhips thereon, have already been deſcribed.

2. Thames River is a long navigable creek of about twenty miles, and the head of it is in Norwich in New London county. The townſhip of Norwich pays the higheſt tax of any in the colony, and in time may be the principal place of trade. From Connecticut River to the eaſtern boundary of the colony, is an extraordinary well watered country, conſiſting of two principal rivers and their branches, which fall into the bottom of

of the creek at Norwich. Theſe two rivers are Quenebaug and Satucket, or higher Willemantick. The Quenebaug riſes in Brimfield, paſſes through Stourbridge and Dudley in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, thence in the colony of Connecticut, it divides Pomfret from Killingſley, Canterbury from Plainfield, and at Norwich falls into Thames River or Creek. Satucket River where it originates in Brimfield of Maſſachuſets Bay, is called Willemantick River, and receives ſeveral ſmall runs of water at Stafford in Connecticut; it divides Toland from Wellington, and Coventry from Mansfield: at Windham it is called Windham River, and there receives on its weſtern ſide Scagungamog River and Hope River; on its eaſtern ſide, it receives Manchoag River, which had received Fenton River, and higher up, at Aſhford, had received Bigelow River, Still River, and Bungea River from Union and Woodſtock; and at Norwich it receives the Quenebaug, where both form the Creek or Thames, which runs by New London near Groton, and falls into the ſea oppoſite Fiſher's Iſland.

3. The Houſatonick, Weſtenhoek, or Stratford River, has its riſe in the weſt part of the Maſſachuſets near Lake Iroquois, runs ſouth to Stockbridge, and enters Connecticut near Saliſbury and Canaan, proceeds to Cornwal, Dover, Kent, Fairfield, Newtown, Stratford, and Milford, where it falls into the Long Iſland ſound.

Pakatuke River divides Connecticut from Rhode Iſland colony; and Byram River divides the colony of New York from Connecticut; but theſe are of no other conſideration.

Upon the Long Iſland ſound is a delightful and profitable range of good townſhips, the glory of all the Britiſh plantations in New England, as Stonington, Groton, New London, Lyme, Saybrook, Killingworth, Guilford, Brentford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich; but New London is the capital.

The principal roads throughout the province of Connecticut are, 1. From Stonington to Groton, New London, Saybrook, Brentford, New Haven, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich. The whole extent is 126 miles from Pakatuke River, along the Sound, to Byram River, the whole maritime length of the colony from eaſt to weſt; and the road is continued generally at about two or three miles diſtance from the ſea. 2. From New Haven town to Wallingford, and Wetherfield, from thence along the weſtern banks of the River Connecticut to Hertford, Windſor, and to Springfield in the Maſſachuſets full north. 3. From Middletown to Wallingford, thence due weſt to New Milford and Danbury,

bury, into the province of New York. 3. From Danbury to New Fairfield, Dover, Saliſbury, and Sheffield, in the Maſſachuſets, full north.

As there is little difference in the temperature of the air in the ſeveral parts of New England, ſo its ſeveral products and aptitude for different improvements vary but in a few particulars; the ſouthermoſt being moſt natural for corn and the northern for grazing, though both afford a much greater plenty of timber and fiſh. In theſe colonies, the lands which are cleared of timber and improved for tillage and paſture are very far from yielding ſuch profit to the owner as they are capable of, for want of manuring, and being properly ſubdivided into ſmaller allotments, which the great price of labour has made impracticable; but as nature has furniſhed the country with ſeveral ſorts of marle and ſea-ware, wherever the farmer has been able to enrich the ſoil with them, the produce of his lands has paid the expence, and greatly raiſed their value; yet, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of labourers, few can bear the charge of ſo neceſſary a cultivation; but by increaſing their number, the country may ſoon be enabled to do it, and conſequently to ſupply the Weſt India iſlands at a much cheaper rate than has been lately done.

Connecticut had little foreign trade until of late the inhabitants ſent ſome ſmall veſſels to the Weſt India Iſlands. Their produce chiefly conſiſts of wheat and Indian corn; flax, butter, pork, beaver, and horſes.

Wool, hemp, flax, and iron are the general materials of all the New England manufactures.

The Colonies have hitherto ſubſiſted upon the gleanings of the woods and the fertility of the freſh woodlands, which is very great at firſt. It is only theſe that produce any quantity of hemp or flax, or any plenty of the neceſſaries of life. Theſe they are at firſt obliged to plant with ſuch crops, in order to exhauſt the luxuriant fertility of freſh wood-lands, and bring them into culture and tillage; but as ſoon as it is worn out, which is in three or four years at moſt, they are under as great a neceſſity of leaving off that method of planting, and making thoſe ſtaple commodities for Britain. For theſe reaſons, moſt of the planters have been obliged to leave off planting altogether, inſtead of making improvements in it, with ſuch commodities as hemp and flax. Even moſt of the tobacco plantations are broke up, and turned into corn and paſture grounds, which produce nothing but corn, cattle, and wool, the ſtaple of Britain; and, without ſome other methods of agriculture, thoſe will become the only ſtaple of the northern colonies.

Were

Were we to conſider the proper improvements for the Colonies in North America, wool ſhould be the firſt. They have already wool enough, as fit for their uſe as if it was finer; and the only way to prevent their manufacturing it is, to improve it ſo as to make it fit to ſend to England, in order to purchaſe their manufactures, inſtead of making them, and to ſupply the place of Spaniſh wool.

They have had a bounty on hemp and flax in North America ever ſince the year 1663, which has been renewed from time to time; and they have as often tried to make theſe commodities, but could never produce ſuch quantities as to ſerve for a ſtaple commodity to ſend to Britain, and purchaſe their neceſſaries by that means.

Upon ſome late and curious eſſays, in exploring New England for metallic ores and minerals, it has been found, that there is bog and rock iron-ore in plenty, but not profitable; as alſo lead-ore, but ſo intermixed with rock and ſpar as to turn to no account. In New England they have not forged bar-iron for their own conſumption, by bloomeries and refineries; but they have imported from England; as alſo from New York, the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, and Maryland.

The government of Connecticut formerly eſtabliſhed a corporation for commerce, called "The New London Society:" but, in the fraudulent humour of thoſe times, contrary to the deſign of their inſtitution, they ſoon began to manufacture printed ſociety notes, to be impoſed as a currency, but the government cauſed theſe bills to be drawn in at the charge of the ſociety.

In the Sound the tide flows from ſix to eight feet; but the deep water is on Long Iſland ſide.

In Connecticut are eight convenient ports for ſmall veſſels; but they generally enter and clear at the port of New London, which is a good harbour, five miles within land, and deep water. Here they build large ſhips; but their timber is ſpungy, and not durable. Small veſſels are built at Saybrook and New Haven.

In New England ſome oxen of 1800lb. weight, and hogs of 25 ſcore, have been killed. Connecticut ſalt-pork is the beſt of America; and they finiſh the fattening of their hogs with Indian meal.

In

In ſome parts of North America, the winters are too long and cold, and in other parts too hot for graſs; conſequently can afford no quantity of provender for cattle, and will probably never be beef countries. Lands in New England, which yield at a medium twenty hundred weight of hay, are the beſt; if forty hundred weight, the hay is rank and ſour.

Connecticut College, called Yale College in New Haven.

The general aſſembly of Maſſachuſets Bay, in 1636, granted 400 *l.* towards erecting a collegiate ſchool, afterward called Harvard college, in Cambridge near Boſton; which was incorporated in 1650, as before particularly mentioned. The people of Connecticut joined in the contribution, and continued their aſſiſtance till the year 1701, when they thought the diſtance was too far, and the charge too great; therefore their miniſters and magiſtracy preſented a memorial to the general aſſembly, wherein they deſired that a collegiate-ſchool might be erected and endowed, and propoſed ten miniſters as truſtees for ordering the ſame, the ſurvivors to ſupply vacancies, and ſeven to be a quorum. Accordingly a charter was drawn up for this purpoſe by Mr. Addington then ſecretary of Maſſachuſets Bay, and was granted in October 1701, with power to appoint officers, and make laws, but not repugnant to the laws of the civil government; to confer degrees; poſſeſs lands not exceeding the yearly value of 500 *l.* and to receive yearly out of the public treaſury 100 *l.* currency, which was then equal to about 70 *l.* ſterling. Saybrook was reſolved upon as a proper place; and the truſtees choſe Mr. Pierſon, miniſter of Killingworth, for rector, who with ten truſtees conſtituted the corporation: and until a place could be fitted up in Saybrook, the ſcholars were to meet at the rector's houſe in Killingworth, where they continued till his death in 1707.

At the firſt founding of this college, it was ordered, that where no ſpecial proviſion was made by the truſtees, the laws of Harvard college, in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, ſhould be their rule. But in 1723, Governor Saltonſtal drew up an additional explanatory charter, which the general aſſembly gave to the college, whereby it was declared, that a truſtee might reſign at pleaſure; that ſeven truſtees ſhould be a quorum, and to act by a majority; that a miniſter of thirty years might be choſen a truſtee, and that the rector ſhould be a truſtee *ex officio*.

In 1744, the aſſembly was petitioned by the truſtees, for a new and more perfect charter, whereby the college was to be incorporated, by the name

name of "The Preſident and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven." This met with ſuch approbation, that, on the 9th of May 1745, a provincial act was paſſed for the more full, and complete eſtabliſhment of Yale College; whereby it was enacted, 1. That certain perſons therein mentioned were incorporated by the name of "The Preſident and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven," with ſucceſſion. 2. All former donations to this collegiate-ſchool, though in various expreſſions, were confirmed and veſted in the preſident and fellows, with ſucceſſion. 3. That the preſident and fellows ſhould continue during life, or until they reſigned, or were diſplaced. 4. There ſhould be a general meeting of the preſident and fellows annually on the ſecond Wedneſday in September; the major vote of the members preſent ſhould be definitive; and in caſe of equal voices, the preſident ſhould have a caſting vote. 5. The preſident and fellows, ſix at leaſt, concurring, might remove and appoint in their room, a preſident, and fellow, a clerk, a treaſurer, tutors, profeſſors, ſteward, and other neceſſary ſervants. 6. That the preſident, fellows, tutors, profeſſors, and all other officers, before they entered upon the execution of their office, ſhould publickly take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration appointed by the firſt of King George I. 7. The corporation might appoint, from time to time, regulations not repugnant to the laws of England, or of the colony; but might be diſallowed by the general aſſembly. 8. The corporation might confer degrees as in other colleges. 9. All eſtates belonging to the college, if real not exceeding the value of 300 *l.* a year, all members and reſident officers of the college, tutors, and ſtudents; were exempted from military ſervice and public taxes. 10. The ſum of 100 *l.* proclamation money was granted annually, during the pleaſure of the aſſembly.

Several of the original truſtees contributed to the carrying on the undertaking, in land, a houſe, and valuable books to begin a library for the college, and there was a general contribution throughout the colony. But the greateſt donation of books was from the generoſity and procurement of Jeremiah Dummer, Eſq. agent in London, in 1714, when he ſent over above eight hundred volumes, one hundred and twenty of which were at his own coſt, and the reſt by procurements from Sir Iſaac Newton, Sir Richard Steel, Sir Richard Blackmore, Doctor Burnet, Doctor Woodward, Doctor Halley, Doctor Bentley, Doctor Kennet, Doctor Calamy, Doctor Edwards, Mr. Yale, Mr. Whiſton, Mr. Henry, and other learned gentlemen.

Elihu Yale, Eſq. was a director of the Eaſt India Company, and ſent three hundred volumes; but a great part of them were loſt, in a tumult

upon removing the library from Saybrook. Theſe books were in vlaue about one hundred pounds ſterling; the donor alſo gave four hundred pounds ſterling in effects, and by will intended five hundred pounds ſterling more, but this was never accompliſhed. In 1718, Mr. Dummer ſent more books to the value of thirty pounds, and Jahaleal Brenton, Eſq. of Newport in Rhode Iſland, gave fifty pounds ſterling. In 1723, Mr. Daniel Turner of London ſent them a collection of twenty-eight volumes in phyſic and ſurgery, and the college conferred upon him a diploma of M. D. In 1744, Mr. Anthony Nougier, of Fairfield, left by will to the college twenty-ſeven pounds ſterling, to be put to intereſt. In 1745, Philip Livingſton, Eſq. of the King's council of New York, as he had four ſons educated in this college, gave two hundred pounds currency to begin a foundation for a profeſſor of Divinity, to be called the Livingſtonian profeſſorſhip. In 1746, Mr. Samuel Lambert, of New London, left ſome lands to the college; but, from ſome intricacies in his affairs, they turned to no great account, excepting about one hundred acres in Wallingford, and ſixty-two acres in New Haven. There alſo were a great many ſmaller donations, from time to time, which are too tedious to be enumerated.

In 1732, the aſſembly granted to the college fifteen hundred acres of land, being three hundred acres in each of the new towns of Norfolk, Canaan, Goſhen, Cornwal, and Kent; which may be valuable in a few years: and in 1742, the general aſſembly augmented the annual grant to the college, whereby they were enabled to ſupport three tutors and a rector. Diviſions happened concerning the ſituation of the college until 1716, when the majority of the truſtees voted a convenient college, and rector's houſe, to be erected in the town of New Haven, which were effected accordingly, but with much oppoſition and confuſion from the northern and eaſtern parts of the colony: the truſtees, however, held their firſt commencement at New Haven in September 1717.

The college building was erected on the 3d of October 1717; containing above fifty ſtudies, beſide the hall, library, and kitchen. It coſt about 1030 *l.* ſterling. On the 12th of September 1718, there was a grand commencement, when the truſtees gave it the name of Yale College, and afterward ſent a letter of thanks to Mr. Yale, for his generoſity to the colony, with letters of thanks to Mr. Dummer and General Nicholſon for their donations of books. In 1748, upon a motion of the preſident, the general aſſembly ordered a new college to be built at a public colony charge, a hundred feet long, and forty wide; eight rooms on a floor, and three ſtories high; beſide garrets and cellars.

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The regulations as to the degrees of batchelors and maſters are the ſame as in Harvard College of the Maſſachuſets.

This college at New Haven went on with ſuch proſperity, that, in September 1749, there commenced eleven maſters and twenty-three batchelors: but at Harvard College, in July the ſame year, there commenced only nine maſters and twenty-two batchelors, though a college of much longer ſtanding, and in a much larger government.

In 1732, the reverend Doctor George Berkley dean of Derry, and afterward Biſhop of Cloyn in Ireland, came over to found an epiſcopal college upon the continent of North America, on ſome of the iſlands. He reſided ſome time at New Port in Rhode Iſland, where he purchaſed a country-ſeat, with about ninety-ſix acres of land: but for ſome particular reaſons he relinquiſhed his deſign in erecting an epiſcopal college, and returned to England. He was a good judge of the world, and of the Britiſh Colonies, particularly of their ſeminaries of learning: but he gave the preference to the college of New Haven, even before the epiſcopal college of Willamſburg in Virginia; therefore he gave his eſtate at Rhode Iſland to Yale College; the income to be premiums, from time to time, for the beſt Greek and Latin ſcholars, in the judgment of the preſident and ſenior epiſcopal miſſionary of the colony; which has been ſome incitement to excel in claſſical elegance. This eminent divine, great philoſopher, and noble patriot, alſo gave the college a fine collection of books of near one thouſand volumes, of which two hundred and ſixty were folios, and the whole in ſterling value four hundred pounds.

This great and excellent man, in 1725, publiſhed a public-ſpirited treatiſe, intitled, "A propoſal for the better ſupplying of churches in our foreign Plantations, and for converting the ſavage Americans to Chriſtianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Iſlands, otherwiſe called the Iſles of Bermuda;" and he obtained a charter from King George II. for erecting a college by the name of St. Paul's College in the Iſland of Bermuda for the uſes above mentioned; which college was to contain a preſident and nine fellows: but it was never carried into execution.

In his ſermon preached before "The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, at their anniverſary meeting in the pariſh church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 18th, 1731," he ſays, as follows: "I ſpeak it knowingly, that the miniſters of the goſpel, in thoſe Provinces which go by the name of New England, ſent and ſupported at the expence of this ſociety, have, by their

ſobriety of manners, diſcreet behaviour, and competent degree of uſeful knowledge, ſhewn themſelves worthy the choice of thoſe who ſent them; and particularly in living on a more friendly footing with their brethren of the ſeparation; who, on their part, were alſo very much come off from that narrowneſs of ſpirit, which formerly kept them at ſuch an unamicable diſtance from us. And as there is reaſon to apprehend, that part of America could not have been thus diſtinguiſhed, and provided with ſuch a number of proper perſons, if one half of them had not been ſupplied out of the diſſenting ſeminaries of the country, who, in proportion as they attain to more liberal improvements of learning, are obſerved to quit their prejudice towards an epiſcopal church; ſo I verily think it might increaſe the number of ſuch uſeful men, if proviſion was made to defray their charges in coming hither to receive Holy Orders; paſſing and repaſſing the ocean, and tarrying the neceſſary time in London, requiring an expence that many are not able to bear. It would alſo be an encouragement to the miſſionaries in general, and probably produce good effects, if the allowance of certain miſſionaries were augmented, in proportion to the ſervices they had done, and the time they had ſpent in their miſſion."

The general ſcheme intended by Doctor Berkley proved abortive; but an Indian charity-ſchool has lately been founded at Lebanon in Connecticut, and carried on by the reverend Mr. Eleazer Wheelock, who, it ſeems, being deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the forlorn condition of our ſavage fellow-creatures in thoſe deſerts, and of the obligation the deſcendents of the ancient New Englanders ſtill lie under to keep in view the avowed deſign of their forefathers original emigration, did, about twelve years ago, take two Indian boys, and through the whole duration of the late war, under the greateſt diſcouragements ariſing from the ravages of the Indians, continued to increaſe his ſchool, by receiving a larger number, both boys and girls, from the nearer tribes; together with ſome promiſing Engliſh youths, who were deſigned for the ſame purpoſe of evangelizing the Heathen: and being rationally convinced, at the concluſion of the war, what a favourable opportunity our late ſignal and amazing conqueſts afforded of proſecuting this plan, he ſtill added, out of more remote tribes, many children to the number, all which he clothed, boarded, and educated, without any ſettled fund. He repreſents, that he has now upward of twenty in his ſchool at Lebanon, who are reſerved for future ſervice; and that there are twelve Engliſh and Indian miſſionaries, and ſchoolmaſters, now employed in preaching the Goſpel and in ſettling ſchools, with moſt promiſing encouragement and ſucceſs, among ſome of the remote Heathen nations; but all that theſe miſſionaries depend immediately on him for a ſupport. That as this inſtitution

was

was intended purely to promote the common ſalvation of the Heathen, without regard to any particular names, ſects, or parties, ſo it had been greatly countenanced and encouraged by perſons of various denominations on both ſides the water: and as there appears at preſent a very uncommon deſire among many of the Six Nations, and others, to have their children taught to read, write, and ſpeak well, and themſelves inſtructed in the Goſpel of Chriſt, as well as in huſbandry, and the politer parts of civilized life; it had been judged expedient to ſend to England the Reverend Mr. Whitaker, miniſter of the Goſpel at Norwich in New England; and the Reverend Mr. Samſon Occom, the firſt pupil and Indian Chriſtian which Mr. Wheelock educated, and the firſt Indian Goſpel preacher that ever ſet foot on the Britiſh ſhore; to ſolicit benefactions toward building and endowing an Indian ſchool as a ſeminary for miſſionaries. That in what an important point of light this deſign is already viewed in America, appears from many atteſtations, and recommendations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's governors, chief-juſtices, counſellors, and ſecretaries; many miſſionaries of the church of England, with various Goſpel Miniſters of other denominations, in the more northern Provinces; numbers of eminent merchants; and eſpecially of the honourable Sir William Johnſon, that great ſupporter of the Britiſh Indian intereſt in general, and great patronizer of this infant inſtitution in particular.

Mr. Wheelock alſo addreſſed a memorial "To the people of God in England, Scotland, and Ireland," in recommendation of his deſign, and of the Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Whitaker, paſtor of the church at Chelſea in Norwich, who purpoſed a voyage to Europe, to ſolicit benefactions in favour of this Indian charity-ſchool in Connecticut; in which memorial Mr. Wheelock ſays, "It is well known, that there are yet remaining vaſt numbers of original natives in this land, whoſe manner of living is ſavage, almoſt on a level with the brutal creation, but fierce and terrible in war: their dwellings are eminently habitations of cruelty: they have continued from age to age in the groſſeſt paganiſm and idolatry; ſtrangers to all the emoluments of ſcience, but ſubtile and ſkilful in all the arts of deceit and barbarity: and on every conſideration their ſtate is, perhaps, the moſt wretched and piteous of all the human race. They have, from the firſt planting of theſe Colonies, been a ſcourge and terror to their Engliſh neighbours; often ravaging and laying waſte their frontiers; butchering, torturing, and captivating their ſons; daſhing their children againſt the ſtones; ſkilfully deviſing, and proudly glorying in all poſſible methods of torture and cruelty within their power." Therefore he undertook this deſign, which had been liberally ſupported without

out any fund; "but the neceſſary expences for the ſupport of ſuch a number as were then employed in the wilderneſs, at the diſtance of three or four hundred miles, as three miſſionaries, eight ſchoolmaſters, and two interpreters; together with the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſchool, which then conſiſted of twenty-two, and others expected ſoon, who were of families of importance in tribes ſtill more remote, were greater than could be reaſonably expected from thoſe American Colonies, eſpecially at a time when complaints of debt, and want of money, were ſo loud and univerſal." Therefore he had employed Mr. Whitaker, "to beſpeak the charitable aſſiſtance of the friends of Zion abroad; for the glory of God, and the good of men."

To theſe were added ſome atteſtations relating to the character and abilities of the Reverend Mr. Samſon Occom, of the tribe of Mohegan Indians, adjoining to New London in Connecticut, who was educated under Mr. Wheelock, ordained by the Preſbytery of Suffolk on Long Iſland, and was deſigned to accompany Mr. Whitaker to Europe, where they both arrived in 1766, and eſtabliſhed a ſubſcription for the promotion of the charity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

A Deſcription of the Colony of RHODE ISLAND in NEW ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Its original ſettlements from the Maſſachuſets: Providence firſt ſettled by Mr. Williams of Salem, in 1635: *Rhode Iſland firſt ſettled by the ſectaries from the Maſſachuſets in* 1637 *and* 1644: *their firſt forms of government; and their letter to the general court of the Maſſachuſets Bay, concerning the Quakers, in* 1657. *The charter granted by King Charles* II. *in* 1662, *to "The governor and company of the colony of Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations." The charter ordered to be vacated in* 1684; *and reaſſumed in* 1689. *The courts of judicature in the colony: its diviſions into counties; taxes and valuations. Number of inhabitants, whites, negroes, and Indians. The proxies, repreſentatives, juſtices of the peace, and militia companies. The indifference of the Rhode Iſlanders in regard to religion; with Biſhop Berkley's remarks theron, and of the ſtate of the colony when his lordſhip was there.*

THIS colony is the ſmalleſt of the four in extent; being bounded ſoutherly by the ſea, and ſurrounded by the Maſſachuſets and Connecticut on its other ſides.

In the Britiſh acts of parliament, this colony is named Rhode Iſland, Providence Plantations, and the Narraganſet country, or King's Province; which originally were diſtinct aſſociations or plantations, but afterward became united, and were by charter incorporated into one juriſdiction or colony. Theſe Coloniſts were not immediately from England; but proceeded from the neighbouring colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, from whence they departed as emigrants, or were baniſhed as non conformiſts; ſo that they were conſidered as Puritans among Puritans, and made ſuch gradual refinements, that all their religion was almoſt vaniſhed; after which the province became a receptacle of any people, without regard to religion or ſocial worſhip; and their modes of civil government have alſo been very erroneous and defective.

King

King Charles I. in 1630, made a grant to the Earl of Warwick from Narraganſet Bay weſtward along ſhore forty leagues, and in length from ſea to ſea. His lordſhip aſſigned that grant to Willam Viſcount Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Lord Rich, and eight other aſſociates: but the conditions of the grant were never complied with, and the grant became void; as alſo, for the ſame reaſon, did another grant made to the Duke of Hamilton in 1635: but the origin of theſe ſeveral ſettlements ſhall be conciſely mentioned.

Mr. Roger Williams came over from Old England to New England in 1630, when he was choſen paſtor of the church of Salem on the death of Mr. Skelton, who had been perſecuted out of England for non-conformity. If ſome writers are to be credited, Mr. Williams was a rigid Browniſt, preciſe, uncharitable, and of ſuch boiſterous and turbulent paſſions, as had like to have put the whole country into a flame. Being ſettled in the church, he began to vent his ſingular notions, as, "That it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for good men to join in family prayer with thoſe they judged unregenerate: that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magiſtrate; and therefore, when the oath of allegiance was tendered him, he refuſed it, and adviſed his church to do ſo too: that the patent which they had for their lands from King Charles was invalid, and an inſtrument of injuſtice, which they ought to renounce, being injurious to the natives; the King of England having no power to diſpoſe of their lands to his own ſubjects: that there ſhould be a general and unlimited toleration for all religions; and to puniſh men for matters of conſcience was perſecution." It has been obſerved, that although Mr. Williams was ſo large and generous in the principles of toleration; yet he was ſo preciſe in his own conduct, as to deny all communion with thoſe that were not exactly of his own ſtandard: He forbid the members of his church at Salem to communicate occaſionally with the church at Boſton; and becauſe they would not agree to it, he withdrew from them, and ſet up a ſeparate meeting in his own houſe, to which many of his zealous admirers reſorted. The miniſters of the other churches took a great deal of pains to convince him of his errors, but to no purpoſe; whereupon the magiſtrates interpoſed, and baniſhed him the Maſſachuſets Colony, as a diſturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth. Sentence of baniſhment being read againſt Mr. Williams, the whole town of Salem was in an uproar; for he was eſteemed an honeſt diſintereſted man, and of popular talents in the pulpit; ſo that ſuch was the compaſſion of the people, occaſioned by his followers raiſing a cry of perſecution againſt him, that he would have carried off the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the town,

town, if the miniſters of Boſton had not interpoſed. A conſiderable number of his friends, however, reſolved to hazard their lives and fortunes with him. With theſe he travelled towards the ſouth, and ſettled, in the ſpring of the year 1635, without the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſets, at Mooſhaſick, or Mooſachick, which they called Providence, where they incorporated into a church. The Narraganſet ſachem made them ſeveral grants of lands; and one of the grants was dated at "Nantiganſick, the 24th of March, in the ſecond year of their plantation at Mooſachick or Providence," where Mr. Williams reſided forty years.

The principal perſons at firſt concerned with Mr. Williams as proprietors of the Providence lands, afterward aſſociated ſeveral others, until at length they amounted to the number of one hundred proprietors of Providence grants, which contained twenty miles ſquare.

In 1640, about forty perſons voluntarily formed a ſort of civil government in the new colony, which was then only one county, as is at preſent the province of New Hampſhire; but it was afterward divided into three counties, and the townſhip or plantation of Providence was divided into the four townſhips of Providence, Smithfield, Scituate, and Glouceſter: Providence ſends four repreſentatives to the general-aſſembly; and the other ſends two each.

In 1637, the ſynod at New Town in Maſſachuſets Bay condemned the opinions of many ſectaries, and other perſons thought themſelves ſeverely treated by the ſubſequent general court; upon which they, with their friends and adherents, reſolved to quit the country, and form a new colony. Mr. Williams entertained them for ſome time in a friendly manner at Providence, and aſſiſted them in purchaſing the Iſlands of the Indian ſachems. Soon after, ſome of them went to the Iſland of Aquatneck, which they alſo purchaſed from the Indians, and ſettled there in 1639: the grant of the Iſland was ſigned by the ſachems on the 24th of March 1637-8; and the planters purchaſed quit-claims at a conſiderable expence. The ſettlement began at the north-eaſt end of the Iſland, then called Pocaſſet, and now Portſmouth; but, in 1644, the Iſland was called the Iſle of Rhodes, or more properly Rhode Iſland, which ſoon became the garden of New England for pleaſure and delight. It lies in the Narraganſet Bay; is about fourteen miles in length, and five in breadth. The fertility and agreeableneſs of the place invited over ſo many planters, as overſtocked the Iſland in a few years, and obliged ſome of them to ſettle in the adjacent continent, where they purchaſed a tract of

land, and built ſeveral towns; for all which they obtained a charter of King Charles II. with ample privileges.

Rhode Iſland was ſoon divided into two townſhips, Newport its eaſterly part, and Portſmouth its weſterly part; but Newport has been ſince ſubdivided into Newport and Middletown. Eighteen perſons, without a patent, voluntarily aſſociated themſelves for the eſtabliſhment of this colony: but ſome families returned to the Maſſachuſets Bay; particularly the Hutchinſons, Dummers, and Savages.

Their government was variable in the beginning, and until 1640, when they agreed to be ruled by a governor, deputy-governor, and four aſſiſtants, who held their offices until they obtained patents of incorporation from the crown.

Mr. William Coddington was the firſt governor; Mr. William Brenton, deputy-governor; and Mr. Eaſton, Mr. Coggiſhal, Mr. Hutchinſon, and Mr. Porter, were the firſt aſſiſtants.

In 1643, eleven gentlemen purchaſed of the Indians a tract of land on the Continent, where they built the town of Warwick, in honour of the Earl of that name, who had a large grant in theſe parts. This Nobleman was governor and admiral of all the Engliſh plantations for the parliament at that time, and granted a kind of charter to theſe new ſettlements by the name of "The Incorporation of the Province Plantations in the Narraganſet Bay in New England;" whereby they might ſettle themſelves into any form of government the majority of the freemen ſhould agree upon, ſuitable to their eſtate and condition; and make proper laws, agreeable to thoſe of England, ſo far as the nature and conſtitution of the place would admit. Their firſt general-aſſembly was not called until the 19th of May 1647, when they eſtabliſhed a good body of laws, and erected a different form of government; whereby their legiſlature, called "A Court of Commiſſioners," conſiſted of ſix members from each of the four towns of Providence, Newport, Portſmouth, and Warwick; but the ſupreme power to be in a regular vote of all the freeholders of the colony; ſo that the votes of the freemen ſuperſeded or repealed the acts of the court of commiſſioners and made them void. A preſident and four aſſiſtants, annually choſen, were judges of the court of trials, aſſiſted by the two wardens or juſtices of the particular town, in which this court ſat from time to time. Every town choſe a council of ſix perſons to manage its affairs; and that council had the trial of ſmall caſes, with the wardens or juſtices of the town; but with an

an appeal to the court of preſident and aſſociates. There was a ſhort interruption of this form of government, by an order of the council of ſtate in England, dated the 2d of October, 1652; but the uſual form of legiſlation was ſoon reſumed, and continued until the preſent charter took place.

From time to time there were ſome Engliſh trading houſes, with ſmall purchaſes of lands from the Indians in the Narraganſet country; and the iſland of Canonicut was purchaſed in 1657; at which time a letter was ſent from "The Government of the Colony of Rhode Iſland," concerning the Quakers, to the General Court of the Maſſachuſets Bay, in which it was obſerved, "that in thoſe places where theſe people aforeſaid, in this colony, are moſt of all ſuffered to declare themſelves freely, and are only oppoſed by arguments in diſcourſe, there they leaſt of all deſire to come; and we are informed, that they begin to loath this place, for that they are not oppoſed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekneſs are ſuffered to ſay over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way; and ſurely we find, that they delight to be perſecuted by civil powers, and when they are ſo, they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient ſufferings, than by conſent to their pernicious ſayings."

The Anabaptiſts of Providence, in 1654, divided into two ſects, concerning the eſſential neceſſity of laying on of hands in ordination, as a qualification in a perſon to adminiſter baptiſm; but the laying on of hands at laſt generally prevailed; and there is a ſtrict aſſociation of the ordination-baptiſts, by itinerant annual meetings, all over New England, once a year. The Quakers, on their perſecution in Maſſachuſets Bay, came to Rhode Iſland in 1656, and ſeveral of the moſt enthuſiaſtic among the Anabaptiſts joined with them. But, in 1659, the new coloniſts preſented an addreſs to the ſupreme authority in England, wherein they called themſelves a poor colony, "an outcaſt people, formerly from our mother-nation in the biſhops days, and ſince from the New Engliſh over zealous colonies."

Such was the ſtate of this colony, until the inhabitants obtained a charter from the crown, which lodged the ſupreme power in the community, and made it an entire democracy.

As in the majority of voters, there muſt at leaſt be the governor, deputy-governor, and ſix of the aſſiſtants, it was the ſame caſe as if the governor

and assistants were a separate board or house; therefore they were afterward, by act of assembly, constituted a separate house; and the governor, in case of an equality of votes in the board of assistants, was to have the casting vote, but no negative.

This first assembly met at Newport, on the 1st of March, 1663, and enacted, that on the first Wednesday in May annually, by a majority of the votes of the freemen of the colony, should be elected a recorder or secretary, a sheriff*, an attorney-general, and one treasurer-general. It was likewise enacted, that all purchases of the Indians without consent of the assembly, should be void, and the purchasers finable: and that all the new inhabitants, Roman Catholics only excepted, of competent estates, should be accounted freemen, and have power of choosing and of being chosen deputies and other officers.

This competency of estate has been varied at different periods down to the year 1746, when the assembly enacted, that the qualification for a freeman should be freeholds of 400 *l.* currency in value, or to rent 20 *l.* a year, or the eldest son of such a freeholder; and to be proposed to their respective town-meetings three months at least before their admission.

Several new townships were established, by purchasing more lands from the Indians. Misquamicut was purchased in 1665, and was constituted a township in 1669, by the name of Westerley, which was afterward divided into the three townships of Westerley, Charles-Town, and Richmond. In Charles-Town was the Narraganset Indian reserve of two miles from east to west, and about six from north to south; which was generally farmed by the friends of the Indian guardians, appointed by the assembly, upon long leases and small rents. Manisses, or Block-Island, in 1672, was constituted the township of New-Shoreham. Some gentlemen of Rhode Island and other parts of New England made a considerable purchase from the Indians of Petaquamscut, which, with the adjacent lands, were incorporated a township by the name of Kingston in 1674; but since divided into three townships, South Kingston, North Kingston, and Exeter. In 1677, the township of Greenwich was incorporated; which was afterward divided into the two townships of Greenwich and West Greenwich. In 1678, the Island of Canonicut was incorporated and named James Town; by which time, all the colony general lands were reduced to private property, so as to compose twenty-four towns in the whole.

* At present the sheriffs of the several counties are appointed by the general assembly.

Each

Each townſhip is managed by a town-council, conſiſting of the aſſiſtants who reſide in the town, the juſtices of the town, and ſix freeholders choſen yearly by the freemen of the town; the major part of them is a quorum, with full power to manage the affairs and intereſt of the town to which they reſpectively belong; as alſo to grant licences to public houſes; and are a probate office for proving wills and granting adminiſtration, with an appeal to the governor and council as ſupreme ordinary.

At the townſhip meetings annually held in March, the freemen of the town bring in their written votes called proxies, for a governor, a deputy-governor, ten aſſiſtants, recorder, treaſurer, and attorney-general; which votes are ſealed up, and ſent to Newport, for the next general election in May. The governor has no negative in elections; nor has he a negative in paſſing of bills or reſolves; but he has a caſting vote at the board of aſſiſtants. All other officers, civil and military, are appointed by a joint vote of the board of aſſiſtants and houſe of repreſentatives.

There are yearly two general aſſemblies; they ſit on the firſt Wedneſday in May at Newport; but the ſecond aſſembly meets on the laſt Wedneſday of October at Providence and South Kingſton alternately. The aſſembly adjourn themſelves for any time; but in all grand committees and elections of officers, the board of aſſiſtants and houſe of repreſentatives ſit and vote together.

The legiſlative body ſtyle themſelves "The Governor and Company of the Engliſh Colony of Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations in New England in America:" and their enacting ſtyle is, "Be it enacted by the general aſſembly of this colony, and by the authority of the ſame it is enacted."

The governor has the cuſtody of the royal charter and the provincial ſeal, with other inſignia, and he alſo appoints the naval officer; but the governor's ſalary is only 300 *l.* currency a year, and all his perquiſites ſeldom exceed 1000 *l.* In 1750, the deputy-governor had a yearly ſalary of 300 *l.* currency old tenor, and the treaſurer had 200 *l.* but no wages are allowed to the aſſiſtants and repreſentatives.

As briberies in the elections of aſſembly-men and general officers were become frequent and notorious, it was enacted in 1746, that no man ſhould be admitted to vote until he had taken oath or affirmation, that he would uſe his freedom for the good of the government without any other motive; and ſhould not receive nor expect any reward or promiſe of reward in elections. The ſame aſſembly enacted, that no aſſiſtant, or member

ber of the houſe of repreſentatives, ſhould be allowed for their ſervice any wages or pay; and ſeveral other laws have been made, at different times, exemplary to the other colonies.

Upon any urgent occaſion, the governor, or, in his abſence, the deputy-governor, may by warrant call a general aſſembly. The direction of the militia is in the general aſſembly of the colony; but the governor and aſſiſtants have the power of the militia when the aſſembly does not ſit.

When the court of England reſolved to vacate charters of any nature, a writ of *quo warranto* was iſſued out againſt this colony on the 6th of October 1685, and was delivered by Mr. Randolph on the 8th of June 1686; notwithſtanding the colony had made a full ſurrender of their charter before *; but upon the revolution in 1688, they reaſſumed their former government; and as their charter was never vacated in a due courſe of law, the court of England has permitted them to continue in the poſſeſſion and uſe of it to this day.

When the charter firſt took place in 1663, there were only 18 repreſentatives in the colony; being 6 from Newport, 4 from Providence, 4 from Portſmouth, and 4 from Warwick; but at preſent, beſide theſe, there are two from each conſtituted townſhip incorporated from that time, and now amount to 58 members.

As to their courts of judicature, they are

1. The Superior Court of Judicature, or courts of Aſſize and General Gaol Delivery, held twice a year in each county. Three judges are a quorum, who have cognizance of all pleas, real, perſonal, or mixed; as alſo pleas of the crown, cauſes criminal, and matters relating to the conſervation of the peace; puniſhment of offenders, and generally of all other matters, as amply to all intents and purpoſes as the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, or Exchequer in England have, or ought to have; however, no cauſe, matter, or thing, except writs of error and capital crimes, are brought into this court by original or proceſs; but by appeals from the inferior courts of Common Pleas.

* This appears from the following advertiſement in the London Gazette: "Windſor, Sept. 13, 1684. His Majeſty has graciouſly received the addreſs of the colony of Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations in New England, humbly repreſenting, that upon the ſignification of a writ of *quo warranto* againſt their charter, they had reſolved in a general aſſembly not to ſtand ſuit with his Majeſty, but wholly to ſubmit to his royal pleaſure themſelves and their charter, whereof his Majeſty had thought fit to accept the ſurrender." The order in council to the attorney-general to bring writs of *quo warranto* againſt Connecticut and Rhode Iſland was dated July 15, 1685.

2. Inferior

2. Inferior Courts of Common Pleas are held twice a year in each county, and three juſtices of the court are a quorum, who have cognizance of all civil actions ariſing or happening within the county, and tryable at common law, of what nature, kind, or quality ſoever. But no action not exceeding 5*l.* currency is brought into any of theſe courts, unleſs where a freehold is concerned, or by way of appeal from any juſtices court.

3. Seſſions of the Peace, or a Court of General Seſſions of the Peace, are held in each county twice in every year, and five juſtices of the county make a quorum, who have power to hear and determine relative to the conſervation of the peace and the puniſhment of offenders. All pleas of the crown, except capital crimes, are alſo cognizable before them.

4. Juſtices of the Peace, whoſe power extends all over the county. The General Aſſembly in their May ſeſſions chooſe for each town ſo many juſtices of the peace as they find requiſite, to be commiſſioned by the governor under the provincial ſeal. A juſtice may join perſons in marriage, take the acknowledgment of a deed or other inſtrument in writing; as alſo take depoſitions out of court, on notification to the adverſe party. Two or more juſtices may try, hear and adjudge all manner of debts, treſpaſſes, and other actions, not exceeding 5*l.* currency; titles of land are excepted, and ſuch other actions as are not allowable by any particular law of the colony; but three or more juſtices of the peace may try all perſons ſuſpected of thieving to the value of 10*l.* currency.

5. Juries are choſen as follows: The town council of each townſhip take a liſt of all perſons liable by law, and whom they ſhall judge able and well qualified to ſerve on juries, and lay the ſame before a town meeting called for that purpoſe; and the names of all ſuch perſons written on ſeparate pieces of paper, are put in a box, and delivered to the town-clerk, to be by him kept under lock and key. When the precept for returning of Juries is iſſued, the box is to be unlocked at a town meeting, and the town-clerk is to draw out ſo many tickets as there are jurors required, to be returned as ſuch. Thoſe as in the judgment of the town meeting are thought unable to ſerve at that time, have their names returned into the box, and others are drawn in their ſtead. The names of the perſons returned to ſerve, are put in another box from time to time, until all the tickets are drawn; then they are returned into the firſt, to be drawn as aforeſaid. The town council once a year lay before a town meeting ſuch other perſons as may become qualified, to be put in the box; but if by reaſon of challenge or otherways there are not a ſufficient number of good

and lawful men to make up the jury, the reſt are to be filled up by the ſheriff or his deputy.

The form of their judicial oath or affirmation does not invoke the judgment of the omniſcient God, who ſees in ſecret; but only upon the peril of the penalty of perjury, which does not ſeem an oath of proper ſolemnity.

6. Appeals in civil caſes are allowed from the juſtices of the peace to the inferior court of common pleas; and in criminal caſes to the court of the general ſeſſions of the peace; the judgments of which are final on ſuch appeals.

Any perſon aggrieved at the ſentence of the court of ſeſſions of the peace, may appeal to the next ſuperior court of aſſize.

An appeal is allowed from the inferior courts of common pleas to the next ſuperior court.

And appeals to his Majeſty in council are allowed from the ſuperior court, where the matter or thing in controverſy is the value of three hundred pounds new tenor; unleſs from judgment obtained upon a bond, which has no other condition but for payment of the money. They appeal to the King in council not only on perſonal, but in real actions.

7. A court of chancery was once erected; but was ſoon diſcontinued, on account of their dangerous proceedings in diſpenſing with the laws, whereby no property was ſafe.

8. The ordinary for probate of wills, and granting adminiſtration, is in the reſpective town councils; with appeals to the court of governor and aſſiſtants.

9. The court of vice-admiralty conſiſts of the ſame individual officers or perſons who officiate in Maſſachuſets Bay, or by deputations from them.

10. The juſticiary court of admiralty is much of the ſame nature as that of Maſſachuſets Bay, with an addition of the governor and ſome of the council of that neighbouring colony.

Formerly

Formerly the colony of Rhode Iſland made only one county, which was afterward divided into the three counties of Newport, Providence, and King's County; to which has been added a fourth county called Briſtol.

1. Newport County contains Rhode Iſland, in which are the towns of Newport, Portſmouth, and Middletown: Block Iſland, in which is the townſhip of New Shoreham: Canonicut Iſland, where is James Town: Prudence Iſland and Patience Iſland; with the adjudged parts of Tiverton and Little Compton.

2. Providence County comprehends the townſhips of Providence, Smithfield, Scituate, Glouceſter, Warwick, Coventry, Greenwich, Weſt Greenwich, and Cumberland.

3. King's County includes the towns of South Kingſton, North Kingſton, Exeter, Weſterly, Charles Town, and Richmond.

4. Briſtol County is compoſed of the late addition from the Province of Maſſachuſets.

Their preſent taxes of all kinds are very inconſiderable; becauſe the intereſt of their public loans generally defray all charges of government.

The colony has been little concerned in the wars againſt the Indians and French; which was chiefly owing to the principles of Quakeriſm among many of the inhabitants, and as not being immediately expoſed to the ravages of the enemy. In the expedition againſt Port Royal in Nova Scotia in 1710, and in the abortive expedition againſt Canada in 1711, they had ſome forces; but toward the feigned or intended expedition againſt Canada in 1746, they had three hundred ſoldiers ready, and one hundred ſeamen in a warlike ſloop.

By the valuation, or cenſus, made in 1748, the whites were 28,439; the blacks, 3077; and the Indians 1257; in all, 32,773. From theſe deduct Briſtol, Tiverton, Little Compton, Warren, and Cumberland, a late addition taken from the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets Bay, and added to Rhode Iſland colony, 4496 whites, 343 blacks, and 228 Indians; there will remain 24,243 whites. Their late Guinea trade has added conſiderably to the number of their negroes: and here is alſo an increaſe of 44 Indians, whereas they are obſerved every where elſe to be upon the decreaſe.

The following table repreſents all the townſhips; their number of proxies, repreſentatives in the general-aſſembly, and juſtices of peace; as alſo the number of inhabitants, whites, negroes, and Indians; with the companies of militia; as they ſtood in the year 1748.

Townſhips.	Proxies.	Repref.	Juſtices.	Whites.	Negroes.	Indians.	Militia Comp.
Newport,	96	6	9	5335	1105	68	4
Providence,	32	4	13	3177	225	50	5
Portſmouth,	25	4	5	807	134	51	1
Warwick,	21	4	8	1513	176	93	3
Weſterley,	23	2	6	1701	59	49	4
* New Shoreham,	23	2	0	260	20	20	1
North Kingſton,	30	2	7	1665	184	86	3
South Kingſton,	21	2	5	1405	380	193	3
Eaſt Greenwich,	17	2	6	956	61	27	2
James Town,	4	2	0	284	110	26	1
* Smithfield,	45	2	5	400	30	20	3
Scituate,	58	2	4	1210	16	6	3
Glouceſter,	11	2	4	1194	8		3
Charles Town,	9	2	3	641	58	303	1
Weſt Greenwich,	25	2	4	757	8	1	2
Coventry,	12	2	6	769	16	7	2
Exeter,	24	2	4	1103	63	8	2
Middletown,	20	2	4	586	76	18	1
Briſtol,	13	2	5	928	128	13	1
Tiverton,	102	2	4	842	99	99	2
Little Compton,	107	2	5	1004	62	86	1
* Warren,	82	2	4	600	50	30	1
Cumberland,	73	2	3	802	4		1
* Richmond,	11	2	5	500	5	3	1
	888	58	119	28439	3077	1257	51

The numbers of whites, blacks, and Indians in New Shoreham, Smithfield, Warren, and Richmond, are only eſtimates, and not an actual cenſus.

The fifty-one companies of foot militia are formed into four regiments, each belonging to one of the four counties. There are alſo

one troop of horſe in the county of Newport, and another troop in the county of Providence; but none in King's County, and Briſtol.

In this colony are no townſhip or pariſh rates for the ſupport of eccleſiaſtics of any denomination; but the church of England miſſionaries, miniſters, and ſchoolmaſters, have ſalaries from England by "The Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts;" and the congregationaliſt miniſter in Weſterley, as a miſſionary among the Narraganſet Indians, has an exhibition from an incorporated ſociety in Scotland, called "a Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge."——The reverend Mr. Cotton Mather aſſerts, that in 1695 "Rhode Iſland colony was a colluvies of Antinomians, Familiſts, Anabaptiſts, Antiſabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and every thing but Roman Catholics, and true Chriſtians; *bona terra, mala gens* *. He ſhould have added ſome Browniſts, Independents, and Congregationaliſts, but not formed into ſocieties. Afterward there was a meeting-houſe or two upon the iſland, which gave hopes of a farther reformation †.

It has been already obſerved, in the account of Connecticut colony, that Doctor Berkley, late Biſhop of Cloyne, reſided ſome time at Newport in Rhode Iſland, where he purchaſed an eſtate, and gave it as an endowment to the college of Connecticut; as alſo that, in his "Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, at their anniverſary meeting in the pariſh church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on the 18th of February 1731," his lordſhip recommended the ſervice of the miſſionaries in general thoughout all the Colonies of New England: and his lordſhip, in the ſame ſermon, took particular notice of the low ſtate of religion in Rhode Iſland during his reſidence there, in the following terms:

"That having conſidered the duty in general, he came there to treat of it with reference to America, the peculiar province of that venerable ſociety; which he ſuppoſed well informed of the ſtate and progreſs of religion in that part of the world, by their correſpondences with the clergy upon their miſſions. It might nevertheleſs be expected, that one who had been engaged in a deſign upon that very view, who had been upon the place, and reſided a conſiderable time in one of thoſe colonies, ſhould have obſerved ſomewhat worth reporting. It was to be hoped, therefore, that one part of his audience would pardon, what the other might perhaps expect, while he detained them with the narrative of a few things he had obſerved, and ſuch reflexions as thereupon ſuggeſted

* See Magnalia, book vii. chap. 3. p. 20. † Neale I. 195.

themſelves; ſome part of which might poſſibly be found to extend to other colonies.

"That Rhode Iſland, with a portion of the adjacent country under the ſame government, was inhabited by an Engliſh colony, conſiſting chiefly of ſectaries of many denominations, who ſeemed to have worn off part of that prejudice, which they inherited from their anceſtors, againſt the national church of England; though it muſt be acknowledged, at the ſame time, that too many of them had worn off a ſerious ſenſe of all religion. Several, indeed, of the better ſort, were accuſtomed to aſſemble themſelves regularly on the Lord's Day for the performance of divine worſhip; but moſt of thoſe who were diſperſed throughout that colony ſeemed to rival ſome well-bred people of other countries, in a thorough indifference for all that was ſacred, being equally careleſs of outward worſhip, and of inward principles, whether of faith or practice. Of the bulk of them it might certainly be ſaid, that they lived without the ſacraments, not being ſo much as baptized; and as for their morals, he apprehended there was nothing to be found in them that ſhould tempt others to make an experiment of their principles, either in religion or government.

"That a church which contained the fundamentals, and nothing ſubverſive of thoſe fundamentals, was not to be ſet at naught by any particular member; becauſe, it might not, in every point, correſpond with his ideas, though he was ſure of being in the right. Probably there never was, or would be, an eſtabliſhed church in this world, without viſible marks of humanity upon it. That the Chriſtian Religion was calculated for the bulk of mankind, and therefore could not reaſonably be ſuppoſed to conſiſt in ſubtile and nice notions. From the time that divinity was conſidered as a ſcience, and human reaſon inthroned on the ſanctuary of God, the hearts of its profeſſors ſeem to have been leſs under the influence of grace; and from that time, had grown many unchriſtian diſſentions and controverſies of men, knowing nothing, but doating about queſtions, and ſtrifes of words, whereof cometh envy, ſtrife, railings, evil ſurmiſes, perverſe diſputings of men of corrupt minds, and deſtitute of truth *." After a noble exhortation, his lordſhip concludes in the following words: "Certainly, if a juſt and rational, a genuine and ſincere, a warm and vigorous piety, animated the mother country, the influence thereof would ſoon reach our foreign Plantations, and extend throughout their borders: then we ſhould ſoon ſee religion ſhine forth with new luſtre and force, to the converſion of Infidels, both at home and abroad †."

* i. Tim. vi. 45. † Cloyne, p. 234.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Boundaries of the province; its trade and navigation; paper currencies; religion: general obſervations; and miſcellaneous matters.

IT has been already obſerved, that as ſoon as what they called a ſectary ſprang up in the Maſſachuſets Colony, it was tranſplanted to Rhode Iſland, where both civil and religious liberty were allowed in their utmoſt extent. When Mr. Williams was baniſhed the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſets, he removed to the ſouthward, to look out for a new ſettlement among the Indians, and fixed upon a place called by them Moſhawſick, but by him Providence. The ſight of a ſpring which ran from the hill into the river, induced him to ſtop his canoe and land there. In 1643, he went to England.

In the beginning of theſe ſettlements, the country was not ſufficiently inveſtigated, and ſome ſucceeding grants from the crown interfered with former grants. For inſtance, Attleborough Gore was plainly included in Plymouth grant; as alſo in the grant to Rhode Iſland: And ſome of the lands of Tiverton and Little Compton ſeem to be in both theſe grants. In equity, perhaps, the prior grant ſhould have the preference; but this was not obſerved in the late determination of Rhode Iſland eaſterly bounds; becauſe the validity of the Plymouth grant as to juriſdiction was queſtioned. Rhode Iſland colony pretended to the ſettlements of Tiverton, Little Compton, Dartmouth, Rocheſter, Sandwich, and Cape Cod townſhips; becauſe Plymouth grant was not ſaid to be bounded upon the ocean: but this claim was not brought before a late court of commiſſioners appointed by patent from Great Britain, to ſettle the eaſtern boundaries of Rhode Iſland colony.

King Charles II. received complaints concerning the wrong deſcription of places and grants, which could not be determined at a diſtance, but by commiſſioners to be ſent expreſsly on the ſpot. Accordingly, in 1664, his Majeſty ſent commiſſioners, to ſettle the controverted boundaries of the colonies; any three or two of them to be a quorum. They ſat as a court at Providence and Warwick, in the colony of Rhode Iſland, and ſpent ſeveral months in the colony, examining into purchaſes and titles of lands from the Indians, and hearing complaints.

They

They found the boundaries of Rhode Iſland colony, as delineated in its charter, as follows: "Bounded weſterly by the middle channel of Pawcatuck or Pakatuk River; and up the ſaid river northerly to the head thereof, and from thence in a ſtrait line due north to Maſſachuſets ſouth bounds: extending eaſterly three Engliſh miles to the eaſt and and north-eaſt of the moſt eaſtern and north-eaſtern parts of Narraganſet Bay, as it lies or extends itſelf from the ocean on the ſouth, into the mouth of the river Seacunk, which runs toward * the town of Providence; and from thence along the eaſterly bank of that river up to Patucket falls, where was the moſt weſterly line of Plymouth colony; and thence due north to the ſouth line of the Maſſachuſets.

Three of thoſe commiſſioners gave the Attleborough Gore to Plymouth colony, whereby Patucket River was to be the dividing line between the two colonies: but as this was never confirmed by the King in council, it had no effect. Ever ſince the colony of Plymouth has been annexed to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay thoſe diſputes have been continued or revived from time to time: but if Maſſachuſets Bay had relinquiſhed Attleborough Gore, Rhode Iſland would have given a general releaſe in all other concerns; which would have prevented the loſs of Briſtol, with ſome part of Barrington, Swanzey, Little Compton, and Tiverton.

The weſterly line dividing Rhode Iſland from Connecticut was ſettled by commiſſioners from both colonies, in 1728, as already mentioned; and the ſouthern parts are bounded by the ſea from Watch Point to Seakonnet Point.

It was frequently very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to reconcile the letter of the boundaries of two old grants; becauſe generally more was granted than had been ſurveyed, or perhaps more than had been diſcovered; therefore the lines were ill expreſſed, in looſe general terms, and frequently interfering; which could not be adjuſted any better way than by amicable conventions, and agreements of the parties concerned; to be explained and confirmed by the King in council.

Memorials were ſent from Rhode Iſland to his Majeſty King George II. reſpecting the boundary line with the Maſſachuſets, whoſe agents concurred in the application, and in conſequence thereof a commiſſion was obtained for the eldeſt counſellors of the neighbouring governments to meet and adjuſt their boundaries. They accordingly met at the town

* It ſhould have been, "which runs from."

of

of Providence, in the ſummer of 1741, and found that the laſt determined grant, for Plymouth colony in 1629, ſpecified in this manner: "Between Conohaſſet* River towards the north, and Narraganſet† River towards the ſouth; and between the ocean‡ towards the eaſt, and a ſtrait line extending directly into the main land from the mouth of the ſaid Narraganſet River to the utmoſt bounds of the Packanoket or Sawamſet country to the Nipmug country, which determination was then forgot; and from Conohaſſet back into the main land weſtward, to the utmoſt bounds of the Packanoket country."

The Rhode Iſland claim was "Three miles eaſt north-eaſt of Aſſent Creek in Taunton River; thence due ſouth to the ocean eaſt of Seaconnet point; from whence a weſterly courſe to Fox point, being the mouth of the river that comes from Providence town; thence along the eaſt ſide of Seaconnet River to Patucket falls, and thence due north to Maſſachuſets ſouth line."

The grant of King Charles II. under his ſign manual, of Philip's country, to the Plymouth colony, was in theſe words: "We having taken into our royal conſideration, how that, by your loyalty and good conduct in that war, you have been the happy inſtruments to enlarge our dominions, and to bring that new territory of Mount Hope into a more immediate dependence upon us; We are therefore graciouſly pleaſed to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant unto you, the full and entire property of the ſaid territory or ſcope of land, commonly called Mount Hope, containing, by common eſtimation, ſeven thouſand acres, for the ſole and proper uſe and behoof of yourſelves and the reſt of our ſaid colony of New Plymouth: "To be holden of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, as of our caſtle of Windſor in the county of Berks; yielding and paying ſeven beaver ſkins every year." This country of Mount Hope, with ſeveral townſhips and parts of townſhips, always reputed part of the colony of New Plymouth, was, in the year 1741, by Commiſſioners from New York and other adjacent provinces, determined to be within the bounds of Rhode Iſland charter; and this determination, perhaps, for want of proper evidences, which might have been produced on the part of the Maſſachuſets, was afterward confirmed by his late Majeſty in council. This is the remark made by Mr. Hutchinſon, lieutenant-governor of the Maſſachuſets province, who alſo adds, That "in this and other controverſies about boundaries, it has been the misfor-

* Now called Bound Brook. † The mouth of Taunton gut or river, at Seaconnet point. ‡ Or bay of Maſſachuſets.

tune

tune of the Maſſachuſets to have been repreſented as too great and powerful a province; and that his Majeſty's ſmall province of New Hampſhire, as alſo the ſmall colony of Rhode Iſland, were oppreſſed and borne down *."

The fact was, that upon a hearing at Providence, in 1741, of the committees or agents of both colonies before the commiſſioners appointed by royal patent to ſettle this line or boundary, neither the patent of Plymouth colony, or any copy of it, was produced; therefore the recital of thoſe letters patent, in their deed to Bradford and his aſſociates, was not ſufficient evidence againſt the royal charter granted to Rhode Iſland colony. This commiſſion was not to meddle with property, but only with juriſdiction, which was aſcertained to Rhode Iſland by royal charter, notwithſtanding their charter being poſterior to the New Plymouth grant; becauſe the council of Plymouth could only delegate property, but not juriſdiction. No evidence was produced, to make it appear, that what is called Taunton Great River in their private deeds, between the main land on the eaſt and Rhode Iſland on the weſt, was ever called Narraganſet River. The determination of the commiſſioners was in favour of Rhode Iſland colony; but the Maſſachuſets government appealed home againſt every part of the judgment as grievous and injurious: but the judgment was confirmed as final, in 1746, by the King in council, and was to this effect:

"From the ſouth line of Maſſachuſets Bay to Patucket falls; and thence down the eaſterly ſide of Seacunk River to the ſouth-weſt corner of Bullock's Neck; from whence north-eaſt three miles in a ſtrait line, until it meets with the termination of this imaginary line; and from this to the bay near Towaſſet Neck; ſo that this line touch the north-eaſt extremity of an imaginary line running north-eaſt from Briſtol cove. On the eaſt ſide of Narraganſet Bay, it begins at a point about four hundred and forty rods ſouthward of the mouth of Fall River in Tiverton; and thence runs eaſt three miles; from whence it runs ſoutherly parallel with the eaſternmoſt parts of Narraganſet Bay, or Taunton Great River, to the ſea."

The ſettling of this boundary coſt each government about four thouſand pounds old tenor. The commiſſioners had from each government ſix ſhillings ſterling a day; with all charges in coming to, reſiding at, and returning from the congreſs. By their determination, the late co-

* Hutchinſon's hiſtory of Maſſachuſets Bay, p. 345.

lony

lony of Plymouth, or rather the preſent province of Maſſachuſets Bay, loſt, in favour of Rhode Iſland, a triangular piece of land commonly called the Attleborough Gore, which ſince has been conſtituted a townſhip called Cumberland, in honour to his late Royal Highneſs, uncle of his preſent Majeſty; but this townſhip is annexed to the county of Providence. Briſtol is entirely adjudged to Rhode Iſland, and retains its former name. Some part of Swanſey, being forty-ſeven families, and a great part of Barrington, are conſtituted a townſhip by the name of Warren, in honour of the late Sir Peter Warren, admiral of the navy, and knight of the Bath. The three mile ſtrips of Tiverton and Little Compton, on the eaſt ſide of the Bay or Taunton Great River, continue by the name of diſtricts of Rhode Iſland.

The government of Rhode Iſland, in 1746, ſent to the government of Maſſachuſets Bay, a copy of his Majeſty's order in council, for ſettling the boundary line between the two governments; and by act of Aſſembly, the ſecond of December the ſame year, appointed commiſſioners to run this late adjudged line with commiſſioners from Maſſachuſets Bay: but as the Maſſachuſets aſſembly could not be informed of this matter in proper time, the line was run *ex parte* by the Rhode Iſland colony.

Rhode Iſland government alſo claimed an extent of juriſdiction farther north than was then ſettled, and took off from the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets Bay conſiderable parcels of the townſhips of Wrentham, Bellingham, Mendon, Uxbridge, and Douglaſs.

The provincial taxes and townſhip rates were lately thought ſo oppreſſively great, that, 1. Upon a diſpute between the province of Maſſachuſets Bay and colony of Connecticut, lately broached concerning ſome townſhips of the province indented with the colony; the Maſſachuſets townſhips of Woodſtock, Somers, Enfield, and Suffield, in a voluntary manner, withdrew from the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets, and put themſelves under that of Connecticut; and by force, or menace, prevented the civil officers of Maſſachuſets from gathering of taxes, or exerciſing any authority. 2. The Maſſachuſets townſhips adjoining to the northern line of the Rhode Iſland colony, allowed the Rhode Iſland men to run a line, without any oppoſition; as they choſe to be rather under the juriſdiction of Rhode Iſland, where taxes were ſmall, and no parochial rates.

Commiſſioners were appointed by the general-aſſemblies of both colonies to run their diviſional line in 1749 reſpectively: but they did not meet, and the Rhode Iſland commiſſioners run the line *ex parte*.

tune of the Maſſachuſets to have been repreſented as too great and powerful a province; and that his Majeſty's ſmall province of New Hampſhire, as alſo the ſmall colony of Rhode Iſland, were oppreſſed and borne down *."

The fact was, that upon a hearing at Providence, in 1741, of the committees or agents of both colonies before the commiſſioners appointed by royal patent to ſettle this line or boundary, neither the patent of Plymouth colony, or any copy of it, was produced; therefore the recital of thoſe letters patent, in their deed to Bradford and his aſſociates, was not ſufficient evidence againſt the royal charter granted to Rhode Iſland colony. This commiſſion was not to meddle with property, but only with juriſdiction, which was aſcertained to Rhode Iſland by royal charter, notwithſtanding their charter being poſterior to the New Plymouth grant; becauſe the council of Plymouth could only delegate property, but not juriſdiction. No evidence was produced, to make it appear, that what is called Taunton Great River in their private deeds, between the main land on the eaſt and Rhode Iſland on the weſt, was ever called Narraganſet River. The determination of the commiſſioners was in favour of Rhode Iſland colony; but the Maſſachuſets government appealed home againſt every part of the judgment as grievous and injurious: but the judgment was confirmed as final, in 1746, by the King in council, and was to this effect:

"From the ſouth line of Maſſachuſets Bay to Patucket falls; and thence down the eaſterly ſide of Seacunk River to the ſouth-weſt corner of Bullock's Neck; from whence north-eaſt three miles in a ſtrait line, until it meets with the termination of this imaginary line; and from this to the bay near Towaſſet Neck; ſo that this line touch the north-eaſt extremity of an imaginary line running north-eaſt from Briſtol cove. On the eaſt ſide of Narraganſet Bay, it begins at a point about four hundred and forty rods ſouthward of the mouth of Fall River in Tiverton; and thence runs eaſt three miles; from whence it runs ſoutherly parallel with the eaſternmoſt parts of Narraganſet Bay, or Taunton Great River, to the ſea."

The ſettling of this boundary coſt each government about four thouſand pounds old tenor. The commiſſioners had from each government ſix ſhillings ſterling a day; with all charges in coming to, reſiding at, and returning from the congreſs. By their determination, the late co-

* Hutchinſon's hiſtory of Maſſachuſets Bay, p. 345.

lony

lony of Plymouth, or rather the preſent province of Maſſachuſets Bay, loſt, in favour of Rhode Iſland, a triangular piece of land commonly called the Attleborough Gore, which ſince has been conſtituted a townſhip called Cumberland, in honour to his late Royal Highneſs, uncle of his preſent Majeſty; but this townſhip is annexed to the county of Providence. Briſtol is entirely adjudged to Rhode Iſland, and retains its former name. Some part of Swanſey, being forty-ſeven families, and a great part of Barrington, are conſtituted a townſhip by the name of Warren, in honour of the late Sir Peter Warren, admiral of the navy, and knight of the Bath. The three mile ſtrips of Tiverton and Little Compton, on the eaſt ſide of the Bay or Taunton Great River, continue by the name of diſtricts of Rhode Iſland.

The government of Rhode Iſland, in 1746, ſent to the government of Maſſachuſets Bay, a copy of his Majeſty's order in council, for ſettling the boundary line between the two governments; and by act of Aſſembly, the ſecond of December the ſame year, appointed commiſſioners to run this late adjudged line with commiſſioners from Maſſachuſets Bay: but as the Maſſachuſets aſſembly could not be informed of this matter in proper time, the line was run *ex parte* by the Rhode Iſland colony.

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Rhode Iſland: by ſelling, is meant, it is merchandize, and would continue ſuch until the paper-money was generally annihilated, or arrived at *par* with ſilver by its ſmall quantity.

From the votes of the general-aſſembly in this province, it appears, that in February 1749-50, their public bills of credit current were 525,033 *l.* old tenor; of which the ſum of 135,335 *l.* was upon funds of taxes, and the reſt upon loans not to be finiſhed until the year 1764. Theſe bills were thought ſufficient to carry on the trade and buſineſs of the colony, even at their depreciated value; yet there was a deſign of emitting the farther ſum of 200,000 *l.* old tenor upon loan.

The generality of the reſponſible merchants of Rhode Iſland have always declared againſt multiplying of a depreciating currency; but in a memorial to the general-aſſembly, they obſerved that the act of Maſſachuſets, in 1748, for drawing in their public bills of credit, was in a too violent and haſty manner.

The colony of Rhode Iſland, in 1751, emitted 100,000 *l.* currency, with a greater intereſt, and to be cancelled after ten years; which was a ſtep toward reformation: though not ſo good as that taken by Connecticut colony, which, by their act of aſſembly in 1749, allowed three years to cancel their bills gradually, ſo as to prevent a ſudden confuſion; and in their reimburſement money for the reduction of Cape Breton in 1748, they were to draw upon their receiving agent, to ſave incidental charges, and theſe bills would readily purchaſe ſilver for a currency.

The perſonal eſtates in New England have ſuffered incredible damages by the depreciated denominations from the multiplying of a nominal paper currency. By act of aſſembly, in the Maſſachuſets, in 1711, the exchange of the government bills, upon account of the pretended Canada expedition, was fixed at 140 *l.* New England for 100 *l.* ſterling; but, in 1748, it was with Merchants 1000 *l.* New England for 100 *l.* ſterling.

It has been ſaid, that "all theſe paper-money making aſſemblies have been legiſlatures of debtors, the repreſentatives of people who, from incogitancy, idleneſs, and profuſeneſs, have been under a neceſſity of mortgaging their lands, which are real permanent eſtate; but the debt in paper-currency depreciates more and more by its multiplication. Thus their land eſtate in nominal value increaſes, and their debt in nominal value decreaſes: the large quantity of paper credit is proportionably in

favour of the debtors, and to the diſadvantage of the creditors, who are the induſtrious frugal part of the colony. Such is the wicked myſtery of this iniquitous paper-currency *."

The following order, dated Whitehall the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1740, was ſent by the lords of the regency, to George Thomas, Eſq. then governor of Pennſylvania:

"Many inconveniences having ariſen from the iſſuing paper-currency, contrary to the true meaning of an act of Queen Anne; it is his majeſty's will and pleaſure, and you are hereby required, not to paſs any bill, by which bills of credit may be iſſued in lieu of money, without a clauſe declaring the ſame not to take effect till approved by his Majeſty."

In an act of the 24th of King George II. for regulating paper money, after reciting the act of the 6th of Queen Anne, this proviſo is inſerted: 1751.

"Provided, that nothing herein ſhall reſtrain the Governor from iſſuing Paper Bills of Credit, upon ſudden and extraordinary Emergencies of Government; ſo as care be taken to provide a Fund for calling in and diſcharging them within as ſhort and reaſonable a Time as may be, not exceeding five Years."

When there was an immediate public emergency for raiſing money, the borrowing of public bills, already emitted, from the poſſeſſors, would not have increaſed a paper-currency, but prevented depreciations. Some gentlemen offered to lend theſe bills at a ſmall intereſt; and others ſaid, they had better lend them without intereſt, than that their perſonal eſtates, from multiplied emiſſions, ſhould depreciate at a much greater rate than after the value of an accruing intereſt.

The legiſlature of Rhode Iſland however, in 1766, paſſed an act, "calling in and ſinking all the money bills of that colony emitted in March, April, and May, 1662; and empowering George Hazard, Eſq. with the general-treaſurer, in lieu of the bills ſo brought in, to iſſue their own notes, properly printed and decorated, to the owners of the bills brought in, payable in ſeven years from the date of the reſpective bills: And that the notes given in lieu of the ſaid bills ſhould bear intereſt until limited for their return, at the rate of ſix *per cent. per ann.* That a tax ſhould be levied for the diſcharge of the ſaid bills, and that it ſhould be

* Douglas I. p. 310.

death

death to counterfeit them. The form was that of a common promiſſory note, with intereſt; none more than 100*l.* nor leſs than 6*s.*

As to the general article of religion, it may be obſerved, that the plantations of Rhode Iſland were originally ſettled by people whimſical in religious matters, ſuch as Antinomians, rigid Browniſts, and other ſectaries. Their firſt ſocieties were Anabaptiſts, who to this day ſeem to have the majority in the colony, and differ from the Preſbyterians and Independents only in admitting of adults to baptiſm, and that not by ſprinkling, but dipping or immerſion. Some have no particular place of meeting or worſhip; and others differ in particular tenets, ſuch as, it is unlawful to pray with or for any practical unbelievers, and that human learning is no way neceſſary for a goſpel preacher.

The congregational way firſt took place in 1698, but without any public place of worſhip until 1720, when a church of that kind was ſettled in Newport, and another church proceeded from them in 1728. There is a congregational ſociety in Providence; one in South Kingſton; another in Weſterly, and a few others in different parts; but none after the model of the church of Scotland, Holland, Geneva, and the French Hugonots.

There are many Quaker meetings all over the colony; as alſo a ſmall congregation of Jews.

The Church of England ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts have four miſſionary miniſters in this colony, at Newport, South Kingſton, Providence, and Briſtol: alſo occaſional worſhip at Warwick and Weſterly; two ſchoolmaſters with ſalaries, and a catechiſt or ſchoolmaſter in Newport, by the donation of Mr. Keys, the late collector of the cuſtoms there.

As the charter grants an univerſal liberty of conſcience, civil officers are choſen indifferently out of every religious ſociety; and ſome time ſince, Mr. Cranſton was continued governor many years, as an impartial good man, though he did not attend any public meeting, and would not aſſociate with any ſect.

The miſſionaries from the Society in London for propagating the Goſpel, call all Diſſenters the Separation; and Mr. Hobart, a Congregational writer, ſays, that this Society and their miſſionaries are Epiſcopal Separatiſts; but both ſides are in the wrong. Doctor George, late dean of Lin-

coln, in his ſermon before the Society for propagating the Goſpel ſays, that "Circumſtances in worſhip, in their nature variable, are left to be determined by the diſcretion of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to ſee that all things be done decently and in order."

An obſervation has been already made, that it was one great deſign of the firſt planters in New England, particularly in the Maſſachuſets colony, to obtain for themſelves and their poſterity, the liberty of worſhipping God in ſuch manner as appeared to them to be moſt agreeable to the ſacred ſcriptures. While they remained in England, they continued in the communion of the Church, except ſuch as were excluded from it for non-conformity to ſome of the ceremonies; for with ſome of the ceremonial parts of worſhip they were all more or leſs diſſatisfied. The canons or laws of the church, and the rigid execution of them, they accounted a grievous burthen; but the form of government in the church was not a general ſubject of complaint; and they were very careful to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Browniſts and other ſeparatiſts. Had they continued in England, and the church been governed with the wiſdom and moderation of the preſent day, they would have remained, to uſe their own expreſſion, "in the boſom of that church where they had received their hopes of ſalvation."

The Separatiſts uſed to boaſt, that "if the old Puritans were ſecure of the magiſtrate's ſword, and might go on with his good licence, they would ſhake off the prelate's yoke, and draw no longer in ſpiritual communion with all the profane of the land; and though they then preached and wrote againſt the Separatiſts, yet if they were in a place where they might have their liberty, they would do as they did*."

The New England coloniſts formed themſelves into diſtinct churches, one after another, ſoon after their arrival; but they ſeem to have no ſettled ſcheme or plan of church government, until Mr. Cotton came over in 1633†, and eſtabliſhed the Congregational worſhip as the middle way between Browniſm and Preſbyterianiſm.

An odious ſenſe had been affixed to the name of Independents, which ſeems to have been the reaſon why it was avoided, rather than any material diſtinction in the conſtitution of the churches, which appears, or can be inferred, from either of thoſe characteriſtics; but the platform agreed

* Robinſon, Bradford. † Hubbard.

upon

upon and publiſhed in 1648, although it did not own that dependence which ſhould ſubject any one church to any other, or even to the whole united together; yet it profeſſed a relation which one church had to another, and connected them together by certain rules to be obſerved as the terms or conditions upon which ſuch connexion was to continue; and, upon the irregular walk or demeanor of any one church, they were no longer to remain members of the ſame body, and the other churches were not to admit them to their fellowſhip or communion. Although it was the buſineſs of a ſynod, or general council of all the churches, to debate and determine matters of religion, as alſo to give directions relating to the worſhip of God and the good government of the church, "which were to be received with reverence and ſubmiſſion;" yet the ſynod was to exerciſe no church cenſures by way of diſcipline, nor any act of church authority or juriſdiction, further than was done at the firſt council of the apoſtles, elders, and whole church, as recorded in the 15th chapter of Acts, which was declared to be a precedent.

All this proviſion may appear but a weak band of ſociety; but this conſtitution of church government was adapted to the conſtitution of civil government, both as popular as can well be conceived; and notwithſtanding an acknowledgment or declaration from both, of ſeparate and diſtinct rights, yet each was aiding and aſſiſting to the other. The elders or miniſters were not conſidered as one of the eſtates; yet no matters of importance, whether of a religious or civil nature, were determined without their advice, and a formal reference to them. But however defective this conſtitution may appear in theory, an inſtance is ſeldom to be met of ſo ſteady and general adherence to the principles upon which it was founded, and ſo much harmony ſubſiſting, not only in particular churches, but between one church and another, for many years.

From a ſacred regard to the religion of the Chriſtian ſabbath, a ſcruple aroſe of the lawfulneſs of calling the firſt day of the week Sunday; and they always, upon any occaſion, either in a civil or religious relation to it, ſtiled it either the Lord's Day or Sabbath. As the exception to the word Sunday was founded upon its ſuperſtitious idolatrous origin, the ſame ſcruple naturally followed with reſpect to the names of all the other days of the week, and of moſt of the months, which had the ſame origin; accordingly, they changed Monday, Tueſday, and the other days, into the ſecond, third, &c. days of the week; and inſtead of March and April, uſed the firſt and ſecond months; inſtead of the third Tueſday in May, the language was, the third third day of the third month, and ſo of the reſt.

reſt*. All their records and other writings were dated in the common forms which they brought with them from England, until the year 1636, when Mr. Vane was governor of the Maſſachuſets; but after that time, the alteration ſeems to have been ſtrictly obſerved, for many years together, in all public writings and private tranſactions. During the interregnum, it obtained much in Old England; but the ſcruple there went off at once upon the Reſtoration: it abated in New England, and continues ſcarce any where at this day, except among the people called Quakers; and perhaps, the great diſlike to ſome other peculiarities of that people cauſed the decline of this cuſtom in the New England colonies.

That every thing approaching to an acknowledgment of the authority of the pope, and his power of canonization, might be avoided, they never uſed the addition of Saint when they ſpoke of the apoſtles and the ancient fathers of the Chriſtian church. Even the uſual names of places were made to conform: thus the Iſland of St. Chriſtophers was always wrote Chriſtophers; and, by the ſame rule, all other places to which the term of Saint had been prefixed: but if any exception was made, it was anſwered, that the patriarchs had as good right to this appellation as the apoſtles.

Attempts were made to introduce ſingularities in ſome of the churches, particularly Mr. Davenport of New Haven required all his congregation to ſtand up whilſt the text was naming; the principal reaſon given for it being, that it deſerved peculiar honour, as it was the word of God. Mr. Williams of Salem likewiſe required all the women of his congregation to wear veils; but neither of theſe cuſtoms ſpread, or were of any long continuance.

The faſts and feſtivals of the Church of England were generally laid aſide, and days of faſting and thankſgiving frequently appointed as occaſion required, which cuſtom has continued to the preſent time.

In former times, before hired miſſionaries from incorporated ſocieties took place, the volunteer provincial miſſionaries, ſuch as Mr. Elliot and Mr. Mayhew, who were of exemplary good life, and ſpared no fatigue, were of great ſervice in civilizing the intermixed Indians, though their faith was not ſtrong enough to carry them among the adjacent tribes in the wilderneſs. The ſociety miſſionaries have been cenſured for neglecting

* As in the letter from the church of Salem to the church of Dorcheſter the 1ſt July 1639; "Salem, 1ſt 5th m°. 39." But this was a ſcruple of the Browniſts.

this duty, which was originally thought ſo eſſential for the intereſt and ſecurity of the Colonies. The Albany Church of England miſſionary ſometimes viſits the adjacent tribe of Mohawk Indians of the Iroquois nation; but the Congregationaliſt miſſionaries from the New England ſociety in London, upon the frontiers of Gorges, Richmond, and Fort Dummer, act only as chaplains to theſe ſmall garriſons.

The practice of the late miſſionaries was to obtain a miſſion to the moſt civilized and opulent towns, where were no Indians, no want of an orthodox miniſtry, and no Roman Catholics; the three principal intentions of their miſſion: therefore, it was ſaid, they ſeemed to value themſelves upon the diverſion of the Preſbyterians and Congregationaliſts. "All men have a laudable veneration for the religion of their anceſtors, and the prejudices of education are difficult to overcome; why then ſhould a perſon who follows the orthodox allowed or tolerated way of his forefathers, be over-perſuaded to relinquiſh it, conſidering that, by an interceding wavering, the man may be overſet, and ſink into infidelity? The miſſionaries ſeem to value themſelves more upon this, than the converſion of a heathen to our civil national intereſt, and to Chriſtianity, or the reformation of a Roman Catholic, as is much wanted in Maryland; or preſerving the Britiſh extract from running into infidelity, as in North Carolina." In the charter, the propagation of the Church of England is not mentioned; the expreſſions are general; as "an orthodox clergy, propagation of the Chriſtian Religion or Goſpel in foreign parts." Therefore the miſſionaries ought to be men of moderation, that is, of general charity and benevolence; conſidering alſo that many diſſenters have contributed to this charity, and are worthy members of the ſociety."

To claſs the various ſectaries in religious affairs is an intricate taſk; for, in the year 1637, the New England ſynod condemned eighty-two errors; but the religious opinions which have appeared in the Britiſh Colonies may be claſſed under three general heads: 1. The merely ſpeculative: 2. The antiquated or obſolete: 3. The profeſſions or ſectaries which at preſent ſubſiſt, and are likely to remain.

I. Speculative private opinions are of little conſequence in a ſtate, until the opinioniſts form themſelves into large bodies and ſeparate ſocieties. 1. The Antinomians aſſerted, that the laws of Moſes are vacated, as being only temporal and local; therefore not obligatory with Chriſtian nations: that good works do not forward, nor bad works retard ſalvation. 2. The Familiſts, who were of the Anabaptiſt tribe in Germany, agreed with the Antinomians in many articles; but were ſuſpected to be more inclined

inclined to carnal than ſpiritual love; they perſuaded themſelves, that they were the only elect of God, and might deceive all men who were not of their community, magiſtrates not excepted, even with an oath.

II. 1. The Muggletonians are extinct. 2. The Gortonians of Warwick in Rhode Iſland were of ſhort duration. 3. The rigid Browniſts are relaxed into Independents and Congregationaliſts. 4. The Independents in all the colonies have ſuffered ſome reformation, and are now called Congregationaliſts. 5. Puritans were for entire reformation and abſolute purity; but that appellation is now obſolete. 6. Seekers waited for new apoſtles to reſtore Chriſtianity; but theſe have quite diſappeared. 7. Remonſtrants and Contra-remonſtrants, or Predeſtinarians and Free-will men; there are ſome of theſe remaining among all the ſectaries.

III. The Church of England is the eſtabliſhed church, although only nominal, in all the Britiſh Colonies. There is no eſtabliſhed church government; but, by the articles of union in 1707, that of the Church of England is eſtabliſhed in perpetuity; yet the Coloniſts have not felt any epiſcopal power from the ſee of London, the office of whoſe commiſſaries is only nominal.

The Papiſts are inconſiderable, except in Pennſylvania and Maryland, where they are tolerated.

1. Lutherans are only to be found in New York and Pennſylvania. They differ from the Papiſts principally in communion of both kinds, bread and wine; divine worſhip in the vulgar tongue; and indulging prieſts with matrimony.

2. Preſbyterians, Church of England, and Congregationaliſts are the ſame in all eſſential articles of Chriſtian doctrine, and their laity are all of the ſame faith; the diſtinction being only with regard to their different clergy in forms of church government, diſcipline, modes of public worſhip, and veſtments. The Preſbyterians in the Britiſh Colonies are of two ſorts: the firſt are thoſe who follow the manner of the Church of Scotland, where they uſe no liturgy, but are modelled according to a directory firſt agreed upon by an aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter in the time of the civil war, and appointed by the general aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1647. The ſecond are properly called Calviniſts, as they follow the confeſſion of Heidelberg, like ſeveral churches in Germany, the Church of Geneva, the Church of Holland, and the Hugonots of France; they uſe not only a liturgy or common prayer, but alſo an eſtabliſhed form

of pſalmody.—All diſſenters from the Church of England, and ſouth of New England, except Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and Moravians, are called Preſbyterians; thus the diſſenting congregation in the city of New York, though under a Congregational miniſter from Boſton, is called Preſbyterian. A Calviniſt French church ſubſiſted many years in Boſton, but was lately dropt, there being no French new-comers, and the children of the former generation underſtand Engliſh better than French: but there are ſeveral Calviniſt churches in the provinces of New York and Pennſylvania.

3. Congregationaliſts, who may be called Independents reformed. This is the religious mode of New England, where the Preſbyterians are only ſpeculative, becauſe by the act of union they can have no eccleſiaſtic claſſical juriſdiction in the Colonies, and therefore are only congregational, but leſs rigid in admiſſion of church members, and in church diſcipline. In the ſecond ſeſſion of a ſynod appointed by the civil legiſlature at Boſton, in May 1680, a platform or confeſſion of faith was agreed upon, much the ſame with that of the Independents in England, of October 1658, called "The Savoy Confeſſion of Faith;" but the name of Independent is now quite extinct in the Britiſh Colonies; and the Independents ſtill exiſting in England now differ very little from the Preſbyterians there.

The general method of the New England Congregationaliſts is as follows: When a goſpel miniſter is wanted, the devout elderly men of the precinct invite ſeveral preachers to officiate, who are called candidates. Then the men who are church members or communicants, even the pooreſt upon the public charity, and negroes, vote for one of theſe candidates at an appointed meeting, and by a majority give him a formal call. Afterward there is a general meeting of the congregation-men, who pay miniſterial rates, and are qualified as town voters, to approve or diſapprove of the choice: if any difficulty happens, a council of delegates from the neighbouring churches is called for advice only, not abſolute authority; and this council, when they attend the ordination, are called "The Ordination Council." Upon any occaſional difference in a church, a like council of advice is called, which iſſues in a vote of the Church communicants, or general congregation, but it is not obligatory.

The Congregationaliſts of Connecticut are regulated by a platform or confeſſion of their own, preſented to the general aſſembly by the miniſters and other delegates, on the 9th of September 1707; in conſequence of which, it was ordained, that all churches conforming thereto, ſhould be deemed eſtabliſhed by law. It ſcarcely differed from that of Maſſachuſets Bay, therefore liberty of conſcience was allowed. Some Congregational churches however

however have varied in a few matters of no conſequence; as Mr. Colman in 1699*, and Mr. Cutler† in 1722.

4. Anabaptiſts, a particular ſort of devotees, firſt appeared about the time of the Reformation in Germany. Their great conſtituent doctrine was, an entire diſallowing of Infant-baptiſm; and, in the baptiſm of adults, they conſtantly made uſe of dipping; from whence is the denomination of Anabaptiſts, as Baptiſts by or with immerſion; but they call themſelves ſimply Baptiſts. At firſt they were moderate and orderly; but they ſoon ran into many wild and pernicious doctrines, ſuch as maintaining that Chriſt was not the ſon of Mary, nor the true God; that we are righteous by our own merits and ſufferings; that there is no original ſin; and that infants are not to be baptized: they likewiſe rejected all communion with other churches, magiſtracy, and oaths; maintained a community of goods, and polygamy; that a man might divorce his wife if of another opinion; that the godly ſhould enjoy a monarchy here upon earth; that men have free will in ſpiritual things; and that any man may preach or adminiſter the ſacraments. Some ſcrupled the lawfulneſs of paying tithes, and others obſerved the Jewiſh ſabbath. Theſe monſtrous opinions led them into mad practices; but thoſe who are now called Anabaptiſts in England, differ from other Proteſtants in little more than the not baptizing children; as appears by a confeſſion of faith, publiſhed by the repreſentatives of above one hundred of their congregations, in 1689.

The Anabaptiſts at their firſt appearance in New England were enthuſiaſtically troubleſome, and choſe among themſelves the meaneſt of the people for their miniſters. Their firſt ſeparation to form a peculiar church was at Rehoboth in 165[illegible]; but they were much perſecuted all over New England: however, from their church in Swanzey proceeded a church in Boſton, in 1665, which to this day continues a very peaceable Chriſtian ſociety.

As this was formerly a wild ſectary, it run into many ſubdiviſions, and at preſent there are many different ſorts of Anabaptiſts in the Colonies, particularly in Pennſylvania; the principal of which are as follow: 1. The Engliſh, who are a ſober and good people in general; and the Germans

* His ſeparation was only in trifles; ſuch as uſing the Lord's Prayer, reading of leſſons in the Bible, the hatband and roſe of the Church of England clergy, with a freer admiſſion to the ſacraments.

† He was preſident of Yale College in Connecticut, and with ſome of his former pupils, made a ſeceſſion from the Congregational mode. They went to England, where they obtained epiſcopal ordination, and the benefit of miſſionaries.

remarkably

remarkably ſo.—2. Firſt-day Baptiſts, whoſe weekly holiday is the Sunday, as in uſe with all other Chriſtians. Seventh-day Baptiſts, or Sabbatarians, who affirmed, that the Jewiſh Sabbath was never abrogated, nor any other appointed or inſtituted, and conſequently that it ought to be as religiouſly obſerved by the Chriſtians as the Jews. Thoſe who follow Judaiſm obſerve the ſeventh day, in commemoration of the creation, and their redemption from the bondage of the Egyptians; but the Chriſtians obſerve the firſt day of the week in commemoration of the reſurrection of Chriſt and the univerſal redemption of mankind. The Firſt-day Baptiſts are ſubdivided into thoſe who uſe ſinging in their public worſhip, and thoſe who reject it; the latter alleging, that there muſt be hypocriſy in promiſcuous ſinging in public worſhip, as it cannot be imagined that every one of the congregation is in the humour of ſinging at the ſame time. There is a congregation of the Seventh-day Baptiſts at Newport and Weſterly in Rhode Iſland colony, as alſo ſeveral congregations in Pennſylvania of the ſame kind.

5. Quakers had their firſt appearance in New England in 1654, and they were ſeverely perſecuted there; but as they are not under the confinement of creeds and other religious reſtrictions, they cannot eaſily break into ſectary ſubdiviſions. They uſe neither Baptiſm nor the Lord's Supper; they hold all ſwearing and paying of tithes unlawful; but they ſubmit to the various forms of civil government. All who have the gift of light within them, men or women, are ſufficiently ordained to preach the Goſpel, without any commiſſion from a church, or aſſiſtance from human learning: unjuſtly they are ſaid not to regard the Scriptures; and their affirmation, inſtead of an oath, is equally binding, and accepted even to capital matters in the Colonies. They uſe the ſame ſubterfuge with other illiterate teachers and exhorters; as, "Not many wiſe after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called; but God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe." Their ſilent waiting upon the Lord in their public places of devotion has been cenſured; but it is retorted, they have a divine teacher in their own heart. Their tenets ſeem to be in general Arminian, which may be proved in many inſtances. They believe a reſurrection of the juſt and unjuſt, and that God will give a reward to every man according to his works; but as to the nature and manner of the reſurrection they are ſilent; for they only ſay, it is not ſafe to be too inquiſitive how the dead ſhall be raiſed, and with what bodies; alleging, that "there is a natural body, and there is a ſpiritual body; that fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption *."

* I Corinth. xv.

6. Moravians,

6. Moravians, who call themſelves *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, as the Quakers with good propriety call themſelves Friends; but in an act of the Britiſh parliament in 1749, they are called an ancient epiſcopal Proteſtant Church, in favour of their affirmation inſtead of an oath.

In New England, the Congregationaliſts at firſt acted with too much ſeverity; which occaſioned ſome inhabitants at Boſton, in 1689, to petition King Charles II. for a Church of England, modeſtly called the King's chapel, ſignifying not an eſtabliſhed, but tolerated or privileged place of worſhip. And indeed the opinion that the Church of England was eſtabliſhed in America by the act of union is generally controverted and denied in that country.

As to general things in this province, there are great variety of iron-rock ores, but unprofitable; ſome copper ore, and ſlate.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

An Account of the Province of NEW HAMPSHIRE, in NEW ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Boundaries; original lands, and grants. Mr. Maſon's claim; and Mr. Allen's Purchaſe. Legiſlature, and courts of judicature.

THIS is a ſmall province, bounded by Nova Scotia on the north; by the Atlantic ocean on the eaſt, by the Province of the Maſſachuſets Bay on the ſouth, and by New York on the weſt.

Originally the extent of this province from three miles north of Merrimack River to Piſcataqua River, was twenty miles ſea line, and ſixty miles inland. It was under the aſſumed juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſets many years; but it is now governed by a governor, council, and houſe of repreſentatives; the governor and council appointed by the King.

The juriſdiction of this province is indiſputably in the crown; and, by the determination of the King in council in 1739, the ſea line continues the ſame; but weſtward, heading the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, it extends from Newichawanack River about one hundred and fifteen miles to New York bounds; northward toward Canada it is indefinite, or rather not determined.

The original lands were granted to Captain John Maſon of London, by letters patent from the council eſtabliſhed at Plymouth, dated the 9th of March 1621; and confirmed to him by charter from King Charles I. dated the 19th of Auguſt 1635; but there was no perſon who had any pretence to the power of government, as Mr. Maſon had only a grant of the ſoil from the council of Plymouth.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1669, received a royal charter, granting the ſame privileges, royalties, and franchiſes as are of right or ought to be enjoyed by the Biſhop of Durham, in the county palatine of Durham; with power to conſtitute a deputy-governor, chancellor, treaſurer, marſhal, and other officers. By repeatedly nominating ſuch officers, and

attempting to eſtabliſh a form of government conſiſting of different perſons from thoſe appointed by the Maſſachuſets; there were always two different parties and intereſts kept alive; but New Hampſhire had been ſo long united to the Maſſachuſets, that the people of both colonies were of one heart and mind in civil and religious affairs.

The council of Plymouth, on the 9th of March 1621, granted to John Maſon, of London, Eſq. their ſecretary, his heirs and aſſigns, a tract of land from Neumkeag to Merrimack River: and, in 1629, they granted him a tract of land, between Merrimack River and Piſcataqua River, ſixty miles up each river, and theſe to be bounded by a line acroſs from river to river. Both theſe grants were joined in a new grant, dated the 22d of April 1635, from the council of Plymouth to Mr. Maſon; that is, ſixty miles up Neumkeag River, and from the entrance thereof round by the ſea-ſhore to the middle entrance of Piſcataqua River, up that river, and Newichawennock River to the head thereof, and thence northward until ſixty miles be accompliſhed; and acroſs, from the termination of each of theſe ſixty miles, to be called New Hampſhire.

Mr. Maſon, in 1634, ſent over about ſeventy ſervants, with ſtores and proviſions to carry on this ſettlement of New Hampſhire, where his eſtate amounted to about 20,000 *l.* ſterling, in 1635, when he died, having by will bequeathed New Hampſhire to his grandſon John Tufton and his heirs, who were to aſſume the name of Maſon. John died before he was of age, and the eſtate came to his brother Robert Tufton Maſon, who was not of age until 1650; but during his minority the ſervants in New Hampſhire embezzled every thing, and as the civil wars prevented any legal relief, the Maſſachuſets people, at the deſire of the inhabitants of New Hampſhire, took all thoſe lands into their own diſpoſal and juriſdiction in 1652.

In 1661, Robert Tufton Maſon, petitioned King Charles II. to be relieved as to his property of thoſe lands; and Sir Geoffry Palmer, then attorney-general, reported that theſe lands were the undoubted right of the petitioner, as grandſon and heir of John Maſon. However, as the inhabitants of New Hampſhire, and province of Main, were incapable of protecting themſelves againſt the incurſions of the Canada French and their Indians, the Coloniſts ſtill continued under the protection of the Maſſachuſets Bay, whoſe aſſembly aſſumed the property of the vacant lands, and juriſdiction of the protected country: and, in 1677, the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay purchaſed the property of the province of Maine from the heirs or aſſigns of Sir Ferdinando Gorge; the property and ju-

riſdiction of which were confirmed to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay by their new charter in 1691.

Mr. Maſon renewed his petition in 1675 to the King, who referred it to the attorney and ſolicitor-general: they reported his title good, and the King ſent a mandatory letter, dated the 10th of March 1676, to the Maſſachuſets Bay colony, in favour of the petitioner, and the agents for the Maſſachuſets diſclaimed thoſe lands before the court of King's Bench.

The Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, with the Lords chief Juſtices Rainsford and North, reported to the King in council, that the Maſſachuſets Bay colony, by their repreſentatives, diſclaimed any title to the lands in controverſy; and this report was confirmed by the King in council on the 20th of July 1677.

The aſſembly of Maſſachuſets Bay paſſed an act in 1679, vacating all ſuch grants as they had made of lands beyond the three miles north of Merrimack River.

The ſame year, the proprietors and inhabitants of New Hampſhire deſired of the crown to take them under its immediate protection; accordingly the King, on the 18th of September 1679, commiſſioned a preſident, with ten counſellors, for the government of the colony, with power to chooſe three others to conſtitute the firſt council; and the preſident with five other counſellors to be a board. The lands granted there by the Maſſachuſets colony were directed to pay Mr. Maſon's heirs ſixpence in the pound quit-rents, as incomes were then valued by way of compoſition: Mr. Robert Maſon was authorized to make out titles to the preſent poſſeſſors at ſix-pence in the pound value of all rents of real eſtates, as quit-rents; and the unoccupied lands were to remain to himſelf. A court of record was alſo conſtituted, to try and determine all cauſes; reſerving an appeal home when the value was 50 *l.* ſterling and upward.

Before this time there had been no power of government granted for the territory of New Hampſhire; for it ſhould be obſerved, that the old townſhips of Portſmouth, Hampton, and Dover, were grants of the Maſſachuſets Bay aſſembly.

King Charles II. on the 9th of May 1682, appointed Edward Cranfield, Eſq. lieutenant-governor; and his Majeſty in council farther inhi-

bited the Maſſachuſets Bay government from any juriſdiction in Mr. Maſon's property.

When the crown was endeavouring to reaſſume all charters and patents, the people of New Hampſhire made another formal ſurrender of juriſdiction to the crown, and Mr. Cranfield was appointed governor in 1684; but he ſoon went to Barbadoes, and lieutenant-governor Uſher had the adminiſtration.

The crown recommended the caſe of Mr. Maſon the patentee, who came over to New Hampſhire, and brought writs of ejectment againſt Mr. Waldron, and about thirty others of the principal inhabitants, againſt whom he recovered judgment; but was oppoſed in the execution. Mr. Maſon alſo brought an ejectment againſt William Vaughan, Eſq. and recovered judgment: but Mr. Vaughan appealed to the King in council, who diſmiſſed the appeal, and confirmed the former judgment with coſts againſt the appellant.

Mr. Maſon deſpaired of any accommodation with the people, who threatened his life; upon which he returned to England, where he ſoon after died, leaving two ſons John and Robert Tufton Maſon, who, on the 27th of April 1691, conveyed all their right to lands in New England to Samuel Allen, Eſq. of London.

Colonel Samuel Allen, on the firſt of March 1692, was appointed governor of New Hampſhire, and his commiſſion was from three miles north of Merrimack River to Piſcataqua River, and the other recited bounds. In 1700, Colonel Allen came over to New Hampſhire to proſecute his claim, and found there were twenty-four leaves torn out of the records, which contained the former judgments of ejectment obtained by Mr. Maſon.

Mr. Allen entered new writs of ejectment againſt Mr. Waldron and others; but the juries brought in their verdicts for the defendants with coſts: the King in council diſmiſſed his appeal without coſts, becauſe he had not brought proof of Mr. Maſon's poſſeſſion; but he was allowed to begin *de novo*.

Colonel Allen petitioned Queen Anne to be put in poſſeſſion of the waſte lands, and the petition was referred to the board of trade and plantations: their lordſhips adviſed with Sir Edward Northey, then attorney-general, who reported, that "Her Majeſty might ſafely put him in

poſſeſſion of the unimproved land; but where the inhabitants had poſſeſſion he might bring his writs of ejectment."

Mr. Dudley was then governor of the Maſſachuſets, and alſo of New Hampſhire, by two diſtinct commiſſions; and an order was ſent to him to put Colonel Allen in poſſeſſion of the waſte lands; but for land improved, he was to bring writs of ejectment; and when the trials came on, Governor Dudley was deſired to go into court and demand a ſpecial verdict. Accordingly, upon a trial of ejectment againſt Waldron, Governor Dudley had notice to attend, which he neglected, and the defendants obtained coſts of ſuit. Colonel Allen appealed to the crown, but died before the appeal was proſecuted, leaving one ſon and four daughters. His ſon Thomas ſucceeded him in theſe claims, and was caſt in his writs of ejectment with coſts. A ſpecial verdict had been refuſed; but he made an appeal, and died before it could be heard, leaving two ſons and one daughter, all infants.

To cut off the claim of Mr. Allen's heirs to waſte lands, the government of the province made a grant thereof, by the name of Kingſwood, to about ſixty of their principal inhabitants, that there might remain no waſte lands in Mr. Maſon's grant.

There were alſo ſome very large private claims from Indian grants, where both the colonies of Maſſachuſets Bay and New Hampſhire were ſuppoſed to be concerned in property as well as in juriſdiction. In 1629, the chiefs of the Indians in Merrimack River ſold to John Wheelwright and others of the Maſſachuſets Bay colony, all that land beginning "at the end of twenty miles north-weſt from Patucket falls, and thence running a north-eaſt line to interſect Merrimack and Piſcataqua Rivers, and theſe two rivers to be the bounds of it, from that line to the ſea." This, together with other lands, included all the late province of New Hampſhire; and the claim was revived by Mr. Cook and others in 1720, when ſome Iriſh Preſbyterians petitioned both the aſſemblies of Maſſachuſets Bay and of New Hampſhire, for a ſettlement or townſhip of lands. Theſe emigrants ſettled upon part of theſe lands by charter or grant from the governor and council of New Hampſhire; and their townſhip, which was formerly Nutfield, is now called Londonderry. This townſhip lies a few miles eaſt of Patucket falls, and is in a flouriſhing condition; becauſe the inhabitants are remarkable for their induſtry, and particularly they excel in the manufacture of linen cloth.

In

In 1683, a large tract of land called "the Million Purchaſe," on both ſides of Merrimack, above Souhagen River, was granted by the Sachems of the Weymaſet or Lower River Indians, and the Penycook or Upper River Indians, to Jonathan Tyng of Dunſtable, for valuable conſiderations. This land extended upon the weſt ſide of Merrimack River, from the mouth of Souhagen River, where it falls into Merrimack River, ſix miles and a half up the former; thence ten miles north-weſtward, and in a direct line from the northward as far as the moſt ſoutherly end of the great pond, commonly called Wenapeſioche Lake. Theſe lands were conveyed in ſeveral parcels, and at different times, to certain perſons, by transfers in 1684, 1685, and 1686; of which transfers ſome were acknowledged before the magiſtrates of the old colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, and ſome before the commiſſioners appointed by James II. Theſe conveyances and transfers were confirmed by Mr. Maſon in 1686, ſo far as fell within the royal grant of New Hampſhire, at a quit-rent of ten ſhillings ſterling a year; upon which the whole was divided into twenty ſhares, with no benefit of ſurvivorſhip; to be divided as ſoon as might be, and each ſhare to conſiſt of five thouſand acres. Theſe grants and regulations were alſo confirmed in 1686, by the royal commiſſioners; with an addition of the townſhips of Concord, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaſter, Stowe, Dunſtable, and twelve miles more of land. This claim was revived in 1748.

A diſpute aroſe which continued ſeveral years, concerning the ſouth boundary of Maſſachuſets Bay colony with New Hampſhire, but, in 1731, the general-aſſembly of New Hampſhire appointed Mr. Ridge, their agent, to ſolicit at home for their boundaries with Maſſachuſets Bay. The petition was preſented in 1733; and, on the 5th of January 1734, the board of trade and plantations ſent to the attorney and ſolicitor-general this queſtion; "From what part of Merrimack River, the three miles limitation ought to be taken?" On the 19th of March, the report was, "From three miles north of the mouth of Merrimack River." On the 9th of April 1737, a commiſſion under the great ſeal was iſſued, by the conſent of both parties, to ſome gentlemen of the councils in the neighbouring provinces to hear and decide the affair. The commiſſioners met at Hampton in New Hampſhire, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and gave their determination on the 2d of September. Both parties appealed to the King in council, and the commiſſioners adjourned themſelves to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1738, to receive the royal pleaſure. The appeals were heard before a committee of the privy council, on the 5th of March 1739; and afterward their report was heard before the King in council, where the matter was finally determined: conformably to this determination the

lines were run by the province of New Hampſhire, *ex parte*; becauſe the Maſſachuſets Bay government refuſed to join in the ſurvey. The line between New Hampſhire and the province of Main was drawn by Mr. Bryant: the line parallel with, and at three miles diſtance, on the north ſide, from the River Merrimack, by Mr. Mitchel: and the line from Patucket falls to New York eaſt line, by Mr. Hagen Hazen. Theſe lines, or ſurveys, were lodged with the records of both provinces in May 1741.

Mr. Mitchel's line, parallel with Merrimack River, begins at three miles north of a black rock, to Patucket ſtation, by compaſs twenty-ſeven miles. This parallel line paſſes through and cuts off part of the following townſhips of Maſſachuſets Bay government; Saliſbury, Ameſbury, Haverhill, Methuen, Dracut, and Nottingham. The colony of Maſſachuſets Bay had extended theſe townſhips beyond the three miles north of Merrimack, not ſo much upon account of their having aſſumed the juriſdiction of that country, at the time of granting theſe townſhips, but chiefly becauſe they were Indian grants to Maſſachuſets people.

Mr. Hazen's line from Patucket ſtation, three miles eaſt of Merrimack River, runs weſt by compaſs to cut Connecticut River, one mile and three quarters north of Northfield meeting-houſe, and about ten miles ſouth of Fort Dummer, about fifty-three miles; thence to New York line twenty miles eaſt from Hudſon's River, about thirty-ſix miles; in all about ninety miles: the line continued falls in with Hudſon's River ſix miles above Albany church, and a little below the mouth of Mohawks River. This line paſſes through and takes off from the Maſſachuſets Bay juriſdiction ſome parts of the following townſhips and lands; Dunſtable, Groton, Townſend, Ipſwich new townſhip, Canada to Rowley, ſome province vacant lands, Canada to Sylveſter and others, Canada to Roxbury, Wincheſter, Northfield, Fall-fight townſhip, Boſton New Townſhip, and Province vacant lands, to New York eaſt line.

Theſe lands are now veſted in the crown; but by an order of the King in council, in 1744, it was directed, that "if the government of New Hampſhire did not provide for Fort Dummer, there would be a neceſſity for returning that fort, with a proper contiguous diſtrict, to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay," whoſe governor for many years was alſo governor of New Hampſhire, with a diſtinct commiſſion. At laſt, the aſſembly of New Hampſhire entered a complaint to the King in council againſt the joint governor of that time, in relation to the caſe of ſettling the

the boundaries between the two provinces; therefore, in 1740, a ſeparate governor was commiſſioned for New Hampſhire: but it has been ſaid that this is too diminutive for a diſtinct government, as the numbers of its people, and the value of their commerce, are inſignificant.

This province makes only one county or ſhire; which, in 1742, contained about ſix thouſand rateable whites, and about five hundred negroes or ſlaves. Mr. Arthur Brown, miſſionary at Portſmouth in this province, on the 27th of October 1738, wrote to the Society for propogating the Goſpel, that "his pariſh was in a flouriſhing condition; the number of communicants was fifty-two; and ſince his laſt he had baptized ſeventeen infants in the preceding half year." But, in 1741, he informed the Society, that "there were in New Hampſhire about fifty or ſixty families of the church of England, and the reſt were Independents; for they had no Quakers, Baptiſts, Separatiſts, Heathens, or Infidels, among them."

The printed law book of this colony begins the 8th of July 1696.

Mr. Uſher, Mr. Partridge, Mr. Vaughan, and Mr. John Wentworth, were ſucceſſively lieutenant-governors, under the reſpective governors of the Maſſachuſets Bay. Mr. Wentworth was appointed lieutenant governor in 1717, and died on the 12th of December 1730. He was ſucceeded by Colonel Dunbar, who arrived in July 1731, both as lieutenant-governor of New Hampſhire, and alſo ſurveyor-general of the woods in North America, with four deputy-ſurveyors, principally to prevent the waſte of the maſting trees: but, in 1743, he relinquiſhed thoſe poſts, and was made governor of St. Helena by the Directors of the Eaſt India Company.

In July 1741, Benning Wentworth, Eſq. was appointed governor in chief of New Hampſhire, where the complement of counſellors is ten; but when much deficient, the governor may appoint *pro tempore*. The new grants of lands or townſhips are not from the repreſentatives of the collective body of the people, but by the governor and council, purſuant to his commiſſion and inſtructions, at a certain nominal quit-rent; as Londonderry to pay yearly one buſhel of potatoes when required.

The members of the houſe of repreſentatives are elected for the ſeveral townſhips and diſtricts in the following proportion:

3 from

3	from Portſmouth,	1	from Newington,
3	Dover,	1	Newmarket,
2	Hampton,	1	Streatham,
2	Exeter,	1	Greenland,
2	Newcaſtle and Rye,	1	Londonderry,
1	Kingſton,	1	Durham,
1	Hampton-falls,		

The juries are returned by the ſheriff; and the courts of judicature, beſide the authority of a juſtice of the peace, and a bench of juſtices, are as following:

The general ſeſſions of the peace held quarterly.

Inferior courts of common-pleas held four times a year: theſe courts conſiſt of four judges, whereof three make a quorum.

A ſuperior court of judicature or common-pleas held twice a year: it conſiſts of a chief judge and three other judges, of whom three are a quorum. From thence are allowed appeals to the governor and council; or to a court of appeals in caſes where the value in diſpute exceed one hundred pounds ſterling; and to the King in council, where the real value of the thing in difference exceeds three hundred pounds ſterling.

Courts of Oyer and Terminer, aſſizes, or general gaol delivery, are eſpecially appointed by the governor and council.

A court of equity, ſuſtained by the governor and council, by way of appeal from the inferior courts, without any new proceſs; but either party may bring new evidence: and from thence appeal may lie to the King in council.

The officers of the court of probates are appointed by the governor and council, to whom an appeal may lie.

The ſame judge of vice-admiralty and other officers, ſerve for Maſſachuſets Bay, Rhode Iſland, and New Hampſhire.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Produce, trade, and navigation. Miſcellaneous obſervations. Of Sagadahock territory; and of the province of Main. General remarks.

THEIR produce is proviſions, but ſcarcely ſufficient for their own conſumption; maſts, timber, deal-boards, joiſts, ſtaves, hoops, ſhingles, and clap-boards; as alſo ſome dry cod-fiſh.

Their manufactures are ſhip-building, and ſome men of war have been built there. Some bar-iron has been made in the province; but the noted iron-works on Lamper-eel River were only bloomeries of bog or ſwamp-ore; and theſe works were ſoon diſcontinued. They never made any conſiderable quantity of bar-iron; becauſe they wanted water in the drought of Summer and in the hard froſts of Winter; and their ore became ſcarce.

In this province there is only one collection or cuſtom-houſe, kept at Portſmouth.

Their exciſe upon ſtrong liquors may amount to about a thouſand pounds old tenor a year; and this with a thouſand pounds old tenor, the intereſt of loan money *per annum*, was the ſalary of their governor.

In New Hampſhire, as in Maſſachuſets Bay, there are two ſorts of licences for ſelling ſtrong liquors. 1. A licence to keep an open tavern. 2. A licence to retail liquors out of doors only. This liberty or licence is firſt to be obtained of the ſelect-men of the townſhip, and afterward to be confirmed in their quarter ſeſſions by the juſtices of the peace.

Mr. David Thompſon, in 1623, attempted a ſettlement at Piſcataqua, now called New Hampſhire; but it ſoon vaniſhed, and the very memory of it is loſt.

In New Hampſhire, and the province of Main, are much good ſhip-timber and maſting trees; but there are not much of either in the Duke of York's grant, called Sagadahock. The tree of life of New England, is by miſtake called Savine; and all the apple-trees here are exotics.

The right merchantable hoops are from the ſaplins of white oak and of hickory; but white oak is the beſt. Staves for tight caſks are from the white oak; but red oak ſtaves are uſed for molaſſes and dry caſks. One thouſand ſtaves make from thirty to thirty-five hogſheads, of one hundred gallons each.

Clearing a new country of wood does not render the Winter more moderate; but conduces to its being more healthful. In middling climates, timber or wood is generally ſpungy or light by alternate relaxations and bracings from heats and colds, conſequently of no long duration or good uſe; and thus it is from New England to North Carolina, but in the northern provinces the timber is ſolid and heavy, fit for permanent conſtruction, as in New England, Nova Scotia, and Canada: yet farther north the timber is too ſmall, ſhrubby, and gnarly. In the hot countries, however, are many ſpecies of hard wood, of ſlow growth, good for wainſcotting and other joiners work.

The ſeaſons are uncertain in New England, where in an open Winter the ſap riſes too ſoon, and a ſubſequent hard froſt makes the bark ſplit and peel off; thus the fruit trees particulary ſuffer at times.

There are ſeveral good acts of the Britiſh parliament, and of the legiſlatures of the ſeveral colonies, relative to the ſeaſons and times of falling of timber; as alſo concerning the proper ſeaſons of killing thoſe animals that afford furs, ſkins, and hides; but theſe acts are little regarded, and ſeldom put in execution.

Miſunderſtandings with the Indians are a great hindrance to the coloniſts in their timber and lumber trade; therefore the Indians ought to be awed by ſome forts at proper diſtances upon the interior frontiers; kept in a reſpectful condition by the appearance of ſome military force; and enticed by proper aſſortments of goods to carry on a trade.

The premiums are,

For maſts, yards, bowſprits, per ton of forty feet, girt meaſure	——	——				*l.* 1	*s.* 0	*d.* 0
Merchantable tars eight barrels	——	——				2	4	0
Green tar	Ditto	——	——			4	0	0
Pitch	Ditto	——	——	——		1	0	0
Turpentine	Ditto	——	——			1	10	0

There muſt be a plantation certificate that they are the growth or produce of

of the colonies; and upon landing, the pre-emption to be offered to the commiſſioners of the navy: but if the commiſſioners do not contract for the ſame twenty days after landing, the owners may diſpoſe of them at pleaſure, and receive the premium.

In the woods of New England is a great variety of flowering ſhrubs; but few of them flower in Winter, the moſt valuable qualification for a flowering ſhrub. There is no author who has wrote tolerably well concerning the natural hiſtory of New England. Mr. Joſſelyn arrived at Boſton in 1663, and continued there ſome years: he publiſhed a book at London in 1672, intitled, "Eight years obſervations," as a natural hiſtory of the country; but it abounds with groſs miſtakes; for inſtance, he ſays, "In New England are no woodcocks, nor any quails;" whereas they are very plenty there.

Of Sagadahock; and the Province of Main.

King Charles II. on the 12th of March 1663-4, granted to his brother the Duke of York, a certain territory or tract of land, thus deſcribed: "All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, adjoining to New Scotland in America; and from thence extending along the ſea-coaſt, unto a certain place called Pemaquin or Pemaquid, and ſo up the river thereof, to the fartheſt head of the ſame, as it tendeth northward, and extending from thence to the River of Quenebeck, and ſo up the ſhorteſt courſe to the River of Canada northward." This was called "The Duke of York's property," and annexed to the government of New York; but upon the abdication of King James II. theſe lands reverted to the crown.

At preſent the territory of Sagadahock is ſuppoſed to extend from the River of St. Croix eaſtward to the River Kenebeck weſtward, and from each of theſe two rivers due north to the River of St. Lawrence: thus St. Lawrence or Canada River is its northern boundary, and the Atlantic Ocean is its ſouthern boundary. When Nova Scotia was in poſſeſſion of the French, Sagadahock territory was included in the commiſſion of the French governor of L'Acadie; and thus it was in the time of granting a new royal charter to Maſſachuſets Bay in 1691; therefore to keep up the Engliſh claim to this territory, as well as to Nova Scotia, the juriſdiction of both were included in that charter.

Upon the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Nova Scotia and Sagadahock were relinquiſhed by France to Great Britain, whoſe government reaſſumed the juriſdiction of Nova Scotia, which became a royal government, with the property in the crown: but this territory of Sagadahock remains in the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets Bay, and ſends one member to the council. The general-aſſembly cannot diſpoſe of lands there, without the conſent of the King in council: but the property of peculiar grants remain good to the ſeveral claimers, until the crown ſhall purchaſe the ſame, as was the caſe in Nova Scotia.

Colonel Dunbar projected Sagadahock territory to be ſet off as a ſeparate government for himſelf; which was introduced by obtaining a royal inſtruction to ſet off 300,000 acres of good maſt and ſhip-timber land for the uſe of the crown or navy. The lands were taken poſſeſſion of for that purpoſe, in 1730, by Colonel Phillips governor of Nova Scotia: but upon application at home of the Muſcongus company, proprietors in part of Sagadahock, this inſtruction was revoked in 1732, and at preſent it is annexed to the county of York or province of Main.

In the reign of King James I. Sir Ferdinando Gorge, preſident of the council of Plymouth, and Captain Maſon, had ſeveral grants from Neumkeag River, which divides the preſent towns of Beverley and Salem, to Sagadahock or Kenebeck River; which were afterward altered into the grants of the province of Main, and of New Hampſhire, as at preſent.

In this territory of Main, whoſe boundaries have been before deſcribed, there are ſome private purchaſes from the Indians, which the proprietor-general, the aſſembly of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, appear not to diſpute. For inſtance, in 1683, Mr. Wharton, a merchant in Boſton, purchaſed of ſix ſagamores about 500,000 acres called the Pegepſcot purchaſe, bounded five miles weſt from Pegepſcot River, by a line running at five miles diſtance parallel with the river, to a certain fall in that river, and thence north-eaſt about forty-four miles in a ſtrait line to Kennebeck River: it includes the eaſtern diviſions of Nahumken purchaſe, and of Plymouth purchaſe; which latter extend fifteen miles on each ſide of Kennebeck River. Mr. Wharton died inſolvent, and his adminiſtrator ſold this purchaſe, in 1714, for about one hundred pounds New England currency, to eight proprietors, among whom were Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Hutchinſon. It is bounded ſouth-weſterly by North Yarmouth, which takes in a ſmall part of this grant at Small Point: but George Town, Brunſwick, and Jopſham are in this grant.

Prior

Prior to the Maſſachuſets Bay purchaſes, the ſettlers in the province of Main never had any other protection, but that of the colony of the Maſſachuſets. It was ordered by the King in council, in 1679, that the Maſſachuſets Bay government, upon the reimburſement of one thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling paid to Gorge's heirs for the province of Main, ſhould ſurrender it to the crown, as the purchaſe was made without the permiſſion of his Majeſty; but the new charter of Maſſachuſets Bay put an end to that and all other pretended claims.

The militia which ſerved for the province of Main in 1744, were 2485 men.

The contents of the province of Main are about 9600 ſquare miles.

In the territory of Sagadahock, the ſoil is not bad: there is not much good ſhip timber, but ſome white pine for maſts. Moſt of the grants and conveyances in this territory, are not to be found upon record; which occaſions great confuſion in claims.

As to the geographical deſcription of this country, it may be obſerved, that the remarkable mountains and hills in the province of Main are as following. 1. The white-hills, or rather mountains, inland about ſeventy miles north from the mouth of Piſcataqua harbour, about ſeven miles weſt by north from the head of the Pigwoket branch of Saco River. They are called white, not from their being continually covered with ſnow; but becauſe their ſummits are bald, producing no trees or bruſh, and covered with a whitiſh ſtone. Theſe hills may be obſerved at a great diſtance, and are a conſiderable guide or direction to the Indians in travelling that country. 2. The Pigwoket-hills, at a little diſtance from the white-hills, to which they are much inferior, and ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned. 3. Aquimanticus-hills, about eight miles inland, and in the townſhip of York, are well known among ſailors, as they are a very uſeful landmark for veſſels that fall in northward of Boſton or Maſſachuſets Bay.

Along this coaſt are many harbours, commodious for ſmall craft in lading of lumber and fire-wood for Boſton: but Caſco Bay is a large, good, and ſafe harbour or road for veſſels of any burden, as it is ſheltered by ſeveral iſlands; and here ſome of the contract ſhips take in their lading for maſts.

The principal rivers are, 1. The Kenebeck, or Quenebeck, and its mouth called Sagadahock, which divides the province of Main from the old Briſtol purchaſe of Pemaquid. From the entrance of Sagadahock to Merry-meeting Bay are eighteen miles; thence to Richmond Fort and from the Truck-houſe, near the mouth of Kennebeck River, are twelve miles: from this place to the firſt falls, though only a ripling called Caſhnock Falls, are eighteen milles; thence to Taconick Falls are eighteen miles; and thus from the mouth of Sagadahock to Naridgwoag are about 106 miles; there Indians go much higher up the river, with their canoes, in travelling to Quebeck; but they are now reduced to an inconſiderable number; though formerly, with their French miſſionaries, they were very troubleſome to the Engliſh ſettlements. 2. Ameraſcogin River, which is particularly noted for plenty of good ſturgeon: up this river was a tribe of Indians, who are now extinct; and near the mouth of it is Brunſwick Fort. 3. Saco River, which riſes above thirty miles north of Piſcataqua Harbour; and its conſiderable branches are Pigwacket River, whoſe Indians are now of no conſequence. At the mouth of Saco River is Winter Harbour, ſo called from Mr. Winter, who had a farm there. This river is not navigable any conſiderable way to the falls for veſſels of little burden; but here are truck-houſes and a fort. 4. Manſons River comes from ſome ponds about forty miles above Piſcataqua harbour; and falls into the ſea at the townſhip of Wells. 5. Piſcataqua River, which divides New Hampſhire from Main for the ſpace of forty miles: from the mouth of this river or harbour to the inlet of Exeter Bay are about ten miles; thence to the mouth of Catecheco River, which comes from the weſt north-weſt, are five miles; and from this upward, the Piſcataqua is called Newichawanock River; but higher it is called Salmon Falls River.

The ſmall rivers, or runs of water, and of ſhort courſe, are many; particularly, Recompence River; Royal's River, running through Cape Anne townſhip and North Yarmouth to the ſea; Preſumpſcot River, which comes from Jabago Pond, and runs through Falmouth, where it falls into the ſea; Falmouth River, or Stroud-water of Caſco Bay; Kenebeck River dividing Arundel from Wells; and York River in the townſhip of York.

The geographical parts of the Maſſachuſets Bay have been already deſcribed, as alſo thoſe of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, but what relates to the old colony of Plymouth was omitted, and ought to be inſerted here. There are no remarkable mountains or high hills; but the moſt conſiderable harbours are, 1. Plymouth Bay, of ſhallow water, but a conſequential

conſequential trade to the Weſt Indies: it is a branch of Boſton collection, at the diſtance of forty miles. Three ſmall rivulets, called Jons, Herrings, and Eel Rivers, fall into this Bay. 2. Cape Cod Harbour, of ſafe and deep water; but from the hook or flexure, and conſequently different courſes, veſſels get out to ſea with difficulty; nor is it a ſea-port, or place of trade. This Cape, by its particular form, and the ſtretching far into the ſea, becomes a ſnare for itinerant or paſſenger fiſh; ſuch as Whales, Herrings, Mackarel and others. The tide flows within the Cape about twenty feet; but on the back of it is only five or ſix feet.

The ſmaller inlets, or harbours, from the diſcharge of rivulets, are many; but all the harbours from Scituate to Cape Cod are ſhallow, becauſe of a ſandy ſlow ſlope of the ſhore; and the inland runs are ſhort and ſmall, incapable of making channels. In Sandwich is Mill River: in Barnſtaple is a ſmall inlet, and another in Yarmouth. In Harwich is the harbour called Point of Rocks, which is not ſafe. In Eaſtham is Stage Harbour; as alſo Billingſgate, the beſt of theſe ſmall harbours. 2. Upon the outſide of Cape Cod, is the head of Pamet, no proper harbour, as ſometimes high tides have paſſed over the meadows in Truro from ſea to ſea. Sandy Point, or Monymoy in Chatham, is a good harbour for ſmall veſſels, but the bar ſhifts. Baſs River in Yarmouth. Hyanaes in Barnſtaple, is much uſed, as it is the beſt of theſe harbours. Oſler Bay in Barnſtaple. Falmouth Bay. Woods Hole or Cove, called Soconoſſet, where is a ferry of about a mile to Elizabeth Great Iſland, and of about three leagues to Martha's Vineyard. Along this ſhore is a bar, at about the diſtance of half a mile, with ſmall inlets; and there is water of ſome fathoms within the bar. 3. In Buzzard's Bay are ſeveral good creeks, as Agawam, Wagwagantit, Sipacan, Matapoiſſet, Accuſhnot, Polyganſet, and Coaxit.

The Capes, Headlands, or Promontories are, 1. The Gurnet Head, which is the north point of Plymouth Bay; and lies within ſeven leagues ſouth-weſt of Cape Cod. 2. Cape Cod, about eighteen leagues, ſouth-weſt from Boſton, in 42°. 10′ of north latitude: this is a narrow long promontory ſtretching into the ſea; and from the pitch of the Cape to Buzzard's Bay may extend upward of ſixty miles, which, with a medium breadth of ſix miles, makes about 230,000 acres, called the county of Barnſtaple, containing the townſhips of Falmouth, Sandwich, Barnſtaple, Yarmouth, Harwich, Chatham, Eaſtham, Truro, and Province Town. 3. Sandy Point, about ten leagues north from the Iſland of Nantucket: but in the charter it is called Cape Malabar.

The

The principal rivers in old Plymouth Colony are, 1 North River, which divides Scituate from Marſhfield: it has deep water; but as the entrance is rocky, veſſels cannot put in there in ſtormy weather. The tide flows about ten miles up this river, where ſhips and other veſſels are advantageouſly built. 2. Taunton River, in which good ſhips are built. 3. Patucket or Blackſtone, formerly Nipmug River, is navigable from Rhode Iſland boundary, at Bullock's Neck, ten miles to Patucket Falls; and in Rehoboth, or Jeaconick, ſome good veſſels are built.

The late Plymouth Colony contained about 1,254,000 acres; but now there are no vacant or colony lands. The old ſea line was about 220 miles: the ſea-line of the Province of Main is about eighty miles; of New Hampſhire, twenty miles; of old Maſſachuſets, eighty miles; of Rhode Iſland, ſixty miles; and of Connecticut, one hundred and forty miles.

As to the iſlands near Cape Cod, the principal are, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Iſlands.

1. The north ſide of Nantucket, or the town of Sherborn, is about ten leagues from the main land. The iſland contains about 23,000 acres, or ſix miles ſquare. Beach included, it is in twenty-ſeven proprietorſhips; but all in common, excepting forty acres of home lots to each proprietorſhip, and every one of thoſe may keep 560 ſheep. It is a county of itſelf, inhabited by induſtrious people, who cure dry cod-fiſh, but whaling is their principal buſineſs. In 1744, they had about forty ſloops and ſchooners in the Whale fiſhery, of thirteen men to a veſſel: they made from 7000 to 10,000 barrels of Whale-oil a year. In this Iſland are about nine hundred Indians, who are of great uſe in the fiſhery.

2. Martha's Vineyard is about eight leagues weſt from Nantucket, and three leagues ſouth from Wood's Hole in Falmouth upon the Main: it is about twenty miles in length, and the eaſt-end is about eight miles in breadth, but tapers away to Gay Head, at the weſt-end, where it is three miles wide. A great part of the iſland is very barren, being heaths and pine-land. The townſhips are, Edgar Town, Tilbury, and Chilmark; which contain about two hundred men capable of bearing arms, and about four hundred and fifty Indians. With the Elizabeth Iſlands it makes Duke's Country: but before the Maſſachuſets Bay new charter, all theſe iſlands belonged to the government of New York; and the

the receiver of the quit-rents of New York made demands of the old arrears of their quit-rents.

3. Elizabeth's Iſlands lie in a range, ſouth-weſt, half way between Martha's Vineyard, and the ſhore of Buzzard Bay, which bay they form. The largeſt iſland is one mile from Wood's Hole on the Main, and is about eight miles in length, but very narrow: it is called Naſhawn Iſland; and the others are, Tinker's Iſland, Slocum's Iſland, and the Iſlands of Cattetrunk.

In general, the neareſt eſtimate that can be made of the people in New England is as follows:

Maſſachuſets Bay,	200,000
Connecticut,	100,000
Rhode Iſland,	30,000
New Hampſhire,	24,000
	354,000

One-fourth part of theſe are 90,000 men capable of bearing arms, and one-fifth is 70,000 men fit to march; a force ſufficient to protect themſelves againſt all foreign enemies.

The Maſſachuſets Colony is ſuperior to the reſt in opulence, trade and number of inhabitants; its principal town being Boſton; that of Connecticut is New London; of Rhode Iſland, Newport; and of New Hampſhire, Portſmouth. They employ five hundred ſail of ſhips, with four thouſand ſeamen, annually, in their trade to Great Britain and the ſugar colonies: and the imports from Great Britain and Ireland have been computed at 300,000 *l.* a year.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK III.

The Hiſtory of the Province of NEW YORK.

CHAP. I.

Situation of the Colony; its origin and conqueſt from the Dutch; ſucceſſion of governors, including a general hiſtory of the province.

THE firſt bounds of New York, when it was called Nova Belgia, were, Maryland on the ſouth; the main land, as far as it could be diſcovered weſtward, which would extend to the nations bordering on the Miſſiſſippi; the river of St. Lawrence northward; and New England weſtward: ſo that in thoſe times, all the country from Maryland to New England was called Nova Belgia or New Netherlands, which included the Jerſeys, and part of Pennſylvania; but it was reduced into a much narrower compaſs when it was conquered and ſettled by the Engliſh in the reign of King Charles II. who made a grant of it to his brother the Duke of York.

The province of New York, at preſent, contains Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, and the lands on the eaſt ſide of Hudſon's River to the bounds of Connecticut. From the diviſion line between that colony and the Maſſachuſets Bay, northward to the old French line, the province of New York claimed an extent to Connecticut River. On the weſt ſide of Hud-

ſon's River, from the ſea to the latitude of 41° lies New Jerſey; but the line of partition between that province and this, from that latitude to the other ſtation on Delaware, is unſettled. From thence, whereſoever it may be fixed, the province of New York claims all the lands on the eaſt ſide of Delaware to the north line of Pennſylvania; and all the territory on both ſides of the Mohawks River, and weſtward to the Iſthmus at Niagara: in ſhort, all the country belonging to the crown of Great Britain, not already granted; for it has been ſaid, "that we are to conſider New York among her ſiſter colonies, to borrow a law phraſe, as a reſiduary legatee." And "hence," ſays the ſame author, "we have from the beginning been expoſed to controverſies about limits. The New Jerſey claim includes ſeveral hundred thouſand acres, and has not a little impeded the ſettlement of the colony. The diſpute with the Maſſachuſets Bay is ſtill more important; and, for ſeveral years paſt, occaſioned very conſiderable commotions. The New Hampſhire pretenſions have, as yet, expoſed us to no great trouble. But when all thoſe claims are ſettled, a new controverſy will probably commence with the proprietaries of Pennſylvania *."

The Swedes and Finlanders ſeem to have been the firſt occupiers of ſome parts of that extenſive country, afterwards called Nova Belgia by the Dutch. The Swedes eſtabliſhed ſettlements on both ſides of Delaware River; built ſome towns, and erected ſeveral forts, particularly Elſenburgh and Caſimir, now called Newcaſtle. But Captain Henry Hudſon, an Engliſhman, in 1608, diſcovered Long Iſland, the adjacent continent, and the river which ſtill retains his name. He afterward communicated the diſcovery to the Dutch, who made him a compenſation for it. The Dutch writers contend, that Hudſon was ſent out by the Eaſt India company in 1609, to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to China, and that having firſt diſcovered Delaware Bay, he came hither, and penetrated up Hudſon's River as far as the latitude of 43°. It is ſaid, however, that there was a ſale, and that the Engliſh objected to it, though they neglected to oppoſe the Dutch ſettlement for ſome time.

Captain Hudſon, in 1610, ſailed again from Holland to this country, to which the Dutch had then given the name of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands; and four years after, the States General granted a patent to ſome merchants for an excluſive trade on the north river, now Hudſon's River; who, in 1614, built a fort on the weſt ſide, near Albany, which was firſt commanded by Henry Chriſtiaens. Sir Samuel Argol, in the

* See "The Hiſtory of the Province of New York, from the firſt Diſcovery to the Year 1732. By William Smith, M. A." Publiſhed at London in 4to in 1757.

ſame year, was ſent out by Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, to diſpoſſeſs the French of the towns of Port Royal and St. Croix, lying on each ſide of the Bay of Fundy in Acadia, then claimed as part of Virginia: and in his return he viſited the Dutch on Hudſon's River, who, being unable to reſiſt him, prudently ſubmitted to the Engliſh government. The next year, however, the Dutch erected a fort on the ſouth-weſt point of the iſland Manhattans, and two others in 1623; one called Good Hope, on Connecticut River *, and the other Naſſau, on the eaſt-ſide of Delaware Bay. The Dutch writers pretend, that they purchaſed the lands on both ſides of that river in 1632, before the Engliſh were ſettled in thoſe parts; and that they diſcovered a little freſh river farther to the eaſt, called Varſche Riviertie, to diſtinguiſh it from Connecticut River, known among them by the name of Varſche Rivier, which was alſo claimed by the Dutch, who were determined upon the ſettlement of a colony; and therefore the States General, in 1621, made a grant of the country to the Weſt India company.

Wouter Van Twiller arrived at Fort Amſterdam, now New York, and took upon himſelf the government in June 1629. His ſtile, in the patents granted by him, was thus; "We, director and council, reſiding in New Netherland, on the Iſland Manhattans, under the government of their High Mightineſſes the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged Weſt India company." In his time, the planters of New England extended their poſſeſſion weſtward as far as Connecticut River, which was proteſted againſt by the Dutch.

William Kieft appears firſt as governor in 1638, when a prohibition was iſſued againſt the Engliſh trade at Fort Good Hope; and ſhortly after an order of council was made for ſending more forces there to maintain the Dutch territories. The Dutch writers, however, are not agreed in the extent of Nova Belgia or New Netherland: ſome deſcribe it to be from Virginia to Canada; and others ſay, that the arms of the States General were erected at Cape Cod, Connecticut, and Hudſon's Bay, and on the weſt ſide of the entrance into Delawar Bay: but one of their ancient authorities gives Canada River for a boundary on the north; and calls that part of the country Terra Incognita, which is north-weſt from Albany.

The Engliſh had overſpread the eaſtern part of Long Iſland; and, in 1640, advanced to Oyſter Bay; but Kieft broke up their ſettlement in

* The ſtate of "Nieuw Nederland," printed at Amſterdam in 1651. It contains two deſcriptions of the Dutch poſſeſſions; the one is a copy of that publiſhed by John de Laet at Leyden, and the other gives a ſhort view of the country in 1649.

1642, and fitted out two ſloops to drive the Engliſh out of Schuylkill, of which the Marylanders had lately poſſeſſed themſelves. The inſtructions, dated the 22d of May, to Jan Janſen Alpendam, who commanded in that enterprize, are upon record, and ſtrongly aſſert the right of the Dutch both to the ſoil and trade. The Engliſh from the eaſtward ſhortly after ſent deputies to New Amſterdam for the accommodation of their diſputes about limits, to whom the Dutch offered ſuch conditions as the Engliſh deemed inadmiſſible, and in 1643 formed a deſign to extirpate the Dutch; but the Maſſachuſets Bay declined this enterprize.

Peter Stuyveſant was the laſt Dutch governor; and though he had a commiſſion in 1646, he did not begin his adminiſtration until the 27th of May 1647. The claims upon his government kept him continually employed, with a ſtrict attention to New England on the eaſt, and Maryland on the weſt: but a controverſy, which had long ſubſiſted between the Engliſh of New Haven and the Dutch at the Manhados was ſettled by the commiſſioners of the United Colonies in 1650, in the following manner:

The Dutch, who had built a ſmall trading houſe at Hudſon's River, ſoon after the Engliſh began the ſettlement of New Plymouth, courted a correſpondence and friendſhip with them; and, as a writer of that day obſerves, "gave them a meſs of pottage for their birth-right," of which they had before craftily deprived them *. The Dutch, undoubtedly, had a deſign to have poſſeſſed themſelves of Connecticut River, and to have prevented the Engliſh from obtaining any footing there. Thoſe of New Plymouth had pitched upon a place for a houſe in 1632 †, and erected it in 1633, although they were threatened by a party of Dutch, whom they found there at that time. Thoſe from the Maſſachuſets in 1635 and 1636, made their principal ſettlement upon that part of the river at Hartford, where the Dutch had their houſe; and the Engliſh for many years made no attempts to remove them, but allowed them free liberty of trade; the Dutch alſo admitting any Engliſh to ſettle among them at the Manhados, particularly Mr. Willet, Mr. Baker, and ſeveral other families.

When Mr. Eaton and his company began to ſettle at New Haven, the Dutch were alarmed from the ſwift increaſe of the Engliſh colonies, whom they charged with encroachments, although they had no pretence themſelves to any certain boundary, and would ſometimes challenge the coun-

* Hubbard.

† Mr. Winſlow's Manuſcript Letter to Governor Winthrop, September 1633.

try

try from Cape Henlopen to Connecticut River, and at other times as far as Cape Cod: but the Engliſh, regardleſs of ſuch a claim, proceeded in extending their ſettlements to Milford, Stamford, and other places, until they were within a few miles of Hudſon's River.

Whether the Dutch had any pretence of title or not, no doubt can be made that they would have extirpated the Engliſh if it had been in their power, but they were few in number. Once, indeed, being poſſeſſed of a ſhip of ſome force, they ſent her to New Haven, where they ſeized a veſſel which lay in the harbour, and carried her away. At another time, they ſet up the arms of the States at or near Stamford, and threatened to do the like at New Haven. The Dutch had always reſtrained the Engliſh, not ſettled among them, from trading with their Indians upon Hudſon's River: but in 1648 the Engliſh commiſſioners paſſed an order, prohibiting any French or Dutch, or other foreigners, trading with the Indians in the juriſdiction of the United Colonies; and if this law had been carried into execution, the Dutch trade at Hartford muſt have been totally deſtroyed.

Altercations ſubſiſted ſeveral years between the Dutch governors of New Netherlands and the Engliſh governor of New Haven: but in 1650, while the Engliſh commiſſioners were ſitting at Hartford, the Dutch governor Stuyſevant came there to treat with them, and preſented his propoſals in writing, dated "New Netherlands the 23d of September, N. S." being the day they were delivered. He complained "of the encroachments upon Connecticut River, as well as toward Hudſon's River; of the reception of fugitives; of the law debarring the Dutch from trade with the Indians; as alſo of the Engliſh ſelling them goods too cheap, and thereby ſpoiling the trade." The commiſſioners took notice, that his propoſals were dated at New Netherlands; and refuſed to treat until he altered the name of the place where they were dated. He offered, if the Engliſh would forbear ſtiling the place Hartford, he would deſiſt from ſtiling it New Netherlands, and date his propoſals at Connecticut. They conſented that he ſhould date at Connecticut, but would not give up their own right to date at Hartford.

After ſeveral days ſpent in meſſages from one to the other, the matters in difference were ſubmitted to Mr. Bradſtreet and Mr. Prince, appointed by the commiſſioners; and to Mr. Willet and Mr. Baxter, appointed by the Dutch governor. Their reſult was to be binding to both parties.

The line which was thus ſettled ran northerly only twenty miles, and afterward as the Dutch and New Haven ſhould agree: but this muſt be

be underſtood ſo far as New Haven had juriſdiction. Accordingly, it appears that the Maſſachuſets in 1659 ſo underſtood it, and made a grant of land oppoſite to Fort Aurania, now Albany, upon Hudſon's River; and ſeveral of the principal merchants of the colony were enterprizing a ſettlement and a trade with the Indians, and which probably was laid aſide upon the change of affairs in England; for the country itſelf, a few years after, was recovered from the Dutch, and granted to the duke of York, too powerful a proprietor to contend with as to bounds *.

In 1651 the Dutch built Fort Caſimir, now called Newcaſtle, on Delaware: But the Swedes claimed the country, and Printz, their governor, formally proteſted againſt the works; after which he took the place by ſtratagem, and held it until 1655, when it was retaken by the Dutch, who reduced all the ſettlements belonging to the Swedes.

Hoſtilities began between the Engliſh and Dutch in Europe in 1651: but the Dutch colony of Manhados was in too feeble a ſtate openly to annoy the Engliſh colonies, who then carried on an advantageous trade with the Dutch, and conſidered themſelves to be at liberty to continue in peace with them, notwithſtanding the European war: but in 1653, information was given by the Indians from ſeveral quarters, that the Dutch governor was privately ſoliciting them to a general confederacy, in order totally to extirpate the Engliſh. The maſſacre at Amboyna was then a recent affair, and a general alarm was ſpread through the colonies. An extraordinary meeting of the colonies was called at Boſton on the 19th of April, to conſider of ſeveral rumours gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch had plotted with the Indians, and ſtirred them up to cut off the Engliſh. The reſult of this firſt meeting was, that although the evidence was ſo ſtrong, as that ſome of the commiſſioners looked upon it to be full proof, yet they thought it moſt expedient the Dutch governor ſhould have opportunity of making anſwer; but before any meſſage could be ſent, letters were received from him, denying all that the Indians or any others had charged him with; wondering the Engliſh would give credit to Indian teſtimonies; and offering to come or ſend, or to make anſwer to any deputies which might be ſent to him. It was thought proper to ſend agents to him, who were, Mr. Newman, an aſſiſtant of New Haven, Mr. Leveret, afterward governor of the Maſſachuſets, and Mr. Davis, who carried a letter from the Commiſſioners to the governor, acquainting him, "that he had made uſe of Indian teſtimonies againſt New Haven, in a caſe of land; that his predeceſſor had done it in a caſe of life; and that a Dutch governor and council at Amboyna had made a

* Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of the Maſſachuſets Bay, p. 159. and 514.

bloody

bloody uſe of the Japoneſes confeſſion, though extorted by torture, againſt Captain Towerſon and the Engliſh Chriſtians there:" therefore, the commiſſioners "demanded ſatisfaction for paſt injuries, and ſecurity for the time to come."

While their agents were gone, a letter was wrote by Mr. Hook to Oliver Cromwell, complaining of the Dutch, and intreating his aſſiſtance to puniſh them. The commiſſioners alſo determined what number of men ſhould be raiſed, if war was to be made. The number was to be 500; of whom Captain Leveret was appointed commanding officer.

Notwithſtanding the offer made by the Dutch governor in his letter, he refuſed to ſubmit to any examination into the affair by the agents or commiſſioners, any farther than a committee of his own council ſhould concur with them. The agents took ſeveral depoſitions, and returned to Boſton, where a ſtate of the caſe was drawn up on both ſides *, and referred to the elders, who continued to be conſulted in every affair of importance, while the old charter continued †; and their opinion was, "That the proofs and preſumptions of the execrable plot, tending to the deſtruction of ſo many of the dear ſaints of God, imputed to the Dutch governor and the fiſcal ‡, were of ſuch weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not ſo fully concluſive as to clear up a preſent proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up their hearts with that fulneſs of perſuaſion which was meet, in commending the caſe to God in prayer, and to the people in exhortations; and that it would be ſafeſt for the colonies to forbear the uſe of the ſword; but adviſed to be in a poſture of defence, and readineſs for action, until the mind of God ſhould be more clearly known, either for a ſettled peace or more manifeſt grounds of war." And the deputies, by their vote, expreſſed a concurrence with the elders in their ſentiments.

Letters were received at Boſton from Hartford and New Haven on the 26th of May 1653, adviſing, "That the Dutch governor was endeavouring, by preſents and other methods, to engage the Mohawks and the Indians between Hudſon's River and Delaware to fall upon the Engliſh." But the ſame day a meſſenger arrived from Manhados, with a long letter from the Dutch governor, complaining of encroachments from the Engliſh, and

* By Mr. Eaton for the Engliſh, and by Mr. Denniſon for the Dutch.

† The ſhare they had in temporal affairs added to the weight they had acquired from their ſpiritual employments; and they were in high eſteem. Hutchiſon, p. 181. See vol i.

‡ The principal officer of the public treaſury.

exculpating

exculpating himſelf from any plots or deſigns againſt them, in general terms. The commiſſioners required farther ſatisfaction and ſecurity from him; and the majority of them were for a war: but their proceedings were interrupted by a declaration from the Maſſachuſets, implying, "That no determination of the commiſſioners, though they ſhould all agree, ſhould bind the general court to join in an offenſive war which ſhould appear to ſuch general court to be unjuſt." This declaration occaſioned ſuch difficulties between the general court of the Maſſachuſets, and the commiſſioners of the three other colonies at the next meeting, as threatened a diſſolution of the confederacy, which appears to have been prevented only by the inferiority of the other colonies to the Maſſachuſets, and their inability to ſtand alone.

Oliver Cromwell complied with the requeſt from New Haven, but the ſhips did not arrive at Boſton until the latter end of May, when the governor called the aſſembly, which met the 9th of June, and immediately came into the following reſolution: "The general court having received and peruſed a letter from his Highneſs the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, full of great and favourable reſpect to this colony, which they deſire to keep in grateful remembrance; and ſhall be ready at all times, wherein they may with ſafety to the liberty of their conſciences, public peace and welfare, to their utmoſt to attend to his Highneſs's pleaſure. This court therefore declares, That though they underſtand the colony is not in ſuch a capacity as may be apprehended to ſend forth ſuch numbers of men as might vigorouſly aſſiſt in that undertaking, yet do freely conſent and give liberty to his Highneſs's commiſſioners, Major Robert Sedgewick, and John Captain Leveret, to raiſe within our juriſdiction the number of five hundred volunteers, to aſſiſt them in their enterpriſe againſt the Dutch."

The ſhips had ſo long a paſſage, that advice of the peace with the Dutch, concluded in April 1654, arrived before they could proceed upon the intended hoſtilities.

The Maſſachuſets complied at laſt to extirpate the Dutch, notwithſtanding their former ſcruples concerning the legality of it: but there muſt have been ſome ſingular reaſons which induced them to be ſo backward in joining with the other colonies. They might not foreſee at that time what has happened ſince, "That the neighbourhood of the colonies of different nations would one time or other engage the powers of Europe in their reſpective annoyance and defence." Without this, they had nothing to fear from either Dutch or French, becauſe the Engliſh were

were ten times as numerous as both, and continually increaſing in much greater proportion than either of the other, who could create no formidable apprehenſions from their interior force.

The Dutch took Fort Chriſtina from the Swedes in 1655; upon which Stuyveſant iſſued a proclamation in favour of ſuch of the inhabitants as would ſubmit to the new government; and about thirty Swedes ſwore allegiance to the Dutch, who ſent the reſt to Europe. The Swedes being thus almoſt extirpated, the Dutch became poſſeſſed of the weſt ſide of Delaware Bay, now called the Three Lower Counties in Pennſylvania; which country was afterwards under the command of lieutenant-governors, ſubject to the director-general at New Amſterdam. Johan Paul Jaquet was the firſt vice-director, or lieutenant-governor, of South River. His ſucceſſors were Alricks, Hinojoſſa, and William Beekman, whoſe poſterity remains there to this day. Theſe lieutenants had power to grant lands, and their patents make a part of the ancient titles of the preſent poſſeſſors.

Oliver Cromwell died of a fever on the 3d of September 1658 *, and was ſucceeded as protector by his ſon Richard Cromwell, who ordered inſtructions to be drawn up, and recommendatory letters to be ſent to the Engliſh colonies, for the expulſion of the Dutch from New Netherlands; but this work was reſerved for King Charles II.

In 1659, freſh troubles aroſe from the Maryland claim to the lands on South River; and in 1660, propoſals were made to open a commerce with Virginia. Governor Stuyveſant was a faithful ſervant of the Weſt India company, which is ſufficiently proved by his letters to them, exciting their care of the colony. In one, dated April 20, 1660, which is very long and pathetic, he writes, "Your honours imagine that the troubles in England will prevent any attempt on theſe parts; alas! they are ten to one in number to us, and are able, without any aſſiſtance, to deprive us of the country when they pleaſe."

The Dutch were the firſt who had felt the arms of England after the death of Charles I. and they were now to feel the power of Charles II. who was jealous of the Dutch commercial acquiſitions, and convinced that commerce is the natural ſupport of a maritime ſtate. The king had received the greateſt marks of civility from the Dutch during his exile; but he hated the Louveſtein or ariſtocratic faction,

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 606.

which prevailed in the commonwealth, and deprived the houſe of Orange of its ancient authority. The Duke of York wanted an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in war; and the nation in general, as well as the parliament, were for curbing the inſolence of the Dutch.

The king, in 1662, renewed the treaty of 1659 with the States General, who concluded an alliance with France the ſame year; while the Engliſh complained of ſome depredations committed by the Dutch, and particularly of two ſhips which had been plundered by them in the Eaſt Indies. It was pretended that the damage ſuſtained by theſe depredations amounted to about 800,000 *l.* but that report was only to inflame the nation; while the king ſent Sir Robert Holmes, with a ſquadron of fourteen ſhips, to the coaſt of Africa, where he drove the Dutch from their ſettlements *; and ſoon after another expedition was ſet on foot to expel the Dutch from New Netherlands.

Before this expedition, the king granted a patent, on the 12th of March 1664, to his brother the Duke of York and Albany, for ſundry tracts of land in America; the boundaries of which, becauſe they have given riſe to important and animated debates, it may not be improper to tranſcribe, as follows:

"All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the ſea-coaſt, unto a certain place called Pemaquie, or Pemequid, and ſo up the river thereof, to the fartheſt head of the ſame as it tendeth northward; and extending from thence to the river of Kimbſquin, and ſo upward, by the ſhorteſt courſe, to the river Canada northward: and alſo all that iſland or iſlands, commonly called by the ſeveral name or names of Meitowacks, or Long Iſland, ſituate and being toward the weſt of Cape Cod, and the Narrow † Higanſetts, abutting upon the main land between the two rivers there, called or known by the ſeveral names of Connecticut and Hudſon's River; together alſo with the ſaid river called Hudſon's River; and all the land from the weſt ſide of Connecticut River to the eaſt ſide of Delaware Bay; and alſo all thoſe ſeveral iſlands, called or known by the names of Martin's Vineyard, or Nantuck's, otherwiſe Nantucket."

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 636.

† The Narroganſet River or Bay, as deſcribed in the Connecticut charter. It is alſo called the Narraganſet Bay in the charter granted to Rhode Iſland.

Part

Part of this tract was conveyed by his royal highneſs the Duke, to John Lord Berkley, baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret of Saltrum in Devonſhire, who were then members of the king's council. The leaſe was for the conſideration of ten ſhillings, and dated the 23d of June 1664: And the releaſe was dated the next day; but mentions no particular ſum of money, as a conſideration for the grant of the lands, which have the following deſcription:

"All that tract of land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the weſtward of Long Iſland, and bounded on the Eaſt part by the main ſea, and partly by Hudſon's River; and hath upon the weſt Delaware Bay or River; and extendeth ſouthward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay; and to the northward as far as the northermoſt branch of the ſaid bay or river of Delaware, which is 41° 40′ of latitude; which ſaid tract of land is hereafter to be called by the name, or names, of Nova Cæſarea, or New Jerſey."

Thus the New Netherlands became divided into New Jerſey, ſo called after the Iſle of Jerſey, in compliment to Sir George Carteret, whoſe family came from thence; and New York, which took its name in honour of the Duke of York.

The Dutch inhabitants, by the vigilance of their governor, were not unappriſed of the deſigns of the Engliſh court againſt them; for their records teſtify, that, on the 8th of July, "The general received intelligence, from one Thomas Willet an Engliſhman, that an expedition was preparing in England, againſt this place, conſiſting of two frigates of forty and fifty guns, with a fly-boat of forty guns; having on board 300 ſoldiers, and each frigate 150 men; and that they then lay at Portſmouth waiting for a wind." News arrived alſo from Boſton that they had already ſet ſail: the burgomaſters were thereupon called into council; the fortreſs ordered to be put into the beſt ſtate of defence; and ſpies ſent to Milford for intelligence.

The government at Boſton was in the ſecret of the expedition, and voted a ſupply of proviſions toward refreſhing the ſhips on their arrival. This expedition was entruſted to the command of Sir Robert Carr, who had with him Colonel Richard Nicolls, George Carteret, Eſq; and Samuel Maverick, Eſq; who were all joined in commiſſion to viſit the Engliſh plantations, and drive the Dutch out of theirs.

War was not openly declared by England againſt Holland until the 2d of March 1665; but Sir Robert Carr arrived with his forces in North America on the 20th of July preceding. The ſhips rendezvouſed in New England, from thence they ſailed to Hudſon's River, and appeared before New Amſterdam on the 19th of Auguſt 1664, when the Dutch governor ſent a letter to the Engliſh commanders requiring to know the meaning of their viſit. This letter was anſwered by Colonel Nicolls with a ſummons to ſurrender the place.

The Dutch governor was a good ſoldier, and being determined upon defenſive meaſures, though he was oppoſed by many of the inhabitants, he wrote a long letter in anſwer to the ſummons, in which he entered into the merits of the Dutch claims, and the Engliſh pretenſions.

While the Dutch governor and council were contending with the burgomaſters and people in the city, the Engliſh commiſſioners publiſhed a proclamation in the country, encouraging the inhabitants to ſubmit, promiſing them the king's protection: and as ſoon as they diſcovered, by Stuyveſant's letter, that he was averſe to the ſurrender, officers were ſent to beat up for voluntiers in Middleborough, Vliſſen, Jamaica, and Hampſtead. A warrant was alſo iſſued to Hugh Hide, who commanded the ſquadron, to proſecute the reduction of the fort; and an Engliſh ſhip then trading there was preſſed into the ſervice. Theſe preparations induced Stuyveſant to write another letter, on the 25th of Auguſt old ſtyle, wherein, though he declares that he would ſtand the ſtorm, yet, to prevent the ſpilling of blood, he had ſent deputies to conſult, if poſſible, an accommodation. Colonel Nicolls, who knew the diſpoſition of the people, anſwered immediately from Graveſend, that he would treat about nothing but a ſurrender. The Dutch governor, the next day, agreed to a treaty and ſurrender; on condition, the Engliſh and Dutch limits in America were ſettled by the Crown and the States General. The commiſſioners on both ſides met at the governor's farm, and there ſigned the articles of capitulation.

Theſe articles, favourable as they were to the inhabitants, were however very diſagreeable to the Dutch governor; and he therefore refuſed to ratify them till two days after they were ſigned by the commiſſioners.

The town of New Amſterdam, upon the reduction of the Iſland Monhattons, took the name of New York. It conſiſted of ſeveral ſmall ſtreets, laid out in the year 1656; and was not inconſiderable for the number of its houſes and inhabitants. The eaſy terms of the capitulation

tulation promiſed their peaceable ſubjection to the new government; and hence we find, that, in two days after the ſurrender, the Boſton aid was diſmiſſed with the thanks of the commiſſioners to the general court. Hudſon's and the South River were however ſtill to be reduced. Sir Robert Carr commanded the expedition on Delaware; and Carteret was commiſſioned to ſubdue the Dutch at Fort Orange. The garriſon capitulated on the 24th of September, and he called it Albany, in honour of the duke. While Carteret was here he had an interview with the Indians of the Five Nations, and entered into a league of friendſhip with them, which remarkably continues to this day. Sir Robert Carr was equally ſucceſsful on South River; for he compelled both the Dutch and Swedes to capitulate, and deliver up their garriſons on the 1ſt of October 1664, and that was the day on which the whole New Netherlands became ſubject to the Engliſh crown. Very few of the inhabitants thought proper to remove out of the country: Governor Stuyveſant himſelf held his eſtate, and died here; his remains were interred in a chapel, which he had erected on his own farm, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, now or late poſſeſſed by his grandſon Gerardus Stuyveſant, a man of probity, who was elected into the magiſtracy above thirty years ſucceſſively *.

In fact, the deſcendants of the Dutch planters are perhaps exceeded by none of his majeſty's ſubjects, for a pure attachment to the proteſtant religion, and for loyalty to the preſent reigning family.

Colonel Nicolls, being now poſſeſſed of the country, took the government upon him, under the ſtile of deputy-governor under his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, of all his territories in America. He paſſed a great number of grants and confirmations of the ancient Dutch patents, the profits of which muſt have been very conſiderable. Beſides the chief command of the province, Colonel Nicolls had a joint power with Sir Robert Carr, Carteret, and Maverick, to ſettle the conteſted boundaries of certain patents. They had, in particular, a conference with ſeveral gentlemen from Connecticut reſpecting the limits of both colonies, wherein Long Iſland was adjudged to be under the government of New York.

At the time of this determination about two-thirds of Long Iſland were poſſeſſed by people from New England, who had gradually en-

* S. Smith's Hiſtory of New Jerſey, p. 46. W. Smith's Hiſtory of New York, p. 24.

croached

croached upon the Dutch: but as to the ſettlement between New York and Connecticut on the main, it has always been conſidered by the former as founded upon ignorance and fraud. A great diſpute between the inhabitants of Jamaica on Long Iſland, which was adjuſted by Colonel Nicolls on the 2d of January 1665, occaſioned a ſalutary inſtitution, which has in part obtained ever ſince.

The controverſy reſpected Indian deeds, and thenceforth it was ordained, that no purchaſe from the Indians ſhould be valid without a licence from the governor, and executed in his preſence. The ſtrength and number of the natives made it neceſſary to purchaſe their rights; and it was expedient, to prevent their frequent ſelling the ſame tract, that the bargain ſhould be attended with ſome ſolemnity. In March following, there was a convention at Hampſtead, before the governor, of two deputies from every town on Long Iſland, impowered to bind their conſtituents: but the deſign of this meeting was to adjuſt the limits of their townſhips, for the preſervation of the public peace. Colonel Nicolls was alſo attentive to a gradual introduction of the Engliſh methods of government; yet it was not until the 12th of June 1665 that he incorporated the inhabitants of New York under the care of a mayor, five aldermen, and a ſheriff. The city had been hitherto governed by a ſcout, burgomaſters, and ſcheizens, in the Dutch manner; but now it became regulated according to the Engliſh way.

The Dutch left the Engliſh in quiet poſſeſſion of New York during the war, which was ended by the treaty of peace concluded at Breda on the 21ſt July 1667. The Dutch having been expelled from New York by the Engliſh, who had alſo been driven out of Surinam by the Dutch; New York was now ceded to his Britannic Majeſty, and Surinam to the States; which was the only advantage that England acquired by the war; nor was it inconſiderable, as New York has ſince proved of the utmoſt utility to Great Britain *.

Colonel Nicolls returned to England after an adminiſtration of three years; and the time during his government was principally taken up in confirming the ancient grants to the Dutch. He erected no courts of juſtice, but took upon himſelf the ſole deciſion of all controverſies. Complaints came before him by petition; upon which he gave a day to the parties, and, after a ſummary hearing, pronounced judgment. His

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 646. The Caſe of Jeronomy Clifford, p. 3–10.

determinations

determinations were called edicts, and executed by the ſheriffs he had appointed. It is much to his honour, that, notwithſtanding all this plenitude of power, he governed the province with moderation and integrity.

The Duke of York appointed Colonel Lovelace to ſucceed Colonel Nicolls in the government of New York; but the war was renewed between England and Holland in 1672 †, and, on the 30th of July 1673, a ſquadron of Dutch ſhips arrived under Staten Iſland, near the city of New York. John Manning, captain of an independent company, had then the command of the fort, which he treacherouſly ſurrendered to the enemy, who entered the garriſon without oppoſition, and held a council of war at the ſtadt-houſe. All the magiſtrates and conſtables from Eaſt Jerſey, Long Iſland, Eſopus, and Albany, were immediately ſummoned to New York, where the major part of them ſwore allegiance to the States General; and Colonel Lovelace was ordered to depart the province, but afterward obtained permiſſion to return to England with Commodore Benkes. It has frequently been inſiſted on, that this conqueſt did not extend to the whole province of New Jerſey; but it appears from the Dutch records, that deputies were ſent by the people inhabiting the country, even ſo far weſtward as Delaware River, who made a declaration of their ſubmiſſion in the name of their principals; in return for which, certain privileges were granted to them, and three judicatories erected at Niewer, Amſtel, Upland, and Hoer Kill.

The Dutch governor enjoyed his office but for a little time; for, on the 9th of February 1674, the treaty of peace between England and Holland was ſigned at Weſtminſter; by the ſixth article of which this province was reſtored to the Engliſh in the following general terms: "That whatſoever countries, iſlands, towns, ports, caſtles, or forts, have or ſhall be taken on both ſides, either in Europe or elſewhere, ſhall be reſtored to the former lord and proprietor, in the ſame condition they ſhall be in when the peace ſhall be proclaimed ‡."

† Rapin, p. 662. "The Dutch neglected to perform the capitulation for Surinam; and this occaſioned another war between England and Holland in 1672; which was followed by a treaty of peace between both nations, ſigned at Weſtminſter the 19th of February 1674; whereby the treaty of Breda was confirmed." Clifford's Caſes, p. 10.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 675. Collection of Treaties, vol. iii. p. 280.

After

After this the Duke of York obtained a patent from his brother for the lands granted in 1664; and then appointed Sir Edmond Andros Governor, who immediately called a court-martial to try Captain John Manning for his treacherous and cowardly ſurrender of the fort in the city of New York. The charge was fully proved in ſix articles exhibited againſt the delinquent, yet his puniſhment was not ſuitable to his crime. This is no proof, however, that Sir Edmond was a man of a merciful diſpoſition; for the hiſtorians of New England, where he was afterwards governor, juſtly tranſmit him to poſterity under the odious character of a ſycophantic tool to the duke, and an arbitrary tyrant over the people committed to his care *.

The province, however, increaſed with its trade, of which he had not intirely the government. The principal courſe of his public proceedings was ſpent in the ordinary acts of government, which then chiefly conſiſted in paſſing grants to the ſubjects, and preſiding in the court of aſſize.

In the year 1675, Nicholas Renſlaer, a Dutch clergyman, arrived at New York, where he claimed the manor of Renſlaerwick, an extenſive tract, by the Dutch called a colony; "for it is an oblong, extending twenty-four miles upon Hudſon's River, and as many on each ſide." Mr. Renſlaer was recommended by the Duke to Sir Edmond, for a living in one of the churches at New York in Albany, probably to ſerve the popiſh cauſe; although another reaſon has been aſſigned for the favour he met with from the crown. It is ſaid, that while Charles II. was an exile, this Dutchman predicted the day of his reſtoration: the people of Albany had a high opinion of his prophetic ſpirit, and many ſtrange tales about him ſtill prevail there. The miniſter was oppoſed becauſe he had received an epiſcopal ordination; and the governor was attached to him in this controverſy, which became provincially general, until the governor referred the matter to the determination of the conſiſtory of the Dutch court at Albany.

Sir Edmond, near the cloſe of his adminiſtration, thought proper to quarrel with Mr. Philip Carteret, who, in 1680, exerciſed the government of New Jerſey under a commiſſion from Sir George Carteret, dated the 31ſt of July 1675. Andros diſputed his right, ſeized his perſon,

* W. Smith, p. 33. S. Smith, p. 77.

and brought him priſoner to New York; "for which, it is ſaid, he loſt his own government: but whoever conſiders that Sir Edmond was immediately preferred to be governor of Boſton, will rather believe that the Duke ſuperſeded him for ſome other reaſons."

The Duke of York preferred Colonel Thomas Dongan to the government of this province on the 30th of September 1682; but he did not arrive there until the 27th of Auguſt following. "He was a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners; and, though a profeſſed papiſt, may be claſſed among the beſt of our governors *." The people had been formerly ruled at the deſpotic will of deputies under the Duke, who was petitioned, in 1681, by the council, the aldermen of New York, and the juſtices of peace, at the court of aſſize, againſt ſuch proceedings. In conſequence thereof, they began their firſt participation in the legiſlative power under Colonel Dongan, ſhortly after whoſe arrival, orders were iſſued to the ſheriffs to ſummon freeholders for chooſing repreſentatives, to meet him in aſſembly on the 17th of October 1683. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Coloniſts, whether Dutch or Engliſh, who were born the ſubjects of a free ſtate; nor was the change of leſs advantage to the Duke than to the inhabitants, who tranſmitted a dutiful and grateful addreſs to his Royal Highneſs upon ſo intereſting an affair.

Colonel Dongan ſurpaſſed his predeceſſors in a due attention to the colony affairs with the Indians, by whom he was highly eſteemed. It ſhould alſo be remembered to his honour, that though he was ordered by the Duke to encourage the French prieſts, who were come to reſide among the natives under pretence of advancing the popiſh cauſe, but in reality to gain them over to the French intereſt, yet he forbad the Five Nations to entertain them. The Jeſuits, however, had no ſmall ſucceſs. Their proſelytes were called Praying Indians, or Caghnuagaes, and took up their reſidence at the fall of St. Lewis, oppoſite to Montreal. It was alſo owing to the inſtigation of theſe prieſts that the Five Nations committed hoſtilities on the back parts of Maryland and Virginia, which occaſioned a grand convention at Albany in the year 1684. Francis Lord Howard of Effingham, the governor-general of Virginia, was preſent, and concluded a treaty with them for preventing further depredations; toward the accompliſhment of which, Colonel Dongan was very inſtrumental, and Doctor Colden has publiſhed this treaty at large.

While Lord Howard was at Albany, a meſſenger from M. De la Barre, then governor of Canada, arrived there, to complain of the

* Smith's Hiſtory of New York, p. 34.

Senneca Indians, for interrupting the French in their trade with the Indians of the Five Nations; by whom were meant all thoſe numerous tribes inhabiting the countries on both ſides of the Lakes Huron and Erie, weſtward, as far as the Miſſiſippi, and the ſouthern country along the banks of the Ohio and its branches. Colonel Dongan, to whom the meſſage was ſent, communicated it to the Sennecas, who admitted the charge, but juſtified their conduct; alleging, that the French ſupplied arms and ammunition to the Twightwies, with whom they were then at war.

The French governor, at the ſame time, made great preparations to invade the Five Nations, and totally extirpate them: but governor Dongan appriſed the Indians of the French deſigns, which proved abortive by that intelligence, and De la Barre found it neceſſary to conclude the campaign with a treaty, for which purpoſe he croſſed Lake Ontario to meet the Indian chiefs.

De la Barre was ſucceeded by the Marquis De Nonville, colonel of the dragoons, who arrived, in 1685, with a reinforcement of troops. The marquis was a man of courage, and an enterprizing ſpirit; therefore he made a potent invaſion upon the Five Nations, who repulſed him with conſiderable loſs.

Soon after this expedition, Colonel Dongan met the Five Nations at Albany; and, in his negociation with them, ſhewed his vigilance and zeal for the intereſt of his maſter, and the common weal of the province committed to his care. He reprimanded them for their breach of faith with Virginia; ordered them to reſtore the priſoners they had taken; and recommended to them not to ſuffer their people to be drunk during the war.

Not long after this interview, a conſiderable party of Mohawks and Mahikanders, or River Indians, beſet Fort Chambly, burnt ſeveral houſes, and returned with many captives to Albany. Forty Onondagas, about the ſame time, ſurpriſed a few ſoldiers near Fort Frontenac, whom they confined, inſtead of ſome Indians ſent home to the gallies by the French, notwithſtanding the utmoſt addreſs was uſed to regain them by Lamberville, a French prieſt, who delivered them two belts to engage their kindneſs to the priſoners, and prevent their joining the quarrel with the Sennecas. The belts being ſent to Colonel Dongan, he wrote to De Nonville to demand the reaſon of their being delivered. Pere le Vaillant

Vaillant was ſent to New York about the beginning of the year 1688, under colour of bringing an anſwer, but in reality as a ſpy. Colonel Dongan told him, that no peace could be made with the Five Nations, unleſs the Indians ſent to the gallies, and the Caghnuaga proſelytes, were returned to their reſpective cantons, the forts at Niagara and Frontenac razed, and the Sennecas had ſatisfaction made them for the damage they had ſuſtained. The Jeſuit, in his return, was ordered not to viſit the Mohawks.

Dongan, who was fully ſenſible of the importance of the Indian intereſt to the Engliſh colonies, was for compelling the French to apply to him in all their affairs with the Five Nations; while they, on the other hand, were for treating with them independent of the Engliſh. For this reaſon, among others, he refuſed them the aſſiſtance they frequently required, till they acknowledged the dependence of the confederates on the Engliſh crown.

An indignity upon the rights of ambaſſadors, the truth of which they did not in the leaſt doubt, animated the confederates to the keeneſt thirſt after revenge; and accordingly 1200 of their men, on the 26th of July 1688, landed on the ſouth ſide of the Iſland of Montreal, while the French appeared in perfect ſecurity, burnt their houſes, ſacked their plantations, and put to the ſword all the men, women, and children, without the ſkirts of the town. A thouſand French were ſlain in this invaſion, and twenty-ſix carried into captivity and burnt alive. Many more were made priſoners in another attack in October, and the lower part of the iſland wholly deſtroyed. Only three of the confederates were loſt in all this ſcene of miſery and deſolation *.

Never before did Canada ſuſtain ſuch a heavy blow. The news of this attack on Montreal no ſooner reached the garriſon at the Lake Ontario, than they ſet fire to the two barks which they had built there, and abandoned the fort, leaving a match to twenty-eight barrels of powder, deſigned to blow up the works. The ſoldiers went down the river in ſuch precipitation that one of the battoes and her crew were loſt in ſhooting a fall. The Confederates, in the mean time, ſeized the fort, the powder, and the ſtores; and of all the French allies, who were vaſtly numerous, only the Nepicirinians and Kikabous adhered to them in their calamities. The Utawawas and ſeveral other nations inſtantly made peace with the

* Colden, I. 91. W. Smith, p. 57.

Engliſh; and, but for the uncommon ſagacity and addreſs of the Sieur Perot, the weſtern Indians would have murdered every Frenchman among them. Nor did the diſtreſſes of the Canadians end here; for numerous ſcouts from the Five Nations continually infeſted their borders. The frequent depredations that were made, prevented them from the cultivation of their fields, and a diſtreſſing famine raged through the whole country. Nothing but the ignorance of the Indians in the art of attacking fortified places ſaved Canada from being now utterly cut off. It was therefore very fortunate to the French that the Indians had no aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, and as unfortunate to the Engliſh that their colonies were then incapable of affording ſuccours to the Confederates.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Canada, a ſcene of the greateſt importance was opening at New York, where a general diſaffection to the government prevailed among the people. Papiſts began to ſettle in the colony under the ſmiles of the governor. The collector of the revenues, and ſeveral principal officers, threw off the maſk, and openly avowed their attachment to the doctrines of Rome. A Latin ſchool was ſet up, and the teacher ſtrongly ſuſpected for a Jeſuit. The people of Long Iſland, who were diſappointed in their expectation of large privileges promiſed by the governor on his arrival, were become his perſonal enemies; and the whole body of the people trembled for the proteſtant cauſe. Here the leaven of oppoſition firſt began to work. Their intelligence from England of the deſigns there in favour of the Prince of Orange blew up the coals of diſcontent, and elevated the hopes of the diſaffected: But no man dared to ſpring in action, till after the rupture in Boſton, where governor Andros was impriſoned and ſent to England. Upon the news of this event, ſeveral captains of the New York militia convened themſelves to concert meaſures in favour of the prince of Orange; and, among theſe, Jacob Leiſler was the moſt active. He was a man in tolerable eſteem among the people, and of a moderate fortune, but deſtitute of every qualification neceſſary for the enterprize. Milborne, his ſon-in-law, an Engliſhman, directed all his councils, while Leiſler as abſolutely influenced the other officers.

The firſt thing they contrived was to ſeize the garriſon in New York; and the cuſtom at that time of guarding it every night by the militia gave Leiſler a fine opportunity of executing the deſign. He entered it with forty-nine men, and determined to hold it till the whole militia ſhould join him. Colonel Dongan, who was about to leave the province, then lay embarked in the bay, having a little before reſigned the government

government to Francis Nicholſon the lieutenant-governor. The council, civil officers, and magiſtrates of the city, were againſt Leiſler, and therefore many of his friends were at firſt fearful of openly eſpouſing a cauſe diſapproved by the gentlemen of figure. For this reaſon, Leiſler's firſt declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange was ſubſcribed only by a few among ſeveral companies of the trained bands. While the people, for four days ſucceſſively, were in the utmoſt perplexity to determine what part to chooſe, being ſolicited by Leiſler on the one hand, and threatened by the lieutenant-governor on the other, the town was alarmed with a report that three ſhips were coming up with orders from the Prince of Orange. This falſehood was very ſeaſonably propagated to ſerve the intereſt of Leiſler, for, on that day, the 3d of June 1689, his party was increaſed by the addition of ſix captains and 400 men in New York, and a company of 70 men from Eaſt Cheſter, who all ſubſcribed a ſecond declaration, mutually covenanting to hold the fort for the prince. Colonel Dongan continued till this time in the harbour, waiting the iſſue of theſe commotions; and Nicholſon's party, being now unable to contend with their opponents, were totally diſperſed, the lieutenant-governor himſelf abſconding the very night after the laſt declaration was ſigned.

Leiſler being now in complete poſſeſſion of the fort, ſent home an addreſs to King William and Queen Mary as ſoon as he received the news of their acceſſion to the throne. It is a tedious, incorrect, ill-drawn narrative of the grievances which the people had endured, and the methods lately taken to ſecure themſelves, ending with a recognition of the ſovereignty of the king and queen over the whole Engliſh dominions. This addreſs was ſoon followed by a private letter from Leiſler to King William, which, in very broken Engliſh, informs his Majeſty of the ſtate of the garriſon, the repairs he had made to it, and the temper of the people; concluding with ſtrong proteſtations of his ſincerity, loyalty, and zeal. Joſt Stoll, an enſign, on the delivery of this letter to the king, had the honour to kiſs his Majeſty's hand; but Nicholſon the lieutenant-governor, and one Ennis, an epiſcopal clergyman, arrived in England before him; and, by falſely repreſenting the late meaſures in New York, as proceeding rather from their averſion to the church of England, than zeal for the Prince of Orange, Leiſler and his party miſſed the rewards and notice which their activity for the Revolution juſtly deſerved. For, though the king made Stoll the bearer of his thanks to the people for their fidelity, he ſo little regarded Leiſler's complaints againſt Nicholſon, that he was ſoon after preferred

to

to the government of Virginia. Dongan returned to Ireland, and it is ſaid ſucceeded to the earldom of Limerick.

Leiſler's ſudden inveſtiture with ſupreme power over the province, and the probable proſpects of King William's approbation of his conduct, could not but excite the envy and jealouſy of the late council and magiſtrates, who had refuſed to join in the glorious work of the Revolution; and hence the ſpring of all their averſions both to the man and his meaſures. He continued however to exerciſe the adminiſtration of the colony until a packet arrived with a letter from the Lords Carmarthen, Halifax, and others, directed to Francis Nicholſon, Eſq; or, in his abſence, to ſuch as for the time being take care for preſerving the peace and adminiſtrating the laws in their Majeſties province of New York in America. This letter was dated the 29th of July, and was accompanied with another from Lord Nottingham, dated the next day, which, after impowering Nicholſon to take upon him the chief command, and to appoint for his aſſiſtants as many of the principal freeholders and inhabitants as he ſhould think fit, required him alſo "to do every thing appertaining to the office of lieutenant-governor, according to the laws and cuſtoms of New York, until further orders."

Nicholſon being abſconded when this packet came to hand, Leiſler conſidered the letter as directed to himſelf, and from this time iſſued all kinds of commiſſions in his own name, aſſumed the title, as well as authority, of lieutenant-governor, and formed a council.

The people of Albany, in the mean time, were determined to hold the garriſon and city for King William, independent of Leiſler; and, on the 26th of October, which was before the packet arrived from Lord Nottingham, formed themſelves into a convention for that purpoſe.

Taking it for granted that Leiſler at New York, and the Convention at Albany, were equally affected to the Revolution, nothing could be more egregiouſly fooliſh than the conduct of both parties, who, by their inteſtine diviſions, threw the province into convulſions, and ſowed the ſeeds of mutual hatred and animoſity; which, for a long time after, greatly embarraſſed the publick affairs of the colony. When Albany declared for the Prince of Orange, there was nothing elſe that Leiſler could properly require: and rather than ſacrifice the publick peace of the province to the trifling honour of reſiſting a man who had no evil deſigns, Albany ought in prudence to have delivered the garriſon into

his hands till the king's definitive orders ſhould arrive. But while Leiſler, on the one hand, was inebriated with his new-gotten power; ſo, on the other, Mr Schuyler and the reſt could not ſubmit to the authority of a man, as mean in his abilities, as inferior in his degree.

Jacob Milborne was commiſſioned for the reduction of Albany, where the fort was commanded by Mr. Schuyler, who intimidated Milborne from making any attempt at that time: but in the ſpring he commanded another party, and got poſſeſſion of the garriſon. The principal members of the Convention abſconded, and their effects were arbitrarily ſeized and confiſcated; which ſo highly exaſperated the ſufferers, that their poſterity, to this day, cannot ſpeak of theſe troubles without the bittereſt invectives againſt Leiſler and all his adherents.

In the midſt of thoſe inteſtine confuſions at New York, the inhabitants of New England were engaged in a war with the Eaſtern Indians; which gave riſe to a conference between ſeveral commiſſioners from Boſton, Plymouth, and Connecticut, and the Five Nations, at Albany, in September 1689*, the former endeavouring to engage the latter againſt thoſe Eaſtern Indians, who were then at war with the New England colonies, and were ſupported by the French.

The Five Nations had received four meſſengers from the Eaſtern Indians, which gave the people of New England ſuch diſagreeable apprehenſions, that they were deſirous to know what reception was given to theſe meſſengers.

The Five Nations anſwered by Tahajadoris, a Mohawk Sachem, who made a long oration; and, however improbable it may ſeem to Europeans, repeated all that had been ſaid the preceding day. The art they have in aſſiſting their memories is as follows:

"The Sachem, who preſides at theſe conferences, has a bundle of ſmall ſticks in his hand; and as ſoon as the ſpeaker has finiſhed any one article of his ſpeech, this Sachem gives a ſtick to another Sachem, who is particularly to remember that article; and ſo, when another article is finiſhed, he gives a ſtick to another, to take care of that other, and ſo on. In like manner, when the ſpeaker anſwers, each of theſe has the particular care of the anſwer reſolved on to each article, and prompts the orator, when his memory fails him, in the article com-

* Colden, I. 101. 106.

mitted

mitted to his charge *." By this means the orator, after a previous conference with the Indians, is prepared to repeat every part of the meſſage, and give it a proper reply †.

This conference did not anſwer the expectation of the New England agents, as the Five Nations were unwilling to join in hoſtilities againſt the Eaſtern Indians; but they were ready to diſtreſs the French, againſt whom the Engliſh lately had declared war.

Tahajadoris told the commiſſioners, that " the Indians had patiently ſuffered many injuries from the French before they took up the hatchet againſt them: That the patience of the Indians made the governor of Canada think they were afraid of him, and durſt not reſent thoſe injuries; but he was deceived: for the Indians were reſolved never to drop the hatchet, and would never be reconciled while one Frenchman was alive."

That part of the ſpeech intended to ratify their friendſhip with the Engliſh colonies, was ſingularly expreſſed as follows:

" We have ſpoken what we had to ſay of the war; we now come to the affairs of peace. We promiſe to preſerve the chain inviolably, and wiſh that the ſun may always ſhine in peace over all our heads that are comprehended in this chain ‡. We give two belts; one for the ſun, the other for its beams. We make faſt the roots of the tree of peace and tranquillity, which is planted in this place. Its root extends as far as the utmoſt of your colonies. If the French ſhould come to ſhake this tree, we ſhould feel it by the motion of its roots, which extend into our country: But we truſt it will not be in the governor of Canada's power to ſhake this tree, which has been ſo firmly and ſo long planted with us §.

The magiſtrates of Albany had a private conference with the Sachems of the Five Nations, and deſired to know their reſolutions as to the war

* Colden, I. 107.

† W. Smith, p. 64.

‡ " The Indians conception of the league between them and us is couched under the idea of a chain extended from a ſhip to a tree; and every renewal of this league they call brightening the chain." Smith, p. 64.

§ Colden, I. 109.

with

with Canada, and the meaſures they reſolved to purſue. In this conference the Indians ſaw that the people of Albany were ſo much afraid of the French that their ſpirits were ſunk under the apprehenſions of the approaching war; and for this reaſon made the following anſwer:

"We have 140 men out ſkulking about Canada; and it is impoſſible for the French to attempt any thing without being diſcovered and haraſſed by theſe parties. If the French ſhall attempt any thing this way, all the Five Nations ſhall come to your aſſiſtance, for our brethren and we are but one, and we will live and die together. We have deſired a hundred men of our brethren of Boſton to aſſiſt us here, becauſe this place is moſt expoſed: But if the governor of Canada is ſo ſtrong as to overcome us all united together, then he muſt be our maſter, and is not to be reſiſted; yet we have confidence in a good and juſt cauſe; for the Great God of Heaven knows how deceitfully the French have dealt with us: their arms can have no ſucceſs. The Great God hath ſent us ſigns in the ſky to confirm this. We have heard uncommon noiſes, and have ſeen heads fall down upon earth, which we look upon as a certain preſage of the deſtruction of the French. Take courage!" On this they all immediately joined in ſinging, and crying out, "Courage! Courage*!"

Nothing could have been more advantageous to the Britiſh Colonies, and eſpecially New York, than the late ſucceſs of the Five Nations againſt Canada. The miſeries, to which the French were reduced, rendered the Britiſh Coloniſts ſecure againſt their inroads, till the work of the Revolution was almoſt accompliſhed; and to their diſtreſſed condition muſt be principally aſcribed a defeat of the French deſign, about that time, to conquer this province.

Among other meaſures to detach the Five Nations from the Britiſh intereſt, and raiſe the depreſſed ſpirit of the Canadians, the Count de Frontenac thought proper to ſend out ſeveral parties againſt the Engliſh Colonies. D'Aillebout, De Mantel, and Le Moyne, commanded that againſt New York, conſiſting of about 200 French, and ſome Caghnuaga Indians. Their orders were, in general, to attack New York; but, purſuing the advice of the Indians, they reſolved, inſtead of Albany, to ſurpriſe Schenectady, a village ſeventeen miles north-weſt from it, and about the ſame diſtance from the Mohawks. The people of Schenectady, though they had been informed of the deſigns of the

* Colden, I. 111.

enemy, were in the greateſt ſecurity; judging it impracticable for any men to march ſeveral hundred miles, in the depth of the winter, through the ſnow, bearing their proviſions on their backs. Beſide, the village was in as much confuſion as the reſt of the province; the officers, who were poſted there, being unable to preſerve a regular watch, or any kind of military order. Such was the ſtate of Schenectady, as repreſented by Colonel Schuyler, who was at that time mayor of the city of Albany, and at the head of the Convention. A copy of his letter to the neighbouring colonies, concerning this deſcent upon Schenectady, dated the 15th of February 1689--90, is now extant under his own hand. After two and twenty days march, the enemy fell in with Schenectady, on the 8th of February; and were reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that they had thoughts of ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. But their ſcouts, who were a day or two in the village intirely unſuſpected, returned with ſuch encouraging accounts of the abſolute ſecurity of the people, that the enemy determined on the attack. They entered on Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, at the gates, which were found unſhut; and, that every houſe might be inveſted at the ſame time, divided into ſmall parties of ſix or ſeven men. The inhabitants were in a profound ſleep, and unalarmed till their doors were broke open. Never were people in a more wretched conſternation. Before they were riſen from their beds the enemy entered their houſes, and began the perpetration of the moſt inhuman barbarities. No tongue, ſays Colonel Schuyler, can expreſs the cruelties that were committed. The whole village was inſtantly in a blaze. Women with child ripped open, and their infants caſt into the flames, or daſhed againſt the poſts of the doors. Sixty perſons periſhed in the maſſacre, and twenty-ſeven were carried into captivity. The reſt fled naked toward Albany, through a deep ſnow which fell that very night in a terrible ſtorm; and twenty-five of theſe fugitives loſt their limbs in the flight through the ſeverity of the froſt. The news of this dreadful tragedy reached Albany about break of day; and univerſal dread ſeized the inhabitants of that city, the enemy being reported to be 1400 ſtrong. A party of horſe was immediately diſpatched to Schenectady, and a few Mohawks then in town, fearful of being intercepted, were with difficulty ſent to appriſe their own caſtles.

The Mohawks were unacquainted with this bloody ſcene till two days after it happened; the Engliſh meſſengers being ſcarce able to travel through the great depth of ſnow. The enemy, in the mean time, pillaged the town of Schenectady till noon the next day; and then went off with their plunder, and about forty of their beſt horſes. The reſt, with all the cattle they could find, lay ſlaughtered in the ſtreets. The

The deſign of the French, in this attack, was to alarm the fears of the Engliſh Indian allies, by ſhewing that the Engliſh were incapable of defending them. Every art alſo was uſed to conciliate their friendſhip; for they not only ſpared thoſe Mohawks who were found in Schenectady, but ſeveral other particular perſons, in compliment to the Indians, who requeſted that favour. Several women and children were alſo releaſed at the deſire of Captain Glen, to whom the French offered no violence; the officer declaring he had ſtrict orders againſt it, on the ſcore of his wife's civilities to certain French captives in the time of Colonel Dongan.

The Mohawks, conſidering the cajoling acts of the French, and that the Caghnuagas, who were with them, were once a part of their own body, behaved as well as could be reaſonably expected. They joined a party of young men from Albany, fell upon the rear of the enemy, and either killed or captivated five and twenty. Several Sachems, in the mean time, came to Albany, and very affectingly addreſſed the inhabitants, who were juſt ready to abandon the country, urging their ſtay, and exciting an union of all the Engliſh Colonies againſt Canada.

The Indians ſoon after treated the Chevalier D'Eau, and the reſt of the French meſſengers, who came to conclude the peace propoſed by Taweraket, with the utmoſt indignity; and afterwards delivered them up to the Engliſh. Beſide this, their ſcouts haraſſed the borders of the enemy; but what rendered this year moſt remarkable was the expedition of Sir William Phipps, which has already been mentioned.

Anterior to the Revolution in England, many controverſies aroſe in New York relating to public townſhips and private rights. It had been a ſubject of animated debate, whether the people in this colony had a right to be repreſented in aſſembly; or whether it was a privilege enjoyed through the grace of the crown? but it was generally underſtood in the former light, and ſo virtually declared upon that and ſeveral other of the principal and diſtinguiſhing liberties of Engliſhmen.

Colonel Henry Sloughter arrived as governor on the 19th of March 1691, though his commiſſion was dated the 4th of January 1689.

The new governor compelled Leiſler to ſurrender the fort, impriſoned him and Milborne, whom he tried, convicted, and executed as traitors. Leiſler's ſon afterward carried home a complaint to King William againſt the governor. His petition was referred, according to the common courſe of plantation affairs, to the lords commiſſioners of trade,

who reported, on the 11th of March 1692, "That they were of opinion, that Jacob Leiſler and Jacob Milborne deceaſed, were condemned and had ſuffered according to law." Their lordſhips, however, interceded for their families, as fit objects of mercy; which induced Queen Mary, who approved the report, to declare *, "That, upon the humble application of the relations of the ſaid Jacob Leiſler and Jacob Milborne deceaſed, her Majeſty would order their eſtates to be reſtored to their families, as objects of her Majeſty's mercy." The bodies of theſe unhappy ſufferers were afterward taken up, and pompouſly interred in the old Dutch church in the city of New York. Their eſtates were reſtored to their families; and Leiſler's children, in the public eſtimation, are rather dignified, than diſgraced, by the fall of their anceſtor. Theſe violent meaſures drove ſeveral of the inhabitants into the adjacent colonies; which ſoon after occaſioned the paſſing an act of general indemnity.

From the ſurrender of the province to the year 1683, the inhabitants were ruled by the Duke's governors, who made rules and orders, which were eſteemed to be binding as laws. Theſe were regularly collected under alphabetical titles in 1674; a fair copy of them remains to this day among the records; and are commonly known by the name of "The Duke's laws."

Thoſe acts which were made in 1683, and after the Duke's acceſſion to the throne, when the people were admitted to a part of the legiſlative power, are for the moſt part defaced or loſt. Few minutes relating to them remain on the council-books, and none in the journals of the houſe.

The aſſembly convened in 1691, was the firſt after the Revolution, and it may not be improper to take ſome particular notice of its tranſactions; becauſe all laws made here, antecedent to this period, are diſregarded both by the legiſlature and the courts of law †.

Before this houſe proceeded to paſs any acts, they unanimouſly reſolved, "That all the laws conſented to by the general aſſembly, under James Duke of York, and the liberties and privileges therein contained,

* On the 17th of March.

† In the collection of their acts, publiſhed in 1752, the compilers were directed to begin at this aſſembly. "The validity of the old grants of the powers of government, in ſeveral American colonies, is very much doubted in this province." W. Smith, p. 73.

granted

granted to the people, and declared to be their rights, not being obſerved, nor ratified and approved by his royal highneſs, nor the late king, are null and void, and of none effect: and alſo the ſeveral ordinances, made by the late governors and councils, being contrary to the conſtitution of England, and the practice of the government of their Majeſties other plantations in America, are likewiſe null and void, and of no effect nor force within this province."

Among the principal laws enacted at this ſeſſion, it may be proper to mention that for eſtabliſhing the revenue, which was drawn into precedent. The ſums raiſed by it were made payable into the hands of the receiver-general, and iſſued by warrant from the governor; by which means his excellency became independent of the people for a time; and hence may be found frequent inſtances of the aſſemblies contending with him for the diſcharge of debts to private perſons, contracted on the public faith of the government.

Thoſe diſtractions which happened in the provinces, ſo intirely engroſſed the public attention, that the Five Nations, who had been left ſolely to contend with the common enemy, grew diſaffected. The Mohawks, in particular, highly reſented this conduct; and, at the inſtance of the Caghnuagaes, ſent a meſſenger to Canada to confer with Count Frontenac about a peace. To prevent this, Colonel Sloughter had an interview at Albany, in June, with the other Four Nations, who expreſſed their joy at ſeeing a governor again at that place. All the Indians, except the Mohawks, aſſured the governor, at this meeting, of their reſolution to proſecute the war. The Mohawks confeſſed their negociation with the French, that they had received a belt from Canada, prayed the advice of the governor, and afterward renewed their league with all the Engliſh Colonies.

Sloughter ſoon after returned to New York, and ended a ſhort, weak, and turbulent adminiſtration; for he died ſuddenly on the 23d day of July 1691. Some were not without ſuſpicions that he came unfairly to his end; but the certificate of the phyſician and ſurgeons who opened his body, by an order of council, confuted theſe conjectures, and his remains were interred in Stuyveſant's vault, next to thoſe of the old Dutch governor.

At the time of Sloughter's deceaſe, the government devolved, according to the late act for declaring the rights of the people of this province, on the council, in which Joſeph Dudley had a right to preſide: but

but they committed the chief command to Richard Ingolſby, a captain of an independent company, who was ſworn into the office of preſident on the 26th of July 1688. Dudley, ſoon afterward returned to this province from Boſton, but did not think proper to diſpute Ingolſby's authority, though the latter had no title, nor the greateſt abilities for government, and was beſide obnoxious to the party who had joined Leiſler.

This ſummer Major Schuyler, with a party of Mohawks, paſſed through the Lake Champlain, and made a bold irruption upon the French ſettlements, at the north end of it. De Callieres, the governor of Montreal, to oppoſe him, collected a ſmall army of 800 men, and encamped at La Prairie. Schuyler had ſeveral conflicts with the enemy, and ſlew about 300 of them, which exceeded in number his whole party. The French, aſhamed at their ill ſucceſs, attributed it to the want of order, too many deſiring to have the command. But the true cauſe was, the ignorance of their officers in the Indian manner of fighting. They kept their men in a body, while the Engliſh poſted themſelves behind trees, hidden from the enemy. Major Schuyler's deſign, in this deſcent, was to animate the Indians, and preſerve their enmity with the French. They accordingly continued their hoſtilities againſt them; and, by frequent incurſions, kept the country in conſtant alarm.

In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, the French governor preſerved his ſprightlineſs and vigour, animating every body about him. After he had ſerved himſelf of the Utawawas, who came to trade at Montreal, he ſent them home under the care of a captain and 110 men; and, to ſecure their attachment to the French intereſt, gave them two Indian priſoners; and, beſide, ſent very conſiderable preſents to the weſtern Indians, in their alliance. The captives were afterwards burnt. The Five Nations, in the mean time, grew more and more incenſed, and continually haraſſed the French borders. An Indian, called Black Kettle, commanded in the incurſions of the Five Nations, and his ſucceſſes, which continued the whole ſummer, ſo exaſperated the Count, that he ordered an Indian priſoner to be burnt alive. The bravery of this ſavage was as extraordinary as the torments inflicted on him were cruel.

Colonel Benjamin Fletcher arrived, with a commiſſion to be governor, on the 29th of Auguſt 1692, which was publiſhed the next day, before the members in council.

Colonel

Colonel Fletcher brought over with him a preſent to the colony, of arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores; in gratitude for which, he exhorted the council and aſſembly, who were ſitting at his arrival, to ſend home an addreſs of thanks to the king. It conſiſts principally of a repreſentation of the great expence the province was continually at to defend the frontiers, and praying his Majeſty's direction, that the neighbouring colonies might be compelled to join their aid for the ſupport of Albany.

Fletcher was by profeſſion a ſoldier, a man of ſtrong paſſions, and inconſiderable talents; very active, and equally avaricious. Nothing could be more fortunate to him than his early acquaintance with Major Schuyler, at Albany, at the treaty for confirmation of the Indian alliance, the fall after his arrival. No man, then in this province, underſtood the ſtate of its affairs with the Five Nations better than Major Schuyler. He had ſo great an influence over them, that whatever Quider, as they called him, recommended or diſapproved, had the force of a law. This power over them was ſupported, as it had been obtained, by repeated offices of kindneſs, and his ſingular bravery and activity in the defence of his country. Theſe qualifications rendered him ſingularly ſerviceable and neceſſary both to the province and the governor. For this reaſon, Fletcher took him into his confidence, and, on the 25th of October, raiſed him to the council-board. Under the tutelage of Major Schuyler, the governor became daily more and more acquainted with Indian affairs; his conſtant application to which procured and preſerved him a reputation and influence in the colony.

The old French governor, who found that all his meaſures for accompliſhing a peace with the Five Nations proved abortive, was now meditating a blow on the Mohawks. He accordingly collected an army of 600 or 700 French and Indians, and ſupplied them with every thing neceſſary for a winter campaign. They ſet out from Montreal on the 15th of January 1693, and had a laborious march until the 6th of February, when they paſſed by Schenectady, and ſurpriſed the Mohawk caſtles, and took about 300 priſoners.

Colonel Schuyler went out againſt the enemy at the head of 200 militia, who were joined by 300 Indians: but the latter were fearful to engage, and ſuffered the enemy to depart with little moleſtation.

Governor Fletcher embarked from New York with 300 voluntiers, and arrived at Schenectady on the 17th, which was too late to be of any

any other uſe than to ſtrengthen the ancient alliance *. But the Indians, in commendation of his activity on this occaſion, gave him the name of Cayenquirago, or "The great ſwift arrow †."

The governor returned to New York, where he met the aſſembly in the month of March, when he received the thanks of the houſe for his late vigilance. He met the Five Nations at Albany, in July 1693, with a valuable preſent of clothing, ammunition, hatchets, and knives, which had been ſent over for that purpoſe by the crown. The Indians conſented to a renewal of the ancient league, and expreſſed their gratitude for the royal donation in the moſt reſpectful terms ‡.

His excellency returned to New York, and met a new aſſembly in September, when James Graham was choſen ſpeaker. The governor endeavoured to procure the eſtabliſhment of a miniſtry throughout the colony, a revenue to his Majeſty for life, the repairing the fort in New York, and the erection of a chapel. The zeal with which this affair was recommended, induced the houſe to appoint a committee of eight members, to agree upon a ſcheme for ſettling a miniſtry in each reſpective precinct throughout the province. It was ſo warmly conteſted, that the governor broke up the ſeſſion with a very angry ſpeech.

Certainly they deſerved better uſage at his hands; for the revenue was continued five years longer than was originally intended; which was rendering the governor independent of the people for that time; becauſe the aſſembly had then no treaſurer, and the amount of all taxes went of courſe into the hands of the receiver-general, who was appointed by the crown. Out of this fund monies were only iſſuable by the governor's warrant; ſo that every officer in the government became intirely dependent on the governor.

Governor Fletcher and his aſſembly having come to an open rupture in the ſpring, he called another in June, of which James Graham was choſen ſpeaker. The Count Frontenac was then repairing the old fort at Cadaraqui, and the intelligence of this, and the king's aſſignment of the quotas of the ſeveral colonies, for an united force, againſt the French, were the principal matters which the governor laid before the aſſembly.

* Colden, I. p. 150. 158. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 161.

As

As a number of forces were now arrived, the aſſembly were in hopes the province would be relieved from raiſing any more men for the defence of the frontiers; and, to obtain this favour of the governor, ordered 1000 *l.* to be levied, one half to be preſented to him, and the reſt he had leave to diſtribute among the Engliſh officers and ſoldiers. A bill for this purpoſe was drawn; but though his Excellency thanked them for their favourable intention, he thought it not for his honour to conſent to it. After paſſing ſeveral laws, the ſeſſion broke up in perfect harmony; the governor, in his great grace, recommending it to the houſe to appoint a committee to examine the public accounts againſt the next ſeſſions.

In September, Fletcher went up to Albany, with very conſiderable preſents to the Indians; whom he blamed for ſuffering the French to rebuild the fort at Cadaraqui, or Frontenac, which commanded the entrance from Canada into the great Lake Ontario.

While theſe works were carrying on, the Dionandadies, who were then poorly ſupplied by the French, made overtures of a peace with the Five Nations, which the latter readily embraced, becauſe it was owing to their fears of theſe Indians, who lived near the Lake Michilimakinac, that they never dared to march with their whole ſtrength againſt Canada. The French commandant was fully ſenſible of the importance of preventing this alliance. The civilities of the Dionandadies to the priſoners, by whom the treaty, to prevent a diſcovery, was negociated, gave the officer the firſt ſuſpicion of it. One of theſe wretches had the unhappineſs to fall into the hands of the French, who put him to the moſt exquiſite torments, that all future intercourſe with the Dionandadies might be cut off.

From the time Colonel Fletcher received his inſtructions reſpecting the quotas of theſe colonies, for the defence of the frontiers, he repeatedly, but in vain, urged their compliance with the king's direction: he then carried his complaints againſt them home to his Majeſty; but all his applications were defeated by the agents of thoſe colonies who reſided in England, and there demonſtrated the inequality and impropriety of the demand. As ſoon therefore as he had laid this matter before the aſſembly, in autumn 1695, the houſe appointed William Nicol to go home in the quality of an agent for this province, for which they

allowed him 1000 *l.* But his ſolicitations proved unſucceſsful, and the inſtruction relating to theſe quotas, which is ſtill continued, remains unnoticed to this day*.

The Count de Frontenac invaded the country of the Five Nations with a great army in 1696; and the continual incurſions of the Five Nations ſpread a famine again through all Canada, and ſcalping parties were ſent out on each ſide until the treaty of peace ſigned at Ryſwick in 1697.

Richard, Earl of Bellamont in Ireland, ſucceeded Colonel Fletcher in the government of New York, where he arrived on the 2d of April 1698. His lordſhip was alſo appointed to the chief command of the Maſſachuſets Bay and New Hampſhire, as well as this province, where he was ſent principally to ſtop the growth of piracy; and he appointed John Nanfan, who was his kinſman, lieutenant-governor. His lordſhip's commiſſion was publiſhed in council on the day of his arrival; Colonel Fletcher, who ſtill remained governor under the proprietors of Pennſylvania, and lieutenant-governor Nanfan, being preſent.

In 1700, a law was ordained for hanging every Popiſh prieſt that came voluntarily into the province; which was occaſioned by the great number of French Jeſuits who were continually attempting to make Indian proſelytes; and it continues in full force to this day.

The Earl of Bellamont died on the 5th of March 1701; and his death was the ſource of new troubles, concerning the powers of government, until the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, who ſettled the controverſy by aſſuming the ſupreme command.

The aſſembly met on the 19th of Auguſt 1701, when Abraham Governeur was elected ſpeaker; and Mr. Nanfan, in his ſpeech to the houſe, informed them "of the memorable grant to the crown, on the 19th of July, by the Five Nations, of a vaſt tract of land, to prevent the neceſſity of their ſubmitting to the French in caſe of a war: that his Majeſty had given out of his exchequer 800 *l.* to be laid out in preſents to the Indians; and 2500 *l.* for erecting forts."

* Colden, vol. i.

Edward,

Edward, Lord Viſcount Cornbury †, was appointed governor of this province, where he arrived, with his lady and family, in 1701. His commiſſion was renewed by Queen Anne, who alſo appointed him to the command of New Jerſey, the government of which the proprietors had lately ſurrendered into her hands *.

The following ſummer was remarkable for an uncommon mortality, which prevailed in the city of New York, and makes a grand epoch among its inhabitants, diſtinguiſhed by the "Time of the great ſickneſs." This was a fever brought from the iſland of St. Thomas in the Weſt Indies; and many died of it.

On this occaſion, Lord Cornbury had his reſidence at Jamaica, a pleaſant village on Long Iſland, inhabited partly by original Dutch planters, but chiefly by New England emigrants. His Excellency was met here by the aſſembly.

Lord Cornbury ſhewed evident marks of a perſecuting ſpirit during the whole of his adminiſtration ‡, particularly in proſecuting two preſbyterian miniſters, on a pretence that they unlawfully preached without his licence firſt obtained, in derogation of the royal authority and prerogative.

Lord Cornbury was no leſs obnoxious to the people of New Jerſey than to thoſe of New York. They drew up a complaint againſt him, which they tranſmitted to the Queen, who declared ſhe would not ſuffer her neareſt relations to oppreſs her ſubjects; in conſequence of which, ſhe diveſted his lordſhip of all his authority, and appointed Lord Lovelace in his ſtead.

As ſoon as Lord Cornbury was ſuperſeded, his creditors threw him into the cuſtody of the ſheriff of New York, where he remained until the death of his father, when he ſucceeded to the earldom of Clarendon, and returned to England with an infamous character ‖.

† He was ſon of the Earl of Clarendon, who refuſed the oaths to King William and Queen Anne; and grandſon to the great Chancellor Clarendon, who was alſo grandfather to Queen Mary and Queen Anne.

* Samuel Smith's Hiſtory of New Jerſey, p. 208.—336.

‡ Smith, p. 111.—113.

‖ W. Smith's Hiſtory of New York, p. 116. S. Smith's Hiſtory of New Jerſey, p 336.

John Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, was appointed to this government in March 1708, but did not arrive until the 18th of December following, when he was received with univerſal joy. Having diſſolved the general aſſembly ſoon after his acceſſion to the government, he convened a new one on the 5th of April 1709.

The principal matter which engaged the attention of the aſſembly was the affair of the revenue: but, on the 5th of May, they agreed to raiſe 2500*l.* to defray the charges of government to the 1ſt of May enſuing; of which 1600*l.* was voted to his Excellency; and the remaining ſums toward a ſupply of firewood and candles to the different forts; as alſo for payment of ſmall ſalaries to the printer, clerk of the council, and Indian interpreter.

This new project, of providing annually for the ſupport of government, was contrived to prevent the miſchiefs to which the long revenues had formerly expoſed the Coloniſts: But, as it rendered the governor, and all the other ſervants of the crown, dependent upon the aſſembly, a rupture muſt have enſued; which was prevented by the death of his lordſhip, occaſioned by a diſaſter in croſſing the ferry at his firſt arrival in the city of New-York, where his lady continued long after his death, ſoliciting for the ſum voted to her huſband; and though the Queen interpoſed, by a letter in her behalf, nothing was allowed till ſeveral years afterwards.

Lord Lovelace being dead, the chief command devolved upon Richard Ingoldſby the lieutenant-governor, the ſame who had exerciſed the government ſeveral years before, upon the deceaſe of Colonel Sloughter. His ſhort adminiſtration is remarkable, not for his extraordinary talents, for he was a heavy man, but for a ſecond fruitleſs attempt againſt Canada. Colonel Vetch, who had been ſeveral years before at Quebec, and ſounded the river of St. Lawrence, was firſt projector of this enterpriſe. The miniſtry approved of it, and Vetch arrived in Boſton, and prevailed upon the New England Colonies to join in the ſcheme. After that he came to New York, and concerted the plan of operations. It was at this juncture the firſt act of aſſembly for iſſuing bills of credit was paſſed; an expedient without which they could not have contributed to the expedition, the treaſury being then totally exhauſted. Univerſal joy brightened every man's countenance, becauſe all expected the complete reduction of Canada before the enſuing fall. Big with the pleaſing proſpect of an event which would put a period to all the ravages of an encroaching mercileſs enemy, extend the Britiſh empire, and augment

augment their trade, they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt for the ſucceſs of the expedition.

Having thus put themſelves to the expence of above 20,000 *l.* toward this enterpriſe, the delay of the arrival of the fleet ſpread a general diſcontent through the country; and, early in the fall, the aſſembly addreſſed the lieutenant-governor to recall their forces from the camp: and Vetch and Nicholſon ſoon after broke up the campaign.

Had this expedition been vigorouſly carried on, doubtleſs it would have ſucceeded. The public affairs at home were conducted by a wiſe miniſtry: the allied army triumphed in repeated ſucceſſes in Flanders; and the court of France was in no condition to give aſſiſtance to ſo diſtant a colony as Canada. The Indians of the Five Nations were engaged, through the indefatigable ſolicitations of Colonel Schuyler, to join heartily in the attempt; and in America every thing was ripe for the attack. At home, Lord Sunderland, the ſecretary of ſtate, had proceeded ſo far, as to diſpatch orders to the Queen's ſhips at Boſton to hold themſelves in readineſs, and the Britiſh troops were upon the point of their embarkation. At this juncture the news arrived of the defeat of the Portugueſe, which reducing their allies to great ſtraits, the forces intended for the American adventure were then ordered to their aſſiſtance, and the thoughts of the miniſtry intirely diverted from the Canada expedition.

Impreſſed with a ſtrong ſenſe of the neceſſity of ſome vigorous meaſures againſt the French, Colonel Schuyler was extremely diſcontented at the late diſappointment; and reſolved to make a voyage to England, at his private expence, the better to inculcate on the miniſtry the neceſſity of reducing Canada to the crown of Great Britain; for which purpoſe he propoſed to carry home with him five Indian chiefs.

The arrival of the five Sachems in England made a great noiſe through the whole kingdom. The mob followed wherever they went, and ſmall prints of them were ſold among the people. The court was at that time in mourning for the death of the Prince of Denmark; theſe American Kings were therefore dreſſed in black under-clothes after the Engliſh manner; but, inſtead of a blanket, they had each a ſcarlet-in-grain cloth mantle, edged with gold, thrown over all their other garments. This dreſs was directed by the dreſſers of the playhouſe, and given by the Queen, who was adviſed to make a ſhew of them. A more than ordinary ſolemnity attended the audience they had of her Majeſty. Sir Charles Cotterel conducted them in two coaches to St. James's;

James's; and the lord chamberlain introduced them into the royal preſence.

While Colonel Schuyler was at the Britiſh court, Captain Ingoldſby was diſplaced, and Gerardus Beekman exerciſed the powers of government, from the 10th of April 1710, until the arrival of Brigadier Hunter, on the 14th of June following.

Hunter was a native of Scotland, and, when a boy, put apprentice to an apothecary. He left his maſter, and went into the army; and being a man of wit and perſonal beauty, recommended himſelf to Lady Hay, whom he afterward married. In the year 1707 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia; but, being taken by the French in his voyage to that colony, he was carried into France; and, upon his return to England, appointed to ſucceed Lord Lovelace in the government of this and the province of New Jerſey. Dean Swift's letter to him, during his captivity, ſhews that he had the honour of an intimacy with Mr. Addiſon and others, who were diſtinguiſhed for their good ſenſe and learning; and perhaps it was by their intereſt he was advanced to this profitable place.

Governor Hunter brought over with him near three thouſand Palatines, who the year before fled to England from the rage of perſecution in Germany.

The late attempt to attack Canada proving abortive, expoſed this colony to conſequences equally calamitous, dreaded and foreſeen. While the preparations were making to invade it, the French exerted themſelves in cajoling their Indian allies to aſſiſt in the repulſe; and as ſoon as the ſcheme dropped, numerous parties were ſent out to haraſs the Engliſh frontiers, which induced Governor Hunter, ſoon after his arrival, to make a voyage to Albany, where he met the confederate chiefs, and renewed the old covenant. While there, he was ſtrongly ſolicited by the New England governments to engage their Indians in a war with thoſe who were daily ravaging their borders; but he prudently declined a meaſure which might have expoſed his own province to a general devaſtation. A treaty of neutrality ſubſiſted at that time between the confederates and the Canada French and their Indians, which, depending upon the faith of lawleſs ſavages, was at beſt but precarious, and yet the only ſecurity they had for the peace of their borders. A rupture between them would have involved the coloniſts of New York in a ſcene of miſery, at a time, of all others, moſt unſeaſonable. However, the people of New England might cenſure the governor, it was a proof of his wiſdom to refuſe their requeſt: for, beſide the want of men and arms to defend the province, its forts were fallen down, and the treaſury exhauſted.

The

The new aſſembly met at New York on the firſt of September. The addreſs of the houſe was perfectly agreeable to the governor. They promiſed to provide for the ſupport of government, and to reſtore the public credit, as well as to protect the frontiers. In anſwer to the cloſe of his ſpeech, they declared their hope, that ſuch as excited party contentions might meet with as little credit and as much diſgrace as they deſerved. This unanimity, however, was ſoon interrupted. Colonel Morris, for ſome warm words dropped in a debate, was expelled the houſe; and ſoon after, a diſpute aroſe between the council and aſſembly, concerning ſome amendments made by the former to a bill for the treaſurer's paying ſundry ſums of money.

The five Indian chieftains, carried to England by Colonel Schuyler, having ſeen all the curioſities in London, and been much entertained by many perſons of diſtinction, returned to Boſton with Commodore Martin and Colonel Nicholſon; the latter of whom commanded the forces deſigned againſt Port Royal and the coaſt of Nova Scotia. In this enterpriſe, the New England colonies, agreeable to their wonted courage and loyalty, lent their aſſiſtance; and the reduction of the garriſon, which was then called Annapolis Royal, was happily completed on the 2d of October 1710. Animated by this and ſome other ſucceſſes in Newfoundland, Nicholſon again urged the proſecution of the ſcheme for the reduction of Canada; which, having been ſtrongly recommended by the Indian chiefs, as the only effectual means to ſecure the northern colonies, was now again reſumed.

Toward the execution of this project, five thouſand troops from England and Flanders were ſent over, under the command of Brigadier Hill, the brother of Mr. Maſham, the Queen's new confident, on the diſgrace of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough. The fleet of tranſports, under the convoy of Sir Hoveden Walker, arrived, after a month's paſſage, at Boſton, on the 4th of June 1711. The proviſions, with which they expected to be ſupplied there, being not provided, the troops landed. Nicholſon, who was to command the land forces, came immediately to New York, where Mr. Hunter convened the aſſembly, on the 2d of July.

The houſe was ſo well pleaſed with the deſign upon Canada, that they voted an addreſs of thanks to the Queen, and ſent a committee to Nicholſon, to congratulate his arrival. In a few day's time, an act was paſſed for raiſing forces; and the aſſembly, by a reſolution, according to the governor's advice, reſtricted the price of proviſions to certain particular ſums. Bills of credit, for forwarding the expedition, were now alſo ſtruck, to the amount of 10,000 l.

The French in Canada were not unappriſed of theſe deſigns. Vaudreuil, the governor general, ſent his orders from Montreal to the Sieur De Beaucourt, to haſten the works he was about at Quebec; and commanded that all the regulars and militia ſhould be held in readineſs to march on the firſt warning.

As ſoon as the Marquis De Vaudreuil, by the accounts of the fiſhermen, and two other ſhips, had reaſon to ſuſpect that our fleet was returned, he went to Chambly, and formed a camp of three thouſand men to oppoſe Nicholſon's army, intended to penetrate Canada at that end. But he was ſoon informed that our troops were returned, upon the news of the diſaſter which had befallen the fleet; and that the people of Albany were in the utmoſt conſternation.

The public debts, by this unfortunate expedition, were greatly increaſed, which occaſioned a controverſy between the council and aſſembly, concerning the application of the public money. Both houſes adhered to their reſpective opinions; in conſequence of which, the public debts remained unpaid.

About this time, Colonel Hunter, by the advice of his council, began to exerciſe the office of chancellor; having, on the 4th of October, appointed two maſters, a regiſter, an examiner, and two clerks. A proclamation was then iſſued, to ſignify the ſitting of the court on Thurſday in every week; which gave riſe to theſe two reſolutions of the houſe:

"Reſolved, That the erecting a court of chancery, without conſent in general aſſembly, is contrary to law, without precedent, and of dangerous conſequence to the liberty and property of the ſubjects.

"That the eſtabliſhing fees, without conſent in general aſſembly, was contrary to law."

The council made theſe votes the ſubject of part of a long repreſentation, which they tranſmitted to the Lords of Trade, who approved of what the governor had done, and blamed the aſſembly; adding, "That her Majeſty had an undoubted right of appointing ſuch, and ſo many courts of judicature in the plantations as ſhe ſhould think neceſſary for the diſtribution of juſtice."

Colonel Hunter, at the next meeting in May 1712, recommended the public debts to the conſideration of the aſſembly, who neglected the matters laid

laid before them; and the governor broke up the ſeſſion by a ſhort prorogation of three days, after which the aſſembly was diſſolved.

Before the meeting of the next aſſembly, the peace of Utrecht was concluded on the 31ſt of March 1713; by this treaty, the Britiſh crown became intitled to the ſovereignty over the country of the Five Nations, at leaſt for any claim that could be alleged by the French.

The new aſſembly met on the 27th of May 1713, when the governor acquainted them, that "he was reſolved to paſs no law until proviſion was made for the government." A bill was accordingly paſſed; as alſo an exciſe bill on ſpirituous liquors, which now exiſts, and produces about 1000l. a year into the treaſury: but the debts of the government remained unnoticed until the ſummer of the year 1714, when it appeared that they amounted to 28,000l. for the payment of which, recourſe was had to the public bills of credit, to be depoſited in the hands of the provincial treaſurer, and iſſued by him only purſuant to the directions of the act.

Upon the death of Queen Anne, a diſſolution enſued of courſe, and a new houſe met in May 1715, which was ſoon diſſolved by the governor, who was determined to ſubdue thoſe whom he could not allure. In the new houſe, June 1716, the governor obtained a majority, which he retained until 1718.

The governor returned to England, where he ſucceeded William Burnet, Eſq; as comptroller-general of the cuſtoms at London, and Mr. Burnet ſucceeded him as governor of New York, where he took upon him the government, on the 17th of September 1720.

Mr. Burnet was a ſon of that well-known Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, who died in March 1714. This ſon was of a more elevated genius than his father: he was a ſenſible and polite gentleman, a good ſcholar, and of a ſocial diſpoſition.

Governor Hunter recommended all his old friends to the favour of his ſucceſſor; ſo that few changes were made by him, except that Colonel Schuyler, who had preſided at the council-board in the abſence of Colonel Hunter, and Mr. Philips, were both removed from that board, on account of the oppoſition they made to the continuance of the aſſembly.

The new governor made chief-juſtice Morris his principal confident; Cadwallader Colden, and James Alexander, Eſqrs. two Scotch gentle-

men, had the next place in his eſteem; in which choice he ſhewed his wiſdom, as they were both gentlemen of great learning, good morals, and ſolid parts. The former was well acquainted with the provincial affairs, and particularly thoſe relating to the Indian allies, as appears by his "Hiſtory of the Five Indian Nations of Canada," which he very juſtly dedicated to the honourable General Oglethorpe, who was certainly the beſt judge in the world of Indian affairs. Mr. Alexander was bred to the law, and had a great character in his profeſſion; nor was he unacquainted with the affairs of the public, becauſe he had ſerved in the ſecretary's office, the beſt ſchool in the province for inſtruction in matters of government.

Of all the governors of this province, not one had ſuch perfect and extenſive views of Indian affairs, and the dangerous neighbourhood of the French, as Mr. Burnet, in which Mr. Livingſton was his principal aſſiſtant. His excellency's attention to theſe matters appeared at the very commencement of his adminiſtration; for, in his firſt ſpeech to the aſſembly, he endeavoured to implant the ſame ſentiments in the breaſts of the members; trying to alarm their fears by the daily advances of the French, their poſſeſſing the principal paſſes, ſeducing the Indian allies, and increaſing their new ſettlements in Louiſiana.

Among the moſt remarkable acts paſſed at this ſeſſion, may be reckoned that for prohibiting the ſale of Indian goods to the French. The laſt was a law very advantageous to the province; yet it became the ſource of an unreaſonable oppoſition againſt the governor, which continued through his whole adminiſtration.

Mr. Burnet's ſcheme was, to draw the Indian trade into Engliſh hands; to obſtruct the communication of the French with the Five Nations, which gave them frequent opportunities of ſeducing them from their fidelity; and to regain the Caghnuagas, who became intereſted in their diſaffection, by being the carriers between Albany and Montreal.

Among thoſe who were more immediately prejudiced by this new regulation, the importers of thoſe goods from Europe were the chief; and hence the ſpring of their oppoſition to the governor: but this was not the only ſtratagem of thoſe who were diſaffected by the prohibition of the French trade.

The London merchants were alſo induced to petition the King for an order to his governor, prohibiting the revival of the act made againſt it,

or

or the paſſing any new law of that tendency. The petition was referred to the Board of Trade, and backed before their lordſhips, with ſuggeſtions of the moſt notorious falſehoods. The Lords of Trade prudently adviſed, that no ſuch directions ſhould be ſent to Mr. Burnet till he had an opportunity of anſwering the objections againſt the act. They were accordingly ſent over to him, and he laid them before his council. Dr. Colden and Mr. Alexander exerted themſelves in a memorable report in anſwer to thoſe objections, which drew upon them the reſentment of ſeveral merchants in New York, who had firſt excited the London petition, and laid the foundation for a long variance between their families.

Governor Burnet tranſmitted this report to the Board of Trade, and it had the intended effect.

Nothing could more naturally excite the jealouſy of the French than the erection of the new trading houſe at the mouth of the river Onondaga: fearful therefore of loſing a profitable trade, which they had almoſt intirely engroſſed, and the command of the Lake Ontario, they launched two veſſels in it in the year 1726; as alſo tranſported materials for building a large ſtorehouſe, and repairing the fort at Niagara. The ſcheme was not only to ſecure to themſelves the entrance into the weſt end of the Lake, as they already had the eaſt, by the fraudulent erection of Fort Frontenac, many years before, but likewiſe to carry their trade more weſterly, and thus render Oſwego uſeleſs, by ſhortening the travels of the Weſtern Indians near two hundred Miles.

Mr. Burnet laid the matter before the houſe, remonſtrated againſt the proceedings to Longuiel in Canada, wrote to the miniſtry in England, who complained of them to the French court, and met the confederates at Albany, where he prevailed on them to diſavow any connections with the French: he alſo embraced this opportunity to procure from the Indians a deed, whereby they ſurrendered their country to his Britannic Majeſty, to be protected for their uſe, and confirming their grant in 1701, concerning which there was no entry in the books of the ſecretary for Indian affairs.

The new aſſembly met in September 1727, and conſiſted of members ill-affected to the governor, who revived the diſcontents concerning the new court of chancery.

The governor diſſolved the aſſembly, quitted the government, and was appointed to the chief command of the Maſſachuſets Bay.

John Montgomery, Eſq; received the great ſeal of this province from Mr. Burnet, on the 15th of April 1728, having a commiſſion to ſuperſede him here and in New Jerſey *.

The governor was a Scotch gentleman; had been bred a ſoldier; had ſerved as groom of the bed-chamber to the King; obtained a ſeat in parment; and thus paved his way to preferment in America: "but in talents for government, he was much inferior to his predeceſſor; for he had neither ſtrength nor acuteneſs of parts, and was little acquainted with any kind of literature †."

After his excellency had obtained a five year's ſupport, and paſſed ſome ſalutary laws, he went to Albany, and held a treaty with the Six Nations, for a renewal of the ancient covenant, which greatly circumvented the inſidious French in their aſpiring views.

The trade between Albany and Montreal was ſtill encouraged, which was very prejudicial to the national intereſt: and the year 1731 was diſtinguiſhed by the complete ſettlement of the diſputed boundary between this province and the colony of Connecticut.

1731. Governor Montgomery died on the 31ſt of July 1731; and his death was much lamented, as he was remarkable for a kind and generous man.

The chief command then devolved upon Rip Van Dam, Eſq; as ſenior counſellor. He was an eminent merchant, and of a fair eſtate.

This adminiſtration is unfortunately ſignalized by the memorable encroachment at Crown Point. "The paſſiveneſs we diſcovered on this impudent and dangerous invaſion of his Majeſty's rights, is truly aſtoniſhing; and the more ſo, as the crown had at that time four independent companies, which had long been poſted here for our protection, at the annual expence of about 7500l. ſterling ‡."

Mr. Van Dam finiſhed his adminiſtration upon the 31ſt of Auguſt 1732, when William Coſby, Eſq; arrived, with a commiſſion to govern this and the province of New Jerſey.

The new governor, Coſby, and the late preſident, Rip Van Dam, had a ſpirited conteſt relative to ſalary and perquiſites, which was attended

* Smith, p. 173. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 179.

with

with bad circumſtances. The chief juſtice was Lewis Morris, Eſq; who delivered his opinion of the illegality of the proceedings in the ſupreme court, as in a court of equity, and refuſed to ſit on the bench; when the two other judges, James De Lancey, Eſq; and Frederick Philipſe, Eſq; determined in favour of the governor, that their court was a court of chancery, as well as common law. The governor then diſmiſſed the chief juſtice from the bench; and Mr. De Lancey filled his ſeat, which was an infringement of the conſtitution, as it was a compliment to the governor to give up the rights of the people, who were to be deprived of the benefit of trials by juries.

The late preſident made a noble remonſtrance againſt theſe violent proceedings of the governor; and the late chief juſtice publiſhed his "Opinion and Arguments concerning the Juriſdiction of the ſupreme Court of New York, to determine Cauſes in a Court of Equity;" wherein he ſet the governor's unlawful transforming the ſupreme court into a court of chancery in its true light; and in his letter to the governor, upon that occaſion, told him as follows: "I am heartily ſorry, Sir, for your own ſake, as well as that of the public, that the King's repreſentative ſhould be moved to ſo great a degree of warmth, which I truſt could proceed from no other reaſon but my giving my opinion in a court of which I was a judge, in a point of law that came before me. If judges are to be intimidated, ſo as not to dare to give any opinion but what is pleaſing to a governor, and agreeable to his private views, the people of this province, who are very much concerned, both with reſpect to their lives and fortunes, and independency of thoſe who are to judge of them, may poſſibly not think themſelves ſo ſecure in either of them as the laws and his Majeſty intend they ſhould be."

This behaviour of the governor to the late preſident and chief juſtice prepared the public, without ſurprize, to meet with the extraordinary proceedings arbitrarily carried on againſt Mr. Zenger, who printed the caſes of the injured gentlemen, by their deſire, and at their expence; which brought upon him the reſentment of the governor; and the chief juſtice being diſplaced, there were only the two judges left in court to try the printer for a libel againſt his excellency, wherein no worſe was ſaid of him than what the chief judge had declared to be againſt law.

Zenger's firſt news-paper was printed on the 5th of November 1733, and he continued printing and publiſhing them until January following, when the new chief juſtice animadverted upon the doctrine of libels, in a long

a long charge given in that term to the grand jury, of which Zenger's paper was the principal object: but the grand jury was not thereby prevailed upon to indict Zenger as expected; therefore the gentlemen of the council proceeded to take his papers into conſideration, and ſent a meſſage to the general aſſembly, to deſire a conference between a committee of both houſes about the proceedings to be carried on againſt Zenger.

The general aſſembly refuſed their concurrence with the council, who proceeded by themſelves in this extraordinary buſineſs; and when the quarter ſeſſions for the city of New York began, on the 5th of November 1734, the ſheriff delivered to the court an order, which was read, in theſe words:

"At a council held at Fort George in New York, the 2d of November 1734;

"PRESENT,

"His Excellency WILLIAM COSBY, captain-general and governor in chief, &c.

Mr. Clarke,	Mr. Harriſon,	Mr. Colden *.
Mr. Livingſton,	Mr. Kennedy,	Mr. Ch. Juſtice,
Mr. Cortland,	Mr. Lane,	Mr. Horſmanden.

"Whereas by an order of this board, of this day, ſome of John Peter Zenger's journals, intitled, *The New York Weekly Journal, containing the freſheſt Advices foreign and domeſtic*, N° 7. 47, 48, 49. were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory in this city, on Wedneſday the 6th inſtant, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon, as containing in them many things tending to ſedition and faction, to bring his Majeſty's government into contempt, and to diſturb the peace thereof; and containing in them likewiſe, not only reflections upon his excellency the governor in particular, the legiſlature in general, but alſo upon the moſt conſiderable perſons in the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſtations in this province. It is therefore ordered, That the mayor and magiſtrates of this city do attend at the burning of the ſeveral papers or journals aforeſaid, numbered as above-mentioned †."

* Dr. Colden was that day at Eſopus, ninety miles from New York, though mentioned as preſent in council.

† Signed, "Frederic Morris, D. Cl. Con." —— It was directed, "To Robert Lurting, Eſq; mayor of the city of New York, and the reſt of the magiſtrates of the ſaid city and county."

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The court refuſed to obey this order, " as they conceived it to be no mandatory writ warranted by law, nor knew of any law that authorized the making of the order aforeſaid; ſo they thought themſelves under no obligation to obey it: which obedience, they thought, would be in them the opening a door for arbitrary commands; which, when once opened, they knew not what dangerous conſequences might attend it. Therefore the court conceived itſelf bound in duty, for the preſervation of the rights of the corporation, and, as much as they could, of the liberty of the preſs, and the people of the province, ſince an aſſembly of the province, and ſeveral grand juries, had refuſed to meddle with the papers when applied to by the council, to proteſt againſt the order aforeſaid, and to forbid all the members of the corporation to pay any obedience to it, until it was ſhewn to the court that the ſame was authorized by ſome known law, which they neither knew nor believed that it was."

The ſheriff then moved, " That the court would direct their whipper to perform the ſaid order:" to which it was anſwered, " That, as he was an officer of the corporation, they would give no ſuch order." Soon after which the court adjourned, and did not attend the burning of the papers: but the ſheriff, about noon, after reading the numbers of the ſeveral papers, which were ordered to be burnt, delivered them into the hands of his own negro, and ordered him to put them in the fire, which he did; at which Mr. Recorder, Jeremiah Dunbar, Eſq. attended, with ſeveral officers of the garriſon.

The governor and his council iſſued an order to the ſheriff for ſeizing Mr. Zenger, and " to commit him to the priſon or common jail," where he was arbitrarily uſed, but ſpeedily bailed, after a warm conteſt at the city hall. The counſel * for Mr. Zenger exhibited exceptions againſt the legality of the court, which were taken in contempt, and thoſe gentlemen were " excluded from any farther practice in that court."

Mr. Bradley, the attorney-general, laid an information againſt Zenger for publiſhing thoſe papers, which he called libels. The court allowed John Chambers, Eſq. to be counſel for Mr. Zenger; and Andrew Hamilton, Eſq. of Philadelphia, being informed of the importance, as well as the great expectation, of the iſſue of the matter in diſpute, came from that city, in a voluntary manner, to defend the cauſe of liberty.

" On Tueſday the 29th of July 1735, the ſupreme court of judicature opened, and on motion of Mr. Chambers for a ſtruck jury, purſuant

* James Alexander and William Smith, Eſqrs.

to a rule of the preceding term, the court were of opinion, that Zenger was intitled to have a ſtruck jury;" which he with great difficulty obtained, according to his legal right, and the common method of proceeding in law; for many pretended freeholders were illegally returned: at laſt, however, an honeſt jury was impannelled, and conſiſted of the following perſons:

Hermanus Rutgers,	Samuel Weaver,	Ben. Hildreth, foreman,
Stanley Holmes,	Andries Marſchalk,	Abraham Keteltas,
Edward Man,	Egbert Van Borſoras,	John Goelet,
John Bell,	Thomas Hunt,	Hercules Wendover.

The trial began on the 4th of Auguſt 1735, which was thirty-five weeks after Mr. Zenger was confined in the common jail. The honourable James De Lancey, Eſq. ſat as chief juſtice, and the honourable Frederic Philipſe, Eſq. as ſecond juſtice. When the court was ſeated, the defendant appeared, and his counſel came prepared to oppoſe the information of Mr. Attorney General, who opened it as follows:

"That the information then before the court, and to which the defendant Zenger had pleaded not guilty, was an information for printing and publiſhing a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, in which his excellency the governor was greatly and unjuſtly ſcandalized, as a perſon that had no regard to law or juſtice; with much more, as would appear upon reading the information;" which was fortified only by innuendoes, quirked, ſcrewed, and ſtrained upon the vileſt principles, and ſharpeſt tenter-hooks of the law.

Mr. Hamilton pleaded Zenger's cauſe, a cauſe in which the whole body of the people were materially intereſted, in a moſt maſterly manner, from the principles both of law and reaſon, and obviated all the arbitrary principles and ſophiſtry urged on behalf of the proſecution, to univerſal ſatisfaction.

The jury withdrew, and ſoon returned, when they brought in their verdict, not guilty; upon which there were three loud huzzas in the hall, then crouded with people; and the next day Mr. Zenger was diſcharged from his impriſonment.

The citizens of New York were ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of Mr. Hamilton upon this occaſion, that "at a common council held at the city hall, on the 16th of September 1735, it was ordered, That Andrew Hamilton, Eſq. of Philadelphia, barriſter at law, be preſented with the freedom

freedom of this corporation; and that Alderman Bayard, Alderman Johnſon, and Alderman Fell, be a committee to bring in a draught thereof."

Accordingly, on the 29th of September, thoſe gentlemen, at a common council, produced the grant of the freedom; and ſundry of the corporation having raiſed a ſubſcription for a gold box to put it in, of five ounces and a half weight, on which were engraven the arms of the city; the freedom and box were carried to Philadelphia by Alderman Bayard, and there gratefully accepted by Mr. Hamilton.

George Clarke, Eſq; ſucceeded Governor Coſby in 1736; and Admiral George Clinton, brother to the Earl of Lincoln, was appointed governor in 1741, in which capacity he continued until 1751 *.

* Mr. Colden, vol. ii. p. 119.

CHAP. II.

Boundaries, mountains, rivers, lakes, and Indians; counties, towns, and inhabitants.

KING Charles II. in 1664 appointed commiſſioners to ſettle the boundaries of the ſeveral colonies: but from miſinformation they ſettled the line between New York and Connecticut by a north-weſt line, which they were made to believe would leave twenty miles to New York on the eaſt-ſide of Hudſon's river; whereas it ſoon croſſed that river, and left ſeveral of the Dutch ſettlements there to the colonies of Maſſachuſets Bay and Connecticut. This line is upon record in thoſe provinces, though they never took poſſeſſion thereof, as they might have done.

The partition line of New York with Connecticut was run by commiſſioners of both colonies, and ſigned at the town of Milford in Connecticut, by Colonel Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, and by Robert Treat, Eſq; governor of Connecticut. It was confirmed by the King in council on the 28th of March 1700; but as the line was not properly marked and diſtinguiſhed, eſpecially as to the equivalent lands, it was afterward finally run by both parties, and reconfirmed by the King in council, as related in the Account of Connecticut.

As to the eaſtern boundary of the province of New York, it has been claimed ſo far eaſt as Connecticut River; though this extenſion has been conteſted, and the eaſtern limit referred to a line parallel to, and at twenty miles diſtant eaſt of Hudſon's River, oppoſite the falls, and thence in a due north line to the ſouth boundary of Canada.

The north boundary of the province of New York is the ſouth line of Canada; and probably it ſhould begin at a point in a meridian twenty miles eaſt of the crook or great falls of Hudſon's River, which running weſt will croſs Lake Champlain, and terminate in Cataraqui River.

Its weſt line runs up Cataraqui River and Lake Ontario, but terminates on Lake Erie, in north lat. 42 deg. complete. From Oſwego upon Lake Ontario may be reckoned the breadth of the government of New York, about 220 miles; that is, due weſt from the Lake 200 miles to Albany or Hudſon's River, and from Albany twenty miles due weſt to the weſt line of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay.

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The ſouthern line of the province of New York is in ſeveral directions or flexures; 1. From Lake Erie, along the north head-line of Pennſylvania, in lat. 42. to Delaware River. 2. Thence twenty miles down that river to the north diviſional point of New York and New Jerſeys, in lat. 41. deg. 40 m. 3. Thence in a ſtraight line eaſt 42 deg. to 41 deg. lat. of Hudſon's River. 4. Thence twelve miles down Hudſon's River to the north end of the Iſland of New York: then down Hudſon's River on the weſt ſide of New York Iſland to Sandy Point, the entrance of New York road and harbour, about thirty miles. 5. Thence along the ſouthern ſhore of Long Iſland round the eaſt, including Fiſher's Iſland and Gardener's Iſland, which lie near the entrance of New London harbour in Thames River of Connecticut Colony: then along the northern ſhore of Long Iſland ſound, to over-againſt the mouth of Byram River, where the weſtern diviſional line between New York and Connecticut begins.

Beſide the main land country of New York, there are ſome iſlands belonging to it; 1. Long Iſland, called by the Indians Matawacks, and by the Dutch Naſſau; it lies in length from eaſt to weſt about 120 miles, and at a medium is about ten miles broad: its eaſt ſhore is a ſandy flat, as is all the eaſt ſhore of North America from Cape Cod of New England, in north lat. 42 deg. 10 m. to Cape Florida, in about 25 deg. north lat. Upon the ſhore of Long Iſland are very few inlets, and theſe very ſhallow: its north ſide is good water, there being a ſound between it and the main land of Connecticut: the wideſt part of this near New Haven of Connecticut does not exceed eight leagues. Two-thirds of this iſland is a barren ſandy ſoil. The eaſtern parts were ſettled from New England, and retain their cuſtoms: the weſtern parts were ſettled by the Dutch, where many families to this day underſtand no other language but the Dutch. It is divided into three counties; Queen's County, King's County, and Suffolk County; which pay conſiderably above one-fourth of the taxes or charges of the government of the province. Hell Gate, where is the confluence of meeting of the eaſt and weſt tide in Long Iſland ſound, is about twelve miles from the city of New York. 2. Staten Iſland at its eaſt end has a ferry of three miles to the weſt end of Long Iſland: at its weſt end is a ferry of one mile to Perth Amboy of Eaſt Jerſeys: it is divided from Eaſt Jerſeys by a creek, in length about twelve miles, and about ſix miles broad: it makes one county, called Richmond, which ſcarce pays one in one and twenty of the provincial tax: it is all in one pariſh, but ſeveral congregations, as an Engliſh, Dutch and French congregation. The inhabitants are moſtly Engliſh, only one conſiderable village, called Cuckold's Town. 3. Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard,

and Elizabeth Iſlands, formerly under the juriſdiction of New York, but upon the revolution they were annexed by the new charter of Maſſachuſſets Bay to the juriſdiction of that colony. Not many years ſince, ſome of the freeholders of theſe iſlands, when occaſionally in New York, were arreſted for the arrears of the general quit-rents of theſe iſlands. 4. Manhatans, the Indian name, New Amſterdam, the Dutch name, or New York, the Engliſh name, may be called an iſland, though it has a communication with the main land by King's Bridge: the whole iſland being about fourteen miles long, but very narrow, is all in the juriſdiction of the city of New York, and lies on the mouth of Hudſon's River.

The moſt conſiderable high lands are the Catkill Mountains, weſt of Hudſon's River, and about ninety miles north from New York. On the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt ſides of the Catkill Mountains, ſeveral ſtreams run, and fall into Hudſon's River below Albany. On their north-weſt ſide proceeds Schoraie River, which falls into the Mohawks River, a branch of Hudſon's River, at Fort Hunter, about thirty miles above Albany. This Schoraie River in its courſe comes within three or four miles of the main branch of the Delaware River; and from the ſouth-weſt ſide flows a conſiderable branch of the Delaware. Conaſoharie River falls into the Mohawks River about ten miles above Fort Hunter, and comes very near to a branch of Saſquehana River; which branch is ſo large, that, at eighteen miles from the Mohawks River, the Indians go down in canoes to all the Indian ſettlements upon Saſquehana River. From this ſituation of theſe rivers, no runs of water from the Catkill Mountains can fall into Lake Ontario, the River Ohio, or into the Saſquehana River. Excepting Long Iſland and Staten Iſland, the main land ſea-line from Byram River to New York Iſland, is very ſhort.

The ſource of Hudſon's River has not been properly diſcovered; but in general it is known to be in the mountainous country between the Lakes Ontario and Champlain. In its courſe ſouthward it approaches the Mohawks River within a few miles at Saucondauga. From thence it runs north and north-eaſterly toward Lake Saint Sacrament, now called Lake George, and is not above eight or ten miles diſtant from it. The courſe then to New York is very uniform, being in the main ſouth 12° or 15° weſt. The diſtance from Albany to Lake George is computed at ſixty-five miles; but the river in that interval is navigable only to Batteaus, and interrupted by rifts, which occaſion two portages of half a mile each; and in the paſſage from Albany to Fort Edward, the whole land-carriage is about thirteen miles. There are three routs from Crown Point to Hudſon's River in the way to Albany; one through Lake George; another through

through a branch of Lake Champlain, bearing a ſouthern courſe, and terminating in a baſon, ſeveral miles eaſt of Lake George, called the South Bay. The third is by aſcending the Wood Creek, a ſhallow ſtream, about one hundred feet broad, which comes from the ſouth-eaſt, and empties itſelf into the ſouth branch of the Lake Champlain. The place where theſe routs meet on the banks of Hudſon's River, is called the Carrying Place. Here Fort Lyman, ſince called Fort Edward, is built: but Fort William Henry, a much ſtronger garriſon, was erected at the ſouth end of Lake George, after the repulſe of the French forces, under the command of the Baron Dieſkau, on the 8th of September 1755. The banks of Hudſon's River are generally rocky cliffs, eſpecially on the weſtern ſhore. The paſſage through the high lands affords a wild romantic ſcene for ſixteen miles, through ſteep and lofty mountains. The tide flows a few miles above Albany: the navigation is ſafe, and performed in ſloops of about forty or fifty tons burden, extremely well accommodated to the river. About ſixty miles above the city of New York, the water is freſh, and much lower in wet ſeaſons.

The river is ſtored with a variety of fiſh, which renders a ſummer's paſſage to Albany exceeding amuſing to ſuch as are fond of angling. The tides, that is, the floods and ebbs, are about twelve hours later at Albany than at New York *.

At about one hundred miles comes in on the weſt ſide, Eſopus, or Soaper's River, which is noted for the manufactures of iron pigs and bars, flour and malt. A little farther, on the eaſt ſide of the Great River, is the Camp or Palatine Town, in the manor of Livingſton, about forty miles below Albany. At 125 miles on the eaſt ſide falls in Kinderhook River, after receiving Claverock River. At 157 miles on the weſt ſide is Cohoes, or the mouth of the Mohawks River. At 162 miles is the mouth of Houſuck River, where are a ſmall tribe of Indians, called Scatacooks. This Houſuck River is on the eaſt ſide of Hudſon's River, and comes from the north-weſt parts of New England. At 200 miles from New York is the elbow or flexure of this Great River at the Great Falls †.

The ſingular conveniency of Hudſon's River to this province in particular is very remarkable. The whole province is contained in two narrow oblongs, extending from the capital eaſt and north, having water carriage from the extremity of one, and from the diſtance of 160 miles of the other.

* W. Smith's Hiſtory of New York, p. 201.

† Douglas, vol. ii. p. 261.

By

By the moſt accurate calculation, it has not, at a medium, above twelve miles of land carriage throughout its whole extent. This was one of the ſtrongeſt motives to the ſettlement of a new country, as it afforded the eaſieſt and moſt ſpeedy conveyance from the remoteſt diſtances, and at the loweſt expence: but the effects of this advantage are greater than have been uſually obſerved, and therefore were not ſufficiently admired *.

The circumference of the five great lakes or inland ſeas of North America are conjectured to be as follows: Ontario, 200 leagues; Erie, 200 leagues; Hurons, 300 leagues; Michagan, 300 leagues; and the Upper Lake, 500 leagues: but all the adjacent lands are reſerved for the Indians.

It is neceſſary to know ſomething of the form of government among the Five Nations in alliance with New York, becauſe it ſtill remains under its original ſimplicity, and free from thoſe complicated contrivances, which have become neceſſary to the nations where deceit and cunning have increaſed as much as their knowledge and wiſdom.

The Five Nations conſiſt of ſo many tribes or nations, joined together by a league or confederacy like the Dutch United Provinces, and without any ſuperiority of the one over the other. This union has ſubſiſted ſo long, that Europeans know nothing of its original: but theſe Indians are known to the Engliſh by the names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Sennekas.

Each of theſe nations is again divided into three tribes or families, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by three different arms or enſigns; the Tortoiſe, the Bear, and the Wolf; and the Sachems, or Old Men of theſe families, put this enſign or mark of their family to every public paper when they ſign it.

Every nation is an abſolute republic by itſelf; and each caſtle in the nation makes an independent republic, governed in all public affairs by its own Sachems or Elders. The authority of theſe rulers is gained by, and conſiſts wholly in the opinion the reſt of the nation have of their wiſdom and integrity. They never execute their reſolutions by force upon any of their people; for honour and eſteem are their principal rewards, as ſhame and diſhonour are their puniſhments. They have certain cuſtoms which they obſerve in their public tranſactions with other nations, and in their private affairs among themſelves, which it is ſcandalous for any one

* Independent Reflector, publiſhed in 1753.

among

among them not to obſerve; and theſe always draw after them either public or private reſentment whenever they are broken.

Their leaders and captains, in like manner, obtain their authority by the general opinion of their courage and conduct, and loſe it by a failure in thoſe virtues.

Their great men, both Sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people; for they affect to give away and diſtribute all the preſents or plunder they get in their treaties or in war, ſo as to leave nothing to themſelves. There is not a man in the miniſtry of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwiſe than by merit: there is not the leaſt ſalary, or any ſort of profit annexed to any office, to tempt the covetous or ſordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commiſſion; for their authority is only the eſteem of the people, and ceaſes the moment that eſteem is loſt. Here may be ſeen the natural origin of all power and authority among a free people; and whatever artificial power or ſovereignty any man may have acquired by the laws and conſtitution of a country, his real power will be ever much greater or leſs in proportion to the eſteem the people have of him.

The Five Nations think themſelves by nature ſuperior to the reſt of mankind, and call themſelves Ongue-honwe; that is, men ſurpaſſing all others. This opinion, which they take care to cultivate into their children, gives them that courage which has been ſo terrible to all the nations of North America; and they have taken ſuch care to impreſs the ſame opinion of their people on all their neighbours, that they, on all occaſions, yield the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience to them. Mr. Colden ſays, he has been told by old men in New England, who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as ſoon as a ſingle Mohawk was diſcovered in the country, their Indians raiſed a cry from hill to hill, "A Mohawk! A Mohawk!" upon which they all fled like ſheep before wolves, without attempting to make the leaſt reſiſtance, whatever odds were on their ſide. The poor New England Indians immediately ran to the Chriſtian houſes, and the Mohawks often purſued them ſo cloſely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their brains out in the preſence of the people of the houſe: but if the people had time to ſhut the door they never attempted to force it; and on no occaſion did any injury to the Chriſtians. All the nations round them have for many years intirely ſubmitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them in wampum. They dare neither make war nor peace without the conſent of the

Mohawks. Two old men commonly go about every year or two to receive this tribute; and Mr. Colden had often opportunity to obſerve what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while theſe two old men remained in that part of the country where he was. An old Mohawk Sachem, in a poor blanket and dirty ſhirt, may be ſeen iſſuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator. It is not for the ſake of tribute, however, that they make war, but from the notions of glory, which they have ever moſt ſtrongly imprinted on their minds; and the farther they go to ſeek an enemy, the greater glory they think they gain. The Five Nations, in their love of liberty and of their country, in their bravery in battle, and their conſtancy in enduring torments, equal the fortitude of the moſt renowned Romans. Here may be finiſhed their general character, by what an enemy ſays of them, Monſieur de la Poterie, in his Hiſtory of North America.

"When we ſpeak," ſays he, "of the Five Nations in France, they are thought, by a common miſtake, to be mere barbarians, always thirſting after human blood; but their true character is very different. They are indeed the fierceſt and moſt formidable people in North America; and, at the ſame time, are as politic and judicious, as well can be conceived, which appears from the management of all the affairs they tranſact, not only with the French and Engliſh, but likewiſe with almoſt all the Indian nations of this vaſt continent."

Their matters of conſequence, which concern all the nations, are tranſacted in a general meeting of the Sachems of each nation. Theſe conventions are commonly held at Onnondaga, which is nearly the center of their country; but they have fixed on Albany for the place of treating with the Britiſh colonies.

They ſtrictly follow one maxim formerly uſed by the Romans to increaſe their ſtrength; that is, they encourage the people of other nations to incorporate with them: and when they have ſubdued any people, after they have ſatiated their revenge by ſome cruel examples, they adopt the reſt of their captives; who, if they behave well, become equally eſteemed with their own people, ſo that ſome of their captives have afterward become their greateſt Sachems and captains. The Tuſkaroras, after the war they had with the people of Carolina, fled to the Five Nations, and are now incorporated with them, ſo that they now properly indeed conſiſt of Six Nations, though they ſtill retain the old name of the Five Nations among the Engliſh. The Cowetas alſo, or Creek Indians, are in the ſame friendſhip with them.

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The Tuſkaroras, ſince they came under the province of New York, behaved themſelves well, and remain peaceably and quiet; by which may be ſeen the advantages of uſing the Indians well: and if they were ſtill better uſed, as there is room enough to do it, they would be proportionably more uſeful to the Britiſh Coloniſts.

The cruelty the Indians uſe in their wars toward thoſe that do not or cannot reſiſt, ſuch as women and children, and to their priſoners, after they have them in their power, is deſervedly held in abhorrence. But this cruelty is not peculiar to the Five Nations, as it is equally practiſed by all other Indians. It is wonderful how cuſtom and education are able to ſoften the moſt horrid actions, even among a polite and learned people; witneſs the Carthaginians and Phœnicians burning their own children alive in ſacrifice; and ſeveral paſſages in the Jewiſh hiſtory; and witneſs, in later times, the Chriſtians burning one another alive "for the ſake of God."

When any of the young men of theſe nations have a mind to ſignalize themſelves, and to gain a reputation among their countrymen, by ſome notable enterprize againſt their enemy, they at firſt communicate their deſign to two or three of their moſt intimate friends; and if they come into it, an invitation is made, in their names, to all the young men of the caſtle, to feaſt on dog's fleſh. When the company is met, the promoters of the enterprize ſet forth the undertaking in the beſt colours they can: they boaſt of what they intend to do, and incite others to join, from the glory there is to be obtained; and all who eat of the dog's fleſh thereby inliſt themſelves.

The night before they ſet out they make a grand feaſt, to which all the noted warriors of the nation are invited; and here they have their war dance to the beat of a kind of kettle drum. The warriors are ſeated in two rows in the houſe; each riſes up in his turn, and ſings the great acts he has himſelf performed, or the deeds of his anceſtors; and this is always accompanied with a kind of a dance, or rather action, repreſenting the manner in which they were performed; and, from time to time, all preſent join in a chorus, applauding every notable act. They exaggerate and extol the glory which any of their anceſtors have gained by their bravery and courage; ſo that they work up their ſpirits to a high degree of warlike enthuſiaſm.

They come to theſe dances with their faces painted in a frightful manner, as they always are when they go to war, to make themſelves terrible to their enemies; and in this manner the night is ſpent.

Next day they march out with much formality, dreſſed in their fineſt apparel, and in their march obſerve a profound ſilence. The women on theſe occaſions always follow them with their old clothes, and they ſend back by them their finery, in which they marched from the caſtle: But before they go from this place where they exchanged their clothes, they always peel a large piece of the bark off ſome great tree: they commonly chuſe an oak, as moſt laſting: upon the ſmooth ſide of this wood, they, with their red paint, draw one or more canoes going from home, with the number of men in them paddling which go upon the expedition; and ſome animal, as a doe or fox, an emblem of the nation againſt which the expedition is deſigned, is painted at the head of the canoes; for they always travel in canoes along the rivers, that lead to the country againſt which the expedition is deſigned, as far as they can.

After the expedition is over they ſtop at the ſame places in their return, and ſend to their caſtle to inform their friends of their arrival, that they may be prepared to give them a ſolemn reception, ſuited to their ſucceſs. In the mean time, they repreſent on the ſame or ſome tree near it, the event of the enterprize; and now the canoes are painted with their heads turned toward the caſtle; the number of the enemy killed is repreſented by ſcalps painted black, and the number of priſoners by as many withs, in their painting not unlike pothooks, with which they uſually pinion their captives. Theſe trees are the annals, or rather trophies of the Five Nations; and by them and their war ſongs they preſerve the hiſtory of their great atchievements. The ſolemn reception of theſe warriors, and the acclamations of applauſe which they receive at their return, cannot but have in the hearers the ſame effect, in raiſing an emulation for glory, that a triumph had on the old Romans.

After their priſoners are ſecured, they never offer them the leaſt violence; but, on the contrary, will rather ſtarve themſelves than ſuffer them to want. Notwithſtanding this, the poor priſoners afterward undergo ſevere puniſhments before they receive the laſt doom of life or death. The warriors think it for their glory to lead them through all the villages of the nations ſubject to them, which lie near the road; and theſe, to ſhew their affection to the Five Nations, and abhorrence of their enemies, draw up in two lines, through which the poor priſoners, ſtark naked, muſt run the gauntlet; and on this occaſion it is always obſerved the women are much more cruel than the men. The priſoners meet with the ſame ſad reception when they reach their journey's end; and, after this, they are preſented to thoſe that have loſt any relation in that or any former enterprize. If the captives be accepted, there is an end to their ſorrow from that moment: they are dreſſed as fine

fine as they can make them; they are abſolutely free, except to return to their own country, and enjoy all the privileges the perſon had in whoſe place they are accepted: but, if otherwiſe, they die in torments to ſatiate the revenge of thoſe that refuſe them.

If a young man or boy be received in place of a huſband that was killed, all the children of the deceaſed call that boy, father; ſo that one may ſometimes hear a man of thirty ſay, that ſuch a boy of fifteen or twenty is his father.

Their caſtles are generally a ſquare, ſurrounded with paliſadoes, without any baſtions or outworks; for, ſince the general peace, their villages lie all open.

Their only inſtruments of war are muſquets, hatchets, and long ſharp-pointed knives; which they always carry about with them. Their hatchet, in war time, is ſtuck in their girdle behind them; and beſide what uſe they make of this weapon in their hand, they have a dexterous way of throwing it. They have in this the art of directing and regulating the motion; ſo that, though the hatchet turns round as it flies, the edge always ſticks in the tree, and near the place at which they aim at. The uſe of bows and arrows are now intirely laid aſide, except among the boys, who are ſtill very dexterous in killing fowls and other animals with them.

They uſe neither drum nor trumpet, nor any kind of muſical inſtrument, in their wars. Their throats ſerve them on all occaſions where ſuch are neceſſary. Many of them have a ſurpriſing faculty of raiſing their voice not only in inarticulate ſounds, but likewiſe to make their words underſtood at a great diſtance.

They never make any priſoner a ſlave, but it is cuſtomary among them to make a compliment of naturalization into the Five Nations; and, conſidering how highly they value themſelves above all others, this muſt be no ſmall compliment: nor is it done by any general act of the nation, but every ſingle perſon has a right to do it by a kind of adoption.

The hoſpitality of theſe Indians is no leſs remarkable than their other virtues; as ſoon as any ſtranger comes, they are ſure to offer him victuals: but if there are ſeveral in company, and come from afar, one of their beſt houſes is cleaned and given up for their entertainment. Their complaiſance, on theſe occaſions, goes even farther than Chriſtian civility permits; as they have no other rule for it, than the furniſhing their

gueſt with every thing they think agreeable to him; for which reaſon ſome of their prettieſt girls are always ordered to waſh themſelves, and dreſs in their beſt apparel, in order to be preſented to the ſtranger for his choice, and the female who is preferred on theſe occaſions performs all the duties of a fond wife during the ſtranger's ſtay: But this laſt piece of hoſpitality is now either laid aſide by the Mohawks, or at leaſt they never offer it to any Chriſtian. This nation, indeed, has laid aſide many of its ancient cuſtoms; ſo likewiſe have the other nations; and have adopted European manners: therefore it is not eaſy now to diſtinguiſh their original and genuine manners from thoſe which they have lately acquired; and for this reaſon it is that they now ſeldom offer victuals to perſons of any diſtinction, becauſe they know that their cookery is not agreeable to the palates of Engliſhmen.

Polygamy is not uſual among them; and indeed, in any nation, where all are on a par as to riches and power, plurality of wives cannot well be introduced. As all kind of ſlavery is baniſhed from the countries of the Five Nations, ſo they keep themſelves free alſo from the bondage of wedlock; and when either of the parties becomes diſguſted, they ſeparate without formality or ignominy to either, unleſs it be occaſioned by ſome ſcandalous offence in one of them: And in caſe of divorce, the children, according to the natural courſe of all animals, follow the mother. The women here bring forth their children with as much eaſe as other animals, without the help of a midwife, and ſoon after their delivery return to their uſual employment. They alone alſo perform all the drudgery about their houſes; they plant their corn, and labour it in every reſpect until it is brought to the table: they likewiſe cut all their firewood, and bring it home on their backs, and in their marches bear the burdens. The men diſdain all kind of labour, and employ themſelves alone in hunting, as the only proper buſineſs for ſoldiers. At times, when it is not proper to hunt, a ſtranger will find the old men in companies, in converſation; the young men at their exerciſes, ſhooting at marks, throwing the hatchet, wreſtling or running, and the women all buſy at labour in the fields.

Theft is very ſcandalous among them, and it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo among all Indians, ſince they have no locks but thoſe of their honeſty to preſerve their goods.

There is one vice which the Indians have fallen into ſince their acquaintance with the Chriſtians, and of which they could not be guilty before that time, that is, drunkenneſs. It is ſtrange how all the Indian

Indian nations, and almoſt every perſon among them, male and female, are infatuated with the love of ſtrong drink: they know no bounds to their deſire while they can ſwallow it down, and then indeed the greateſt man among them ſcarcely deſerves the name of a brute.

They never have been taught to conquer any paſſion, but by ſome contrary paſſion; and the traders, with whom they chiefly converſe, are ſo far from giving them any abhorrence of this vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the profit of the liquor they ſell, but that they may have an opportunity to impoſe upon them: And this, as they chiefly drink ſpirits, has deſtroyed greater numbers than all their wars and diſeaſes put together.

The people of the Five Nations are much given to ſpeech-making, ever the natural conſequence of a perfect republican government. Where no ſingle perſon has a power to compel, the arts of perſuaſion alone muſt prevail. As their beſt ſpeakers diſtinguiſh themſelves in their public councils and treaties with other nations, and thereby gain the eſteem and applauſe of their countrymen, the only ſuperiority which any one of them has over the others, it is probable they apply themſelves to this art by ſome kind of ſtudy and exerciſe, in a great meaſure. "It is impoſſible, ſays Mr. Colden, for me to judge how far they excel, as I am ignorant of their language; but the ſpeakers whom I have heard had all a great fluency of words, and much more grace in their manner than any man could expect among a people intirely ignorant of all the liberal arts and ſciences."

As to what religious notions they have, it is difficult to judge of them; becauſe the Indians that ſpeak any Engliſh, and live near the Coloniſts, have learned many things of them; and it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh the notions they had originally among themſelves, from thoſe they have learned of the Chriſtians. It is certain they have no kind of public worſhip, and it is ſaid they have no radical word to expreſs God, but uſe a compound word ſignifying the preſerver, ſuſtainer, or maſter, of the univerſe; neither is it known what ſentiments they have of a future exiſtence. Their funeral rites ſeem to be formed upon a notion of ſome kind of exiſtence after death. They make a large round hole, in which the body can be placed upright, or upon its haunches; which, after the body is placed in it, is covered with timber to ſupport the earth which they lay over, and thereby keep the body free from being preſſed; and then they raiſe the earth in a round hill over it. They always dreſs the corpſe in all its finery, and put wampum and other things into the

grave

grave with it: the relations ſuffer not graſs or any weed to grow on the grave, and frequently viſit it with lamentations: but whether theſe things are done only as marks of reſpect to the deceaſed, or from a a notion of ſome kind of exiſtence after death, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader. They are very ſuperſtitious in obſerving omens and dreams; and are obſerved to ſhew a ſuperſtitious awe of the owl, and be highly diſpleaſed with ſome that mimicked the cry of that bird in the night. An officer of the regular troops reported, that while he had the command of the garriſon at Oſwego, a boy of one of the far weſtward nations died there. The parents made a regular pile of ſplit wood, laid the corpſe upon it, and burnt it. While the pile was burning, they ſtood gravely looking on, without any lamentation; but when it was burnt down, they gathered up the bones with many tears, put them into a box, and carried them away.

Queen Anne ſent over a miſſionary to reſide among the Mohawks, and allowed him a ſufficient ſubſiſtence from the privy purſe. She ſent furniture for a chapel, and a valuable ſet of plate for the communion table; and the like furniture and plate for each of the other nations; though that of the Mohawks only was applied to the uſe deſigned.

The common prayer, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, was tranſlated alſo into their language, and printed. Some other pieces were likewiſe tranſlated for the miniſter's uſe, particularly, an expoſition of the creed, decalogue, lord's prayer, and church catechiſm, and a diſcourſe on the ſacraments.

But as that miniſter was never able to attain any tolerable knowledge of their language, and was naturally a heavy man, he had little ſucceſs, and his allowance failing, by the queen's death, he left them. Theſe nations had no teacher from that time until within theſe few years, that a young gentleman, out of pious zeal, went voluntarily among the Mohawks. He was at firſt intirely ignorant of their language, and had no interpreter, except one of the Indians, who underſtood a little Engliſh, and had in the late miſſionary's time learned to read and write in his own language. He learned from him how to pronounce the words in the tranſlations, which had been made for the late miſſionary's uſe. He ſet up a ſchool to teach their children to read and write their own language; and they made ſurpriſing proficiency, conſidering their maſter did not underſtand their language. "I happened to be in the Mohawk country, ſays Mr. Colden, and ſaw ſeveral of their performances: I was preſent at their worſhip, where they went through ſome part

part of the common prayer with great decency. I was likewiſe preſent ſeveral times at their private devotions, which ſome of them performed morning and evening."

There is one cuſtom their men conſtantly obſerve, which I muſt not forget to mention: That if they be ſent with any meſſage, though it demand the greateſt diſpatch, or though they bring intelligence of any imminent danger, they never tell it at the firſt approach; but ſit down for a minute or two at leaſt in ſilence, to recollect themſelves before they ſpeak, that they may not ſhew any degree of fear or ſurprize by an indecent expreſſion. Every ſudden repartee, in a public treaty, leaves with them an impreſſion of a light inconſiderate mind: but in private converſation they uſe and are as delighted with briſk witty anſwers as we can be. By this they ſhew the great difference they place between the converſations of man and man, and of nation and nation; in which, and a thouſand other things, they might well be an example to the European nations *.

A ſubſequent writer † has alſo given us a ſummary view of the hiſtory and character of the Five Nations; by the Dutch called Maquaas; by the French Iroquois; and by us Five Nations, or Six Nations, and lately the confederates; who are greatly diminiſhed, and conſiſt now only of about 1200 fighting men. This author obſerves, "That the manners of theſe ſavages are as ſimple as their government. Their houſes are a few crotched ſtakes thruſt into the ground, and overlaid with bark. A fire is kindled in the middle, and an aperture left at the top for the conveyance of the ſmoke. Whenever a conſiderable number of thoſe huts are collected, they have a caſtle, as it is called, conſiſting of a ſquare without baſtions, ſurrounded with palliſadoes. They have no other fortification; and this is only deſigned as an aſylum for their old men, their wives and children, while the reſt are gone out to war. They live almoſt intirely without care. While the women or ſquaws cultivate a little ſpot of ground for corn, the men ſupply themſelves in hunting. As to clothes, they uſe a blanket girt at the waiſt, and thrown looſely over their ſhoulders. Some of their women, beſides this, have a ſort of a petticoat, and a few of their men have ſhirts; but the greater part of them are generally half naked. In winter their legs are

* "The Hiſtory of the Five Indian Nations of Canada which are dependent upon the province of New York, by the honourable Cadwallader Colden, Eſq. one of his Majeſty's council, and ſurveyor general of New York, vol. i. p. 1.—20."

† W. Smith's Hiſtory of New York, p. 34.

covered

covered with ſtockings of blanket, and their feet with ſocks of deer ſkin. Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taſte is very ſingular I have ſeen rings affixed, not only to their ears, but to their noſes. Bracelets of ſilver and braſs round their wriſts are very common: the women alſo plait their hair and tie it up in a bag, perhaps in imitation of the French beaus in Canada. Though the Indians are capable of ſuſtaining great hardſhips, yet they cannot endure much labour; being rather fleet than ſtrong. Their men are generally taller than the Europeans, rarely corpulent, always beardleſs, ſtraight limbed, of a tawny complexion, and black uncurled hair. In their food they have no manner of delicacy; for though veniſon is their ordinary diet, yet ſometimes they eat dogs, bears, and even ſnakes. Their cookery is of two kinds, boiled or roaſted; to perform the latter, the meat is penetrated by a ſhort ſharp ſtick ſet in the ground, inclining towards the fire, and turned as occaſion requires ‡."

The ſame author ſays, "As to the language of the Five Nations, the beſt account he had of it was contained in a letter from the Reverend Mr. Spencer, who reſided among them in the year 1748, being then a miſſionary from the Scotch Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge:" And he wrote as follows:

That "though he was very deſirous of learning the Indian tongue, yet through his ſhort reſidence at Ononghquage, and the ſurly diſpoſition of his interpreter, he confeſſed his proficiency was not great. That, except the Tuſcaroras, all the Six Nations ſpoke a language radically the ſame. It is very maſculine and ſonorous, abounding with gutturals and ſtrong aſpirations, but without labials. Its ſolemn grave tone is owing to the generoſity of its feet, as may be obſerved in the following tranſlation of the Lord's Prayer, in which he had diſtinguiſhed the time of every ſyllable by the common marks uſed in proſody:"

Soungwăunēhă, cāuroŭnkyāwgă, tēhsēētărōan, ſaūhsŏnĕyōūſtă,
Esă, săwănĕyŏu, Okĕttāūhsĕlă, ētmĕăŭwoūng, nā, cāurŏunkyāwgă,
Nūghwōnſhāūgă, nēăttewehnēsălāūgă, taūgwăunăutōrōnoăntoūghsĭk,
Tōāntaūgwĕlēēwhĕyouſtaŭng, chĕnēēyoŭt,
Chāquătaūtalēhwhĕyoŭſtaunnă, toūghſaw, taūgwaŭſsărēnēh,
Tāwăutottĕnăugăloūghtoūnggă, nāſawnĕ, săchĕaŭtaūgwāſs,
Coănlĕhsălōhaūnzaickăw, ēsă, săwăunēyoŭ, ēsă, săſhāutztă, ēsă,
Soūng wāſoŭng, chĕnnĕaŭhāūngwā, aūwĕn.

‡ W. Smith's Hiſtory of New York, p. 36.

"That

"That the extraordinary length of Indian words, and the guttural aſpirations neceſſary in pronouncing them, render the ſpeech extremely rough and difficult. The verbs never change in their terminations, as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but all their variations are prefixed. Beſides the ſingular and plural, they have alſo the dual number. A ſtrange tranſpoſition of ſyllables of different words, *Euphoniæ gratia*, is very common in the Indian tongue, of which this is an inſtance. Ōgĭllă ſignifies fire, and Căwāūnnā great; but inſtead of joining the adjective and ſubſtantive to ſay great fire, Căwāūnnā Ōgĭllă, both words would be blended into this one, Cŏ-gĭllă-wāūnna. The dialect of the Oneydas is ſofter than that of the other nations; and the reaſon is, becauſe they have more vowels, and often ſupply the place of harſh letters with liquids. Inſtead of R they always uſe L: Rebecca would be pronounced Lequecca."

Another writer *, ſtill of more eminence, has very accurately treated of Indian affairs, politics, and grants; as alſo of the European encroachments, unfair trading, and unjuſt claim of dominion over the Indians; the danger of Indian hoſtilities, and the neceſſity of a faithful alliance with them: in which hope, and with this view, he has endeavoured to ſtate the Indian rights, and our duty toward them; and to point out that line of conduct which leads to it.

The conſideration of this country, ſo far as it is connected with, or has any effect upon, the intereſts and politics of the Britiſh ſettlements, preſents itſelf to view divided into two ideas. 1ſt, The country between the ſea and the mountains: 2dly, The mountains themſelves. The firſt part is, almoſt throughout the whole, capable of culture, and is intirely ſettled: The ſecond, a wilderneſs, in which is found here and there, in ſmall portions in compariſon of the whole, ſolitary detached ſpots of ground fit for ſettlements. The reſt is nothing but a cover for vermin and rapine, a den for wild beaſts, and the wilder ſavages who wander in it.

Mr. Pownall tells us that the Indians themſelves deſcribing, under confidence, to a friend of his at Onondaga, this their ſituation, ſaid, "That it had many advantages ſuperior to any other part of America.

* "The Adminiſtration of the Colonies, by Thomas Pownall, late governor and commander in chief of his Majeſty's provinces, Maſſachuſets Bay and South Carolina, and lieutenant-governor of New Jerſey." Publiſhed in 1768.

The endleſs mountains ſeparate them from the Engliſh all the way from Albany to Georgia. If they ſhould have any deſign againſt the Engliſh, they could ſuddenly come down the Mohawks river, the Delaware, Suſquehanna, and Potomack, and that with the ſtream. They had the ſame advantage of invading the French by the waters of the rivers St. Lawrence, Sorel, and others. If the French ſhould prevail againſt that country, they could, with their old men, wives, and children, come down the ſtreams to the Engliſh. If the Engliſh ſhould prevail in attacking their country, they had the ſame conveyance down to the French; and if both ſhould join againſt them, they could retire acroſs the lakes."

Hunting being but the amuſement, the diverſion of a nation of ſettlers, the rights and laws of it may not appear as national points; but to a nation of hunters, theſe become the national intereſts and the law of nations; a violation of which was the cauſe of the war between the Five Nation confederacy, and the Oilinois. The Ohio-hunt to the ſouth eaſt of Lake Erie was common to theſe nations: the laws of the hunt required, that at each beaver pond the Indians ſhould leave a certain number of males and females: but the Oilinois, on ſome occaſion of pique, deſtroyed all; therefore the Five Nations declared war againſt the Oilinois. The Indian war ends not but in the total reduction of the one or the other, and the Oilinois were totally conquered; after which, the conquered country, as well as the hunt, became the right of the Five Nations, and were, among the reſt of their lands, put by them into the hands of the Engliſh in truſt *.

The right of the Five Nation confederacy to their dwelling lands and the hunting ground of Couxſachraga, and even down to the bottom of Lake Champlain, was never diſputed. The lands to the northward of Regiochne and la Galette have long ſince been ceded to the Canada Indians as an hunting ground.

In the year 1684, the Five Nations, finding themſelves hard preſſed by the French and their Indians, did, by a treaty at Albany, put the lands and caſtles of the Mohawks and Oneidas under the protection of the Engliſh government; and the Engliſh accordingly undertook the truſt to guarantee them to theſe Indians: and, as the external mark by which this act and deed ſhould be announced, the Indians deſired that the Duke of York's arms might be affixed to their caſtles.

* Ibid. p. 260.

The

The right of the Five Nation confederacy to the hunting lands of Ohio, Tieuckſouchrondite and Scaniaderiada, by the conqueſt they had made in ſubduing the Shaoanaes or Delawares, Twiƈtwes, and Oilinois, may be fairly proved, as they ſtood poſſeſſed thereof, at the peace of Ryſwick in 1697 *.

The Five Nations had ſeveral years carried on a deſtructive war againſt the French of Canada: but ſoon after the news of the peace of Ryſwick arrived at New York, the governor ſent an expreſs to Canada, to inform the governor there of it, that hoſtilities might ceaſe. The Five Nations having an account of the peace earlier than they had it in Canada, took advantage of it, in hunting beaver near Cadarackui fort; which occaſioned ſome diſputes in 1699 †.

Theſe Indians, in 1701, put all their hunting lands under the protection of the Engliſh, as appears by the records, and by the recital and confirmation thereof in a formal deed.

In the year 1726, the Seneccas, Cayougaes, and Ononda-agaes, acceded to the ſame terms of alliance in which the Mohawks and Oneidas were already engaged: ſo that the whole of the dwelling and hunting lands of the Five Nation confederacy were put under the protection of the Engliſh, and held by them in truſt, for and to the uſe of theſe Indians and their poſterity ‡.

The European landworkers, when they came to ſettle in America, began trading with Indians, and obtained leave of them to cultivate ſmall tracts as ſettlements or dwellings. The Indians, having no other idea of property than what was conformable to their tranſient temporary dwelling places, eaſily granted this. When they came to perceive the very different effect of ſettlements of landworkers creating a permanent property always extending itſelf, they became very uneaſy; yet, in the true ſpirit of juſtice and honour, abided by the effects of conceſſions which they had made, but which they would not have made had they underſtood the force of them before-hand.

From this moment the politics of the Indians were fixed on, and confined to two points: 1ſt, The guarding their dwelling lands and their hunts from the encroachments of the European ſettlers: 2d, The

* Ibid. p. 169. † Colden, vol. i. p. 205. ‡ Mr. Pownall, p. 270.

perpetually labouring to eſtabliſh ſome equitable and fixed regulations in the trade carried on between them and the Europeans.

The European encroachments, not only by the extent of their ſettlements, but by their preſuming to build forts in the Indian dwelling lands, and in the territories of their hunts, without leave, or by colluſion; and the impoſitions and frauds committed againſt the Indians in trading with them, have been the occaſion of conſtant complaint from the Indians, and the invariable ſources of Indian hoſtilities: yet even theſe might have been ſurmounted, were it not that we have conſtantly added an aggravation to this injuſtice, by claiming a dominion in conſequence of a landed poſſeſſion. Againſt this the free ſpirit of an Indian will revolt to the laſt drop of his blood. This will be a perpetual, unremitted cauſe of war againſt us. Againſt it, they have at all times, and upon all occaſions, proteſted, and they will never give it up. The European power may perhaps finally extirpate them, but can never conquer them. The perpetual increaſing generations of Europeans in America may ſupply numbers, that muſt, in the end, wear out theſe poor Indian inhabitants from their own country; but we ſhall pay dear, both in blood and treaſure, in the mean while, for our injuſtice. Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing ſettlements, diſperſed along the branchings of the upper parts of our rivers, and ſcattered in the diſunited valleys amidſt the mountains, muſt be always unguarded and defenceleſs againſt the incurſions of Indians. A ſettler, wholly intent on labouring on the ſoil, cannot ſtand to his arms, defend himſelf againſt, nor ſeek his enemy; environed with woods and ſwamps, he knows nothing of the country beyond his farm: the Indian knows every ſpot for ambuſh or defence. The farmer, driven from his little cultured lot into the woods, is loſt: the Indian in the woods is every where at home; every buſh, every thicket, is a camp to the Indian, from whence, at the very moment when he is ſure of his blow, he can ruſh upon his prey. The farmer's cow, or his horſe, cannot go into the woods, where alone they muſt ſubſiſt: his wife and children, if they ſhut themſelves up in their poor wretched loghouſe, will be burned in it; and the huſbandman in the field will be ſhot down while his hand holds the plough. An European ſettler can make but momentary efforts of war, in hopes to gain ſome point, that he may by it obtain a ſeries of ſecurity, under which to work his lands in peace: The Indian's whole life is a warfare, and his operations never diſcontinued. In ſhort, our frontier ſettlements muſt ever lie at the mercy of the ſavages; and a ſettler is the natural prey to an Indian, whoſe ſole occupation is war and hunting. To countries circumſtanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the moſt dreadful of enemies:

For,

For, in a war with Indians, no force whatever can defend onr frontiers from being a conſtant wretched ſcene of conflagrations, and of the moſt ſhocking murders. Whereas, on the contrary, our temporary expeditions againſt the Indians, even if ſucceſsful, can do them little harm. Every article of their property is portable, which they always carry with them: and it is no great matter of diſtreſs to an Indian to be driven from his dwelling ground, who finds a home in the firſt place he ſits down upon *.

This province was, by an act of aſſembly in 1691, divided into twelve counties as following:

I. *The City and County of New York.*

The city of New York, at firſt included only the Iſland, called by the Indians, Manhatans: Manning's Iſland, the two Barn Iſlands, and the three Oyſter Iſlands, were in the county; but the limits of the city have been ſince augmented by charter.

The Iſland is very narrow; not a mile wide at a medium, and about fourteen miles in length. The ſouth-weſt point projects into a fine ſpacious bay, nine miles long, and about four in breadth, at the confluence of Hudſon's River and the Streight between Long Iſland and the northern ſhore. The Narrows at the ſouth end of the Bay is ſcarcely two miles in breadth, and opens the ocean to full view. The paſſage up to New York from Sandyhook, a point that extends fartheſt into the ſea, is ſafe, and not above twenty-five miles in length. The common navigation is between the eaſt and weſt banks, in about twenty-three feet water: but it is ſaid, that an eighty gun ſhip may be brought up, through a narrow channel, between the north end of the eaſt bank and Coney Iſland.

The city, in reality, has no natural baſon or harbour: therefore the ſhips lie off in the road on the eaſt ſide of the town, which is docked out, and better built than the weſt ſide; becauſe the freſhets in Hudſon's River fill it in ſome winters with ice.

This city conſiſts of about 2500 buildings. It is a mile in length, and about half that in breadth: but ſuch is its figure, its center of buſineſs, and the ſituation of the houſes, that the mean cartage from

* Mr. Pownall, p. 261.—265.

one

one part to another does not exceed above one quarter of a mile, which is very advantageous to a commercial capital.

It is thought to be as healthy a ſpot as any in the world. The eaſt and ſouth parts, in general, are low; but the reſt is ſituated on a dry elevated ſoil. The ſtreets are irregular; but, being paved with round pebbles, are clean, and lined with well built brick houſes, many of which are covered with tiled roofs.

No part of America is ſupplied with markets abounding with greater plenty and variety. They have beef, pork, mutton, poultry, butter, wild fowl, veniſon, fiſh, roots, and herbs, of all kinds, in their ſeaſons. Their oyſters are a conſiderable article in the ſupport of the poor; and the oyſter beds are within view of the town: a fleet of 200 ſmall craft are often ſeen there, at a time, when the weather is mild in winter; and this ſingle article is computed to be worth annually 10,000 or 12,000 *l.*

This city is the metropolis and grand mart of the province; and, by its commodious ſituation, commands alſo all the trade of the weſtern part of Connecticut and that of Eaſt Jerſey. No ſeaſon prevents their ſhips from launching out into the ocean. During the greateſt ſeverity of winter an equal unreſtrained activity runs through all ranks, orders, and employments.

Upon the ſouth weſt point of the city ſtands the fort, which is a ſquare with four baſtions. Within the walls is the houſe in which the governor uſually reſides; and oppoſite to it are brick barracks, built formerly for the independent companies. According to Governor Burnet's obſervations this fort ſtands in the latitude of 40° 42′ N.

The inhabitants of New York are a mixed people, but moſtly deſcended from the original Dutch planters. There are ſtill two churches in which religious worſhip is performed in that language. The old building is of ſtone, and ill built, ornamented within by a ſmall organ loft and braſs branches. The new church is a high heavy edifice, has a very extenſive area, and was completed in 1729. It has no galleries, and yet will perhaps contain 1000 or 1200 auditors. The ſteeple of this church affords a moſt beautiful proſpect both of the city beneath and the ſurrounding country. The Dutch congregation is more numerous than any other; but, as the language becomes diſuſed, it is much diminiſhed; and, unleſs they change their worſhip into the Engliſh tongue, muſt ſoon ſuffer a total diſſipation.

Beſide

Beſide the Dutch, there are two Engliſh epiſcopal churches in this city, upon the plan of the eſtabliſhed church in South Britain. There are alſo two preſbyterian churches upon the plan of the eſtabliſhed church in North Britain.

The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the diſuſe of the language, is now reduced to an inconſiderable number. The building is of ſtone, and nearly a ſquare: the area ſeventy feet in length, and fifty in breadth. It is plain both within and without; fenced from the ſtreet; has a ſteeple and a bell.

The German Lutheran churches are two: both are ſmall; but one of them has a cupola and bell.

The Quakers have a meeting-houſe: The anabaptiſts have no ſettled congregation: The Jews have a ſynagogue; and the Moravians a church; which will be particularly mentioned in our account of Pennſylvania.

The city-hall, or town-houſe, is a ſtrong brick building, two ſtories in heighth, in the ſhape of an oblong, winged at each end. The floor below is an open walk, except two jails and the jailor's apartments. The cellar underneath is a dungeon; and the garret above a common priſon. This edifice is erected in a place where four ſtreets meet; and fronts, to the ſouth weſt, one of the moſt ſpacious ſtreets in the city.

This city is divided into ſeven wards, and is under the government of a mayor, recorder, ſeven aldermen, and as many aſſiſtants or common-council men. The mayor, ſheriff, and coroner, are annually appointed by the governor. The recorder has a patent during pleaſure. The aldermen, aſſiſtants, aſſeſſors, and collectors, are annually elected by the freemen and freeholders of the reſpective wards. The annual revenue of the corporation is near 2000 *l.* The ſtanding militia of the iſland conſiſts of about 2300 men; and the city has in reſerve a thouſand ſtand of arms for ſeamen, the poor, and others, in caſe of an invaſion.

The north-eaſtern part of New York Iſland is inhabited principally by Dutch farmers, who have a ſmall village there called Harlem, pleaſantly ſituated on a flat, cultivated for the city markets.

II. *Weſt Cheſter.*

This county is large, and includes all the land beyond the Iſland of Manhatans along the Sound, to the Connecticut line, which is its eaſtern boundary. It extends northward to the middle of the Highlands, and weſtward to Hudſon's River. A great part of this county is contained in the manors of Philipſburg, Pelham, Fordham, and Courtlandt; the laſt of which has the privilege of ſending a repreſentative to the general aſſembly. The country is tolerably ſettled: The lands are in general rough, but fertile, and therefore the farmers run principally on grazing.

III. *Dutcheſs.*

This county adjoins to Weſt Cheſter, which bounds it on the ſouth, the Connecticut line on the eaſt, Hudſon's River on the weſt, and the county of Albany on the north. The ſouth part of this county is mountainous, and fit only for iron works; but the reſt contains a great quantity of good upland well watered. The inhabitants on the banks of the river are Dutch; but thoſe more eaſterly Engliſhmen, and for the moſt part emigrants from Connecticut and Long Iſland. There is no epiſcopal church in the county, the growth of which has been very ſudden, and commenced but a few years ago. Within the memory of perſons now living, it did not contain above twelve families; and according to the late returns of the militia it will furniſh at preſent 2500 men capable of bearing arms.

IV. *Albany.*

This county extends from the ſouthern bounds of the manor of Livingſton on the eaſt ſide, and Ulſter on the weſt ſide of Hudſon's River; but its limits are not yet aſcertained on the north. It contains a vaſt quantity of fine low land; and its principal commodities are wheat, peaſe, and pine boards.

The city of Albany, which is near 150 miles from New York, is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the river. There the governors uſually treat with the Indians dependent upon the Britiſh crown. The houſes are built of brick in the Dutch taſte, and are in number about 350. There are two churches in it: That of the Epiſcopalians, the only one in this large county, is a ſtone building: the congregation is but ſmall, almoſt all

all the inhabitants reſorting to the Dutch church, which is a plain ſquare ſtone edifice. Beſide theſe, they have no other public buildings, except the city hall, and the fort; the latter of which is a ſtone ſquare with four baſtions, ſituated on an eminence which overlooks the town; but is itſelf commanded by higher ground. The greateſt part of the city is fortified only by paliſadoes, and in ſome places there are ſmall cannon planted in block-houſes. Albany was incorporated by Colonel Dongan in 1686, and is under the government of a mayor, recorder, ſix aldermen, and as many aſſiſtants.

Sixteen or eighteen miles north-weſt from Albany lies Schenectady, on the banks of the Mohawks branch, which falls into Hudſon's River, 12 miles to the north of Albany. This village is compact and regular, built principally of brick, on a rich flat of low land, ſurrounded with hills. It has a large Dutch church, with a ſteeple, and town-clock near the center. The windings of the river through the town and the fields, which are often overflowed in the ſpring, form about harveſt a moſt beautiful proſpect. The lands in the vale of Schenectady are ſo fertile, that they are commonly ſold at 45 *l.* per acre. Though the farmers uſe no kind of manure, they till the fields every year, and they always produce full crops of wheat or peaſe. Their church was incorporated by governor Coſby, and the town has the privilege of ſending a member to the aſſembly.

From this village the Indian traders ſet out in battoes for Oſwego. The Mohawks river from hence to Fort Hunter abounds with rifts and ſhoals, which in the ſpring give but little obſtruction to the navigation. From thence to its head, or rather to the portage into the wood creek, the conveyance is eaſy, and the current leſs rapid. The fur trade at Oſwego is one of the principal advantages of this country. The Indians reſort thither in May, and the trade continues till the latter end of July. A good road might be made from Schenectady to Oſwego; and in the ſummer 1755, fat cattle were eaſily driven thither for the army under the command of general Shirley.

In the ſouthern part of the county of Albany, on both ſides of Hudſon's River, the ſettlements are very ſcattered; except within twelve miles of the city, when the banks become low and acceſſible. The iſlands here, which are many, contain perhaps the fineſt ſoil in the world. The winters in this country are commonly ſevere, and Hud-

ſon's River freezes ſo hard 100 miles to the ſouthward of Albany as to bear ſledges loaded with great burthens. Much ſnow is very ſerviceable to the farmers here, not only in protecting their grain from the froſt, but in facilitating the tranſportation of their boards and other produce to the banks of the river againſt the enſuing ſpring.

V. *Ulſter.*

This county joins to that of Albany on the weſt ſide of Hudſon's River. Its northern extent is fixed at Sawyers Rill: the Rivers Delaware and Hudſon bound it eaſt and weſt; and a weſt line from the mouth of Murderer's Creek is its limit. The inhabitants are Dutch, French, Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh: but the firſt and the laſt are moſt numerous. The Epiſcopalians in this county are ſo inconſiderable, that their church is only a mean log-houſe. The moſt conſiderable town is Kingſton, ſituated about two miles from Hudſon's River. The people of Ulſter, having long enjoyed an undiſturbed tranquility, are ſome of the moſt opulent farmers in the whole colony. This county is moſt noted for fine flour, beer, and a good breed of draught horſes. At the commencement of the range of the Apalachian Hills, about ten miles from Hudſon's River, is an inexhauſtible quarry of mill-ſtones, which far exceed thoſe from Cologne in Europe.

VI. *Orange.*

This county is divided by a range of mountains, ſtretching weſtward from Hudſon's River, called the Highlands. On the north ſide the lands are very broken, but fertile, and inhabited by Scotch, Iriſh, and Engliſh preſbyterians. Their villages are Goſhen, Bethlehem, and Little Britain, all remarkable for producing in general the beſt made butter in the colony.

The mountains in this county are clothed thick with timber; and abound with ore, ponds, and fine ſtreams for iron works. Goſhen is well ſupplied with white cedar; and there is great plenty of black walnut in ſome parts of the woods.

VII. *Richmond.*

VII. *Richmond.*

This county conſiſts of Staten Iſland, which lies nine miles ſouth-weſt from the city of New York. It is about eighteen miles long, and at a medium ſix or ſeven broad. On the ſouth ſide is a conſiderable tract of good level land; but the iſland in general is rough, and the hills high. The inhabitants are principally Dutch and French.

Southward of the main coaſt of this and the colony of Connecticut lies Long Iſland, called by the Indians Matowas, and named Naſſau, according to an act of aſſembly in the reign of King William III.

This iſland is now divided into three counties, as following:

VIII. 1. *King's County.*

Which lies oppoſite to New York on the north ſide of Long Iſland. The inhabitants are all Dutch, and enjoying a good ſoil, near the principal markets, are generally in eaſy circumſtances. The county is ſmall, but ſettled in every part.

IX. 2. *Queen's County.*

This county is more extenſive, and equally well ſettled.

X. 3. *Suffolk.*

This county includes all the eaſtern parts of Long Iſland, Shelter Iſland, Fiſher's Iſland, Plumb Iſland, and the Iſle of Wight. This large county has been long ſettled, and, except one ſmall epiſcopal congregation, conſiſts intirely of Engliſh preſbyterians. The farmers are generally graziers, and, living very remote from New York, a great part of their produce is carried to the markets in Boſton and Rhode Iſland. The Indians, who were formerly numerous on theſe iſlands, are now become very inconſiderable; and thoſe that remain generally bind themſelves ſervants to the Engliſh. The whale fiſhery on the ſouth ſide of Long Iſland, has declined of late years, through the ſcarcity of whales, and is now almoſt intirely neglected.

The Elizabeth Iſlands, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Pemyquid, which anciently formed Duke's, and the county of Cornwal, are now under the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets Bay, as before obſerved.

As to the inhabitants, this province is not ſo populous as ſome have imagined. The colony of Connecticut, which is much inferior to this in extent, contains, according to a late authentic inquiry, above 133,000 inhabitants, and had a militia of 27,000 men in 1756, when the militia of New York, according to the general eſtimate, did not exceed 18,000. The whole number of ſouls is computed at 100,000; of which 15000 may reſide in the metropolis.

The ſettlement of this colony has met with ſeveral diſcouragements; particularly the French and Indian irruptions, to which the Coloniſts were ſo much expoſed, that many families withdrew into New Jerſey; while at home the tranſportation of felons has brought all the American colonies into diſcredit with the induſtrious and honeſt poor, both in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

Engliſh is the moſt prevailing language among the Coloniſts; but not a little corrupted by the Dutch dialect, which is ſtill ſo much uſed in ſome counties, that the ſheriffs find it difficult to obtain perſons ſufficiently acquainted with the Engliſh tongues to ſerve as jurymen in the courts of law.

The manners of the people differ, as well as their language. In Suffolk and Queen's County, the firſt ſettlers of which being either natives of England, or the immediate deſcendants of ſuch as began the plantations in the eaſtern colonies, their cuſtoms are ſimilar to thoſe prevailing in the Engliſh counties from which they originally ſprung. The citizens of New York, through an intercourſe with the Europeans, follow the London faſhions; though, by the time they adopt them, they become diſuſed in England. The affluence of the Coloniſts during the late war introduced a degree of luxury in tables, dreſs, and furniture, with which they were before unacquainted. But ſtill they are not ſo gay a people as their neighbours in Boſton, and ſeveral of their ſouthern colonies. The Dutch counties in ſome meaſure follow the example of New York; but ſtill retain many modes peculiar to the Hollanders.

New York is one of the moſt ſocial places on the continent: The men collect themſelves into weekly evening clubs: The ladies in winter

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are frequently entertained either at concerts of muſic or aſſemblies, and make a very good appearance.

It is much owing to the diſproportion between the number of inhabitants, and the vaſt tracts remaining ſtill to be ſettled, that they have as yet entered upon ſcarcely any other manufactures than ſuch as are indiſpenſibly neceſſary for their own conveniencies. Felt making, which is perhaps the moſt natural of any they could fall upon, was begun ſome years ago; and hats were exported to the Weſt Indies with great ſucceſs, till lately prohibited by an act of parliament.

The province of Pennſylvania has a fine ſoil; and, through the importation of Germans, abounds with inhabitants; but being a vaſt inland country, its produce muſt of conſequence be brought to a market over a great extent of ground, and all by land-carriage. Hence it is ſaid, that Philadelphia is crowded with waggons, carts, horſes, and their drivers: that a ſtranger, at his firſt entrance, would imagine it to be a place of traffic beyond any one town in the colonies: while at New York in particular, to which the produce of the country is all brought by water, there is more buſineſs, at leaſt buſineſs of profit, though with leſs ſhew and appearance. Not a boat in Hudſon's River is navigated with more than two or three men at moſt; and theſe are perpetually coming in from, and returning to, all parts of the adjacent country, in the ſame employments, that fill the city of Philadelphia with ſome hundreds of men, who may be ſaid to be laborioufly indolent in reſpect to the public utility. For computing the expence of a waggon with its tackling; the time of two men in attending it; their maintenance; four horſes, and the charge of their provender on a journey 100 or 200 miles; it will be found that theſe ſeveral particulars amount to a very conſiderable ſum.—All this time, the New-York farmer is in the courſe of his proper buſineſs, and the unincumbered acquiſitions of his profeſſion; for, at a medium, there is ſcarce a farmer in the province that cannot tranſport the fruits of a year's labour, from the beſt farm, in three days, at a proper ſeaſon, to ſome convenient landing, where the market will be to his ſatisfaction, and all the wants of the merchant cheaply ſupplied. Beſide which, one boat can enter the harbour of New York with a lading of more burthen and value than 40 waggons, 160 horſes, and 80 men, into Philadelphia; and perhaps with leſs noiſe or ſhew than one. It is ſaid of the citizens of New York, that prodigious is the advantage they have in this article alone: this is certain, that barely on account of their eaſy carriage, the profits of farming with them exceed thoſe in Pennſylvania, at leaſt by thirty per cent. which difference, in favour of

the New York farmers, is of itſelf ſufficient to enrich them; while the others find the diſadvantage they are expoſed to ſo heavy, eſpecially the remote inhabitants of their country, that a bare ſubſiſtence is all they can reaſonably hope to obtain. Take the province of New York throughout, the expence of tranſporting a buſhel of wheat is but two-pence for the diſtance of 100 miles; but the ſame quantity at the like diſtance in Pennſylvania will always exceed the other one ſhilling at leaſt: but the proportion between the two colonies is nearly the ſame in the conveyance of every other thing. Such is the account given of the advantages of their ſituation by the New York writers. But when theſe facts are conſidered, that New York was a well-advanced colony long before William Penn began to ſettle his province; that though there have been always in the territory of New York great tracts of land unſettled, ſtrangers have rather choſen to ſit down in Pennſylvania; that numbers of families, particularly the Germans, have actually abandoned the former for the latter; that moſt of the emigrants from New England croſſed the province of New York to ſettle beyond it; that Pennſylvania now far exceeds it in population; and that wheat, though equally good, is generally cheaper at Philadelphia market than at that of New York; it ſeems as if thoſe boaſted advantages were either much exaggerated, or over-balanced by ſome diſadvantages accompanying them, or by greater advantages in Pennſylvania, which theſe writers do not mention.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Legiſlature, and religious ſtate of the province of New York.

IT has been already obſerved, that this colony is ſubject to the controul of the Britiſh parliament; but its more immediate government is veſted in a governor, council, and general aſſembly.

The inſtructions received with the commiſſion, or explanatory of the patent, regulate the governor's conduct on almoſt every common contingency. The inſtructions are above one hundred in number; but never recorded. They are changeable at the royal pleaſure; yet ſeldom undergo any conſiderable alteration.

The annual ſalary generally granted to the governor by the inſtructions is 1200 *l.* ſterling out of the revenue here; but that being an inſufficient fund, the aſſembly, in aid of it, give him annually 1560 *l.* currency; and the perquiſites may amount to as much more.

This office formerly was very lucrative, but becomes daily leſs conſiderable, becauſe almoſt all the valuable tracts of land are already taken up.

The council, when full, conſiſts of twelve members, appointed by the king's mandamus and ſign manual. All their privileges and powers are contained in the inſtructions. They are a privy-council to the governor in acts of civil government, and take the ſame oath as adminiſtered to the king's council in England. The tenure of their places is extremely precarious, and yet their influence upon the public meaſures very conſiderable. In the grant of all patents, the governor is bound to conſult them, and regularly he cannot paſs the ſeal without their advice.

The council never publiſh their legiſlative minutes; but the aſſembly always print their own votes; nor do either of theſe houſes permit ſtrangers to be preſent at their conventions.

The general aſſembly conſiſts of twenty-ſeven repreſentatives, choſen by the people, purſuant to a writ of ſummons iſſued by the governor. It is unneceſſary to enlarge upon the cuſtoms of the general aſſembly, as they take the practice of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons for their model, and vary from them in but very few inſtances.

No

No colony upon the continent has formerly ſuffered more than this in the opinion of the king's miniſters, which has been owing to the ill impreſſions made by their governors, who were ſcarcely ever diſengaged from diſputes with the lower houſe. The repreſentatives, agreeable to the general ſenſe of their conſtituents, are tenacious in their opinion, that the inhabitants of this colony are intitled to all the privileges of Engliſhmen, that they have a right to participate in the legiſlative power, and that the ſeſſion of aſſemblies here is wiſely ſubſtituted inſtead of a repreſentation in parliament; which, all things conſidered, would, at this remote diſtance, be extremely inconvenient and dangerous. The governors, on the other hand, in general entertain political ſentiments of a quite different nature. All the immunities the people enjoy, according to them, not only flow from them, but abſolutely depend upon the mere grace and will of the crown. It is eaſy to conceive, that contentions muſt naturally attend ſuch a contradiction of ſentiments. Moſt of their diſputes, however, relate to the ſupport of government.

It muſt be confeſſed, that many plauſible arguments may be aſſigned in ſupport of the jealouſy of the houſes. A governor has numberleſs opportunities, not proper to be mentioned, for invading the rights of the people, and inſuperable difficulties would neceſſarily attend all the means of redreſs.

As to the laws of this colony, the ſtate of them opens a door to much controverſy, becauſe the uncertainty of them expoſes the inhabitants too much to the arbitrary deciſions of bad judges, and renders property precarious. The common law of England is generally received, together with ſuch ſtatutes as were enacted before this colony had a legiſlature of its own: but here the courts exerciſe a ſovereign authority in determining what parts of the common and ſtatute law ought to be extended; for it muſt be admitted, that the difference of circumſtances neceſſarily requires theſe colonies, in ſome caſes, to reject the determinations of both. In many inſtances, they have alſo extended even acts of parliament paſſed ſince they had a diſtinct legiſlation, which is adding greatly to the confuſion in the colony.

The practice of their courts is not leſs uncertain than the law; for ſome of the Engliſh rules are adopted, and others rejected. Two things therefore ſeem to be abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſecurity: firſt, the paſſing an act for ſettling the extent of the Engliſh laws: and, ſecondly, that the courts ordain a general ſet of rules for the regulation of the practice.

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With reſpect to a more particular account of the religious ſtate of this province, it ſhould be obſerved, that the principal diſtinctions among them are the epiſcopalians, and the Dutch and Engliſh preſbyterians. The two laſt, together with all the other proteſtants in the colony, are ſometimes called by the general name of Diſſenters; and compared to them, the epiſcopalians are ſcarce in the proportion of one to fifteen. Hence has partly aroſe the general diſcontent on account of the miniſtry acts; not ſo much as the proviſion made by them is engroſſed by the minor ſect, as becauſe the body of the people are for an equal univerſal toleration of proteſtants, and utterly averſe to any kind of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. The diſſenters, though fearleſs of each other, are all jealous of the epiſcopal party; being apprehenſive that the countenance they may have from home will foment a deſire for dominion, and enable them at laſt to load their fellow-ſubjects with oppreſſion.

The epiſcopal clergy are miſſionaries of the Engliſh Society for propagating the goſpel, and ordinarily ordained by the biſhop of London, who has a commiſſion from the king to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and commonly appoints a clergyman at New York for his commiſſary. The miniſters are called by the particular churches, and maintained by the yearly allowance of the ſociety, and the voluntary contributions of the auditors, becauſe there is no law for tithes *.

The Engliſh preſbyterians are very numerous; but thoſe inhabiting New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and the three Delaware counties, are regularly formed, after the manner of the church of Scotland, into conſiſtories or kirk ſeſſions, preſbyteries and ſynods, and probably will ſome time join in erecting a general aſſembly. Theſe clergy are ordained by their fellows, and maintained by their reſpective congregations, excepting thoſe miſſionaries among the Indians, whoſe ſubſiſtence is paid by "the Society in Scotland for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge." None of the preſbyterian churches in this province are incorporated, as is the caſe of many in New Jerſey. Their judicatories are upon a very proper eſtabliſhment; for they have no authority by legal ſanctions to enforce their decrees: nor indeed is any religious ſect among them legally inveſted with powers prejudicial to the common privileges of the reſt. The dominion of all their clergy is merely ſpiritual, as it ought to be. The epiſcopalians, however, ſometimes pretend, that the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment in South Britain extends to the colonies; which poſition the whole body of the diſſenters utterly deny.

* See Smith, p. 219.

CHAP. IV.

Produce, manufactures, trade, and navigation.

CONCERNING the trade of this province, let it be remarked, that the ſituation of New York, with reſpect to foreign markets, for reaſons before aſſigned, is to be preferred to any of the Britiſh colonies: for it lies in the center of the Britiſh plantations on the continent, has at all times a ſhort eaſy acceſs to the ocean, and commands almoſt the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jerſey, two fertile and well cultivated colonies. The projection of Cape Cod into the Atlantic renders the navigation from the former to Boſton, at ſome ſeaſons, extremely perilous; and ſometimes the coaſters are driven off, and compelled to winter in the Weſt Indies. But the conveyance to New York, from the eaſtward through the Sound, is ſhort, and unexpoſed to ſuch dangers. Philadelphia receives as little advantage from New Jerſey as Boſton from Connecticut, becauſe the only rivers which roll through that province diſembogue not many miles from the city of New York. Several attempts have been made to raiſe Perth Amboy into a trading port; but hitherto it has proved to be an unfeaſible project. New York, all things conſidered, has a much better ſituation; and were it otherwiſe, the city is become too rich and conſiderable to be eclipſed by any other town in its neighbourhood.

The merchants of New York are compared to a hive of bees, who induſtriouſly gather honey for others, *non vobis mellificatis apes.* The profits of their trade center chiefly in Great Britain; and for that reaſon they ought always to receive the generous aid and protection of their mother-country. In their traffic with other places, the balance is almoſt conſtantly in their favour. Their exports to the Weſt Indies are, bread, peaſe, rye-meal, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, ſtaves, horſes, ſheep, cheeſe, butter, pickled oyſters, beef and pork. Flour is alſo a main article, of which there is ſhipped about 80,000 barrels a year. To preſerve the credit of this important branch of their ſtaple, they have a good law, appointing officers to inſpect and brand every caſk before its exportation. The returns are chiefly rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, except caſh from Curacoa; and when mules from the Spaniſh main are ordered to Jamaica and the Windward Iſlands, which are generally exchanged for their natural produce, for they receive but little caſh from their own iſlands. The balance againſt them would be much more in their favour, if the indulgence to the ſugar colonies did not enable them to ſell their produce at a higher rate than either the Dutch or French Iſlands.

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The Spaniards commonly contract for proviſions with merchants in this and the colony of Pennſylvania, very much to the advantage both of the contractors and the public, becauſe the returns are wholly in caſh. Their wheat, flour, Indian corn, and lumber ſhipped to Liſbon and Madeira, balance the Madeira wine imported here.

The logwood trade to the Bay of Honduras is very conſiderable, and was puſhed by the merchants of New York with great boldneſs in the moſt dangerous times. The exportation of flax-ſeed to Ireland is of late ſo much increaſed, that, between the 9th of December 1755 and the 23d of February following, they ſhipped off 12,528 hogſheads. In return for this article, linens are imported, and bills of exchange drawn in favour of England to pay for the dry goods purchaſed here; and their logwood is remitted to the Engliſh merchants for the ſame purpoſe.

The fur-trade ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. It is computed that they export 150 hogſheads of beaver and other fine furs per annum; and 200 hogſheads of Indian-dreſſed deer-ſkins, beſides thoſe carried from Albany into New England; but ſkins undreſſed are uſually ſhipped to Holland.

The building of Oſwego conduced more than any thing elſe to the preſervation of this fur-trade. Peltry of all kinds is purchaſed with rum; ammunition, blankets, ſtrouds, and wampum or conque-ſhell beads. The French fur-trade at Albany was carried on until the ſummer 1755, by the Caghnuaga proſelytes; and in return for their peltry, they received Spaniſh pieces of eight, with ſome other articles which the French wanted to complete their aſſortment of Indian goods; for the ſavages prefer the Engliſh ſtrouds to the French, who found it their intereſt to purchaſe them of the Engliſh, and tranſported them to the weſtern Indians on the Lake Erie, Huron, and at the Streight of Michilimakinac.

The importation of dry goods from England is ſo great at New York, that they are obliged to betake themſelves to all poſſible arts to make remittances to the Britiſh merchants. It is for this purpoſe theſe coloniſts import cotton from Saint Thomas's and Surinam; lime-juice and nicaragua wood from Curacoa, and logwood from the Bay; yet it drains them of all the ſilver and gold they can collect. It is computed, that the annual amount of the goods purchaſed by this colony in Great Britain is in value not leſs than 500,000 *l.* ſterling; and the ſum would be much greater if a ſtop was put to all clandeſtine trade. England is doubtleſs intitled to all the colony ſuperfluities, becauſe their general intereſts are

cloſely connected, and the Britiſh navy is the principal defence of the coloniſts. On this account, the trade with Hamburgh and Holland for duck, chequered linen, oznabrigs, cordage, and tea, if Britain can produce and ſupply with theſe things, is certainly, upon the whole, impolitic and unreaſonable, how much ſoever it may advance the intereſt of a few merchants, or this particular colony.

By what meaſures this contraband trade may be effectually obſtructed, is hard to determine, though it well deſerves the attention of a Britiſh parliament. Increaſing the number of cuſtom-houſe officers will be a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe, as their ſalaries would be an additional charge upon the public. In the province of New York there is one collection or cuſtom-houſe diſtrict, kept in the port of New York.

The excluſive right of the Eaſt India company to import tea, while the colonies purchaſe it of the foreigners thirty per cent. cheaper, muſt be very prejudicial to the nation. The coloniſts of New York, both in town and country, are ſhamefully gone into the habit of tea-drinking; and it is ſuppoſed they conſume of this commodity in value near 50,000 *l.* ſterling per annum. Some are of opinion, that the fiſhery of ſturgeons, which abound in Hudſon's River, might be improved to the great advantage of the colony; and that, if proper meaſures were concerted, much profit would ariſe from ſhip-building and naval ſtores. It is certain, they have timber in vaſt plenty; oak, white and black pines; fir, locuſt, red and white mulberry, and cedar; and perhaps there is no ſoil on the globe fitter for the production of hemp than the low lands in the county of Albany. To what has been already ſaid concerning iron ore, a neceſſary article, the following may be added: that it is generally believed this province abounds with a variety of minerals; and of iron in particular they have ſuch plenty, as to be excelled by no country in the world of equal extent.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK IV.

NOVA CÆSAREA, or NEW JERSEY.

CHAP. I.

The original ſettlements and grants of the colony.

WHOEVER will be at the trouble of an enquiry into the general inexperience and methods of colonizing formerly, eſpecially at the time the ſettlements here were firſt attempted under grants, will find but little reaſon to doubt, that views of permanent ſtability to religious and civil freedom muſt have been the inducement to the original adventurers to think of ſuch a removal. The New England government had before been conſiderably ſettled, from motives of a like kind. Theſe, though near forty years later in their ſettlement, were alſo proteſtant diſſenters, and involved in the general inſecurity of religious toleration in the reign of King Charles II. Many of them having been actual ſufferers through the miſtaken policy of that time, merely for a free exerciſe of their religious ſentiments. As they do not appear to have been charged with any violation of religious integrity, ſo no inſtance occurs of diſſatisfaction among themſelves, though many of them were remarkably tender on that head. With the motives above, ſome of them had indubitably a diſtant proſpect

ſpect alſo of improving their eſtates; but this could not be the caſe ſo much at firſt as afterward *.

However ſmooth the paſſage may look now, it muſt be a reaſonable ſuppoſition, that perſons and families, who lived well, which was the circumſtances of many of the ſettlers of this province, found it no inconſiderable trial to unſettle and remove three thouſand miles: but, whatever were their motives, they ſucceſſively encountered the hazards and hardſhips to which the enterprize was expoſed; and, at their own expence, laid the foundation of this colony.

New Jerſey and Pennſylvania were originally claimed by the Dutch and the Swedes, who relinquiſhed it to the Engliſh in 1664 †, when King Charles II. made a grant of New Jerſey to his brother James Duke of York: and this Prince conveyed the ſame to Lord Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret of Saltrum, in the county of Devon, Knight, their heirs and aſſigns for ever.

This was done by deeds of leaſe and releaſe from the Duke of York,
1664. dated the 24th of June 1664, whereby, in conſideration of a ſum of money, his Royal Highneſs granted them, their heirs and aſſigns for ever, "all that tract of land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the weſtward of Long Iſland and Manhattas Iſland, and bounded on the eaſt part by the main ſea, and part by Hudſon's River; and hath upon the weſt Delaware Bay or River; and extendeth ſouthward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay; and to the northward as far as the northermoſt branch of the ſaid Bay or River of Delaware; which is in 41° 40′ of latitude, and croſſeth over thence in a ſtraight line to Hudſon's River, in 41°; which ſaid tract of land is hereafter to be called Nova Cæſarea, or New Jerſey, in as ample manner as the ſame is granted to the ſaid Duke of York."

Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in conſequence of this conveyance, became the ſole proprietors of New Jerſey; and agreed upon certain conſtitutions of government, by a governor, council, and aſſembly of repreſentatives, with a general toleration as to the article of religion.

Thus affairs continued until 1688, when Governor Nicolls and his council at New York gave directions for a better ſettlement of the government on Delaware.

* Extracted from Mr. Samuel Smith's Preface to "the Hiſtory of the Colony of Nova Cæſarea, or New Jerſey;" printed at Burlington in New Jerſey, in 1765, p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 35.

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This was the firſt conſtitution of New Jerſey, which continued intire until the province became divided in 1676.

Sir George Carteret, then the only proprietor of the eaſtern diviſion, confirmed and explained the conceſſions, with a few additions. The county of Bergen was the firſt ſettled place, where a few Danes inhabited, and called it Bergen, after the capital of Norway. The manner of originally ſettling is ſingular: this was in ſmall lots, where their dwelling-houſes are, and theſe contiguous in the town of Bergen: their plantations, which they occupy for a livelihood, are at ſome diſtance; and the reaſon of fixing thus, is ſaid to be through fear of the numerous Indians in the early times of their ſettlement.

There were very ſoon four towns in the province; Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewſbury: theſe, with the country round, were in a few years plentifully inhabited, by the acceſſion of the Scotch, of whom there came great numbers, ſuch ſettlers as came from England, ſuch of the Dutch that remained, and thoſe from the neighbouring colonies.

Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret having agreed upon their conceſſions, appointed Philip Carteret, Eſq. governor of New Jerſey, and gave him power, with the advice of the major part of the council, to grant lands to all ſuch as by the conceſſions were intitled thereto; and though there was no proviſion in the conceſſions for bargaining with the Indians, Governor Carteret, on his arrival, thought it prudent to purchaſe their rights, which was to be done for inconſiderable ſums, in compariſon of the damage a neglect might have occaſioned. 1669.

Governor Carteret went for England in the ſummer of 1672, and left Captain John Berry his deputy until his return in 1674, when he found the inhabitants more diſpoſed to union among themſelves; and bringing with him the royal proclamation, as alſo a freſh commiſſion and inſtructions from Sir George Carteret, he ſummoned the people, and had them all publiſhed; which for a while had a good effect toward reſtoring proprietary authority and the public peace. He remained governor until his death in 1682. In his time, the general aſſemblies and ſupreme courts ſat at Elizabeth Town, and the councils generally. Here the ſecretary's office, and moſt other public offices, were held; and here alſo moſt of the officers of the government then had their reſidence. 1672. 1674.

Mention was made that Sir George Carteret, by his inſtructions to Governor Carteret, confirmed the original conceſſions, with additions and explanations.

explanations. Among other things they direct, that the governor and council ſhould allow eighty acres per head to ſettlers above ten miles from the ſea, the Delaware or other rivers, navigable with boats; and to thoſe that ſettled nearer, ſixty acres; that the land ſhould be purchaſed from the Indians, as occaſion required, by the governor and council, in the name of the proprietors, who were to be repaid by the ſettlers, with charges, that all ſtrays of beaſts at land, and wrecks of ſea, ſhould belong to the proprietor; and that all perſons diſcovering any ſuch thing ſhould have ſatisfaction for their pains and care, as the governor and council might think fit.

CHAP. II.

Succeſſion of governors, and hiſtorical events.

ONE moiety or half part of the province of New Jerſey belonged to Lord Berkeley, who ſold it to Mr. Edward Byllinge, and he aſſigned it to truſtees * for the uſe of his creditors. Thoſe truſtees ſold a conſiderable number of ſhares of their property to different purchaſers, who thereupon became proprietors, in common with them, according to their different ſhares; after which Mr. Fenwick, and ſome other gentlemen, with their families, arrived and ſettled in Weſt Jerſey, when they agreed upon a form of government, which was intitled as follows: 1675.

"The conceſſions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of Weſt New Jerſey in America." 1676.

This deed conſiſted of forty-four articles, and was ſigned on the 3d of March 1676, by one hundred and fifty proprietors.

The new proprietors ſent inſtructions to Mr. Richard Hartſhorne for the ſecurity and improvement of their eſtate and intereſt, called New Weſt Jerſey, as George Carteret's was called New Eaſt Jerſey.

The line of diviſion was ſettled, and both proprietaries endeavoured to make the moſt of their eſtates. The weſtern proprietors ſoon publiſhed a deſcription of their moiety; on which many perſons removed thither: but leſt any ſhould not ſufficiently weigh the importance of this undertaking, and for other reaſons, the three principal proprietors publiſhed a cautionary epiſtle, conſiſting of an admonitory preamble, ten declarative articles, and a friendly concluſion.

Among other purchaſers of the Weſt Jerſey lands, were two companies; one made up of ſome friends † in Yorkſhire, and the other of ſome friends in London, who each contracted for conſiderable ſhares.

Commiſſioners were ſent by the proprietors, with power to buy lands of the natives; to inſpect the rights of ſuch as claimed property; to order the lands laid out; and, in general, to adminiſter the government purſuant to the conceſſions. They landed with two hundred and thirty paſſengers, chiefly Quakers, at Rackoon Creek. 1677.

* Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas. † Quakers.

They had regulated ſome matters in diſpute with the governor of New York, and made ſome valid purchaſes of the Indians. The town of Burlington was laid out and built: ſeveral other families and ſervants arrived from England; but many that came as ſervants ſucceeded better than ſome that bought eſtates. The firſt, inured to induſtry, and the ways of the country, became wealthy; while others, by attempting improvements, or living too freely on their original ſtock, dwindled to indigency and diſtreſs.

Mr. John Crips, in a letter to Mr. Henry Stacy, gives him a particular account of the country; and concludes as follows: "Here is a town laid out for twenty proprieties; and the town-lots for every propriety will be about ten acres, which is only for a houſe, orchard and gardens; for the corn and paſture ground is to be laid out in great quantities."

1678. Two ſhips arrived from London and Hull, with ſeveral ſubſtantial ſettlers, and their ſervants. In this year, upon the application of the aſſigns of Lord Berkeley, the Duke of York made them a new grant of Weſt New Jerſey; and alſo confirmed the eaſtern part to the grandſon of Sir George Carteret.

1680. The ſettlers of Weſt Jerſey ſent letters to their friends in England in commendation of the country, their ſituation and ſettlements; with ſome arguments againſt the cuſtoms impoſed at the Hoar Kill by the governor of New York, which were drawn up in a bold, nervous, ſenſible, declarative, authoritative, and conſtitutional ſtyle: it was judiciouſly conſidered as to the point of law; the equity of the caſe, and the prudential part of the matter, which are too long to be inſerted here, though worthy of the greateſt attention and ſtricteſt curioſity. Theſe words may be neceſſary: "So that the plain Engliſh of the tragedy is this; we twice buy this moiety of New Jerſey; firſt of Lord Berkeley, next of the nation; and for what? The better to mortgage ourſelves and poſterity to the Duke's governors, and give them a title to our perſons and eſtates, that never had any before: but can there be a houſe without a bottom, or a plantation before a people? If not, can there be a cuſtom before trade?"—— "Beſides, there is no end of this power; for ſince we are aſſeſſed without law, and thereby excluded our Engliſh right of common aſſent to taxes, what ſecurity have we of any thing we poſſeſs?"——Let the Duke be requeſted "to avoid this taxation, and put the country in ſuch an Engliſh and free condition, that he may be as well loved and honoured as feared by all the inhabitants of his territory; that being great in their affections, he may be great by their induſtry, which will yield him that

wealth, that parent of power, that he may be as great a Prince by property as by title."

Accordingly, the cuſtoms were taken off, and a free port confirmed *.

Mr. Byllinge was appointed governor of Weſt Jerſey; and he appointed 1681.
Mr. Jenings his deputy-governor, who called an aſſembly, and with them agreed upon certain fundamentals of government †, comprized in ten articles, whereby the governor was greatly abridged of prerogatives, and the people as much enlarged in liberty.

This aſſembly paſſed thirty-ſix laws; many of which were afterward repealed, though conſonant to the original grant.

The commiſſioners then agreed "upon the methods for ſettling and regulation of lands," which was done by an inſtrument conſiſting of twenty-two articles.

A large ſhip, of 550 tons burden, arrived at Weſt Jerſey, with 360 1682.
paſſengers; after which the general aſſembly made ſome new regulations as to affairs of government; particularly as follows: "That for preventing clandeſtine and unlawful marriages, juſtices ſhould have power to ſolemnize them:—the births of children, and deceaſe of all perſons, were to be entered in the public regiſters.——And, for preventing differences between maſters and ſervants, where no covenants were made, all ſervants were to have, at the expiration of their ſervice, according to the cuſtom of the country, ten buſhels of corn, neceſſary apparel, two hoes, and an ax." It was enacted, that "there ſhould be four courts of ſeſſion held at Burlington and Salem annually:" and the repreſentatives of Weſt Jerſey continued to be yearly choſen, until the ſurrender of the proprietary government in 1702.

About this time the ſettlers in many parts were diſtreſſed for food; and the colony were farther alarmed by the death of Sir George Carteret, who by his ‡ will impowered his executors to ſell his ſhare of New Jerſey, which was accordingly done.

* Letter from S. Jenings to W. Penn, dated "New Jerſey, the 17th of October 1680."

† Theſe were dated, "Province of Weſt New Jerſey in America, the 25th of the 9th month, called November, 1681."

‡ This was dated, "December 5, 1678," whereby he deviſed to Edward Earl of Sandwich, John Earl of Bath, Bernard Grenville, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Robert Atkins, and Edward Atkins, Eſq. and their heirs, all his plantation of New Jerſey, for the purpoſes therein mentioned.

From thence aroſe what has been called the twelve proprietors, who admitted another twelve; and the whole twenty-four appointed a council of proprietors. About this time it was calculated, that there were at leaſt ſeven hundred families ſettled in the towns of Eaſt Jerſey, which were near four thouſand people; beſides the out-plantations, which were thought to contain half as many more.

1683. The Scotch had a conſiderable ſhare in the ſettlement of Eaſt Jerſey; and Robert Barclay, author of the Apology, was appointed governor for life; and Thomas Rudyard was appointed deputy-governor. Mr. Barclay continued governor until 1685, and died on the 3d of October 1690. He was ſucceeded as governor by Lord Neil Campbell, uncle to the Duke of Argyle; and he was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Lane in 1698.

Gawen Lawrie arrived in 1683 as deputy-governor of Eaſt Jerſey, under Robert Barclay; upon which a new council was choſen: and as there had been ſome conſiderable diſturbances in the province, eſpecially about Middletown and Woodbridge, relating to town affairs, the deputy-gover-
1684. nor ſoon reconciled thoſe diſputes. He then wrote a letter to the proprietors at London, containing, as well his ſentiments of the country, as ſome of the principal tranſactions of thoſe times, particularly as follows: "Here wants nothing but people; there is not a poor body in all the province. Here is abundance of proviſion; pork and beef at two-pence per pound; fiſh and fowl plenty; oyſters that might ſerve all England; wheat, four ſhillings ſterling per buſhel; Indian wheat, two ſhillings ſterling per buſhel; it is exceeding good for food every way, and two or three hundred fold increaſe: cyder, good and plenty, for one penny per quart: good drink that is made of water and molaſſes ſtands in about two ſhillings per barrel, wholeſome, like our eight ſhilling beer in England: good veniſon plenty, brought us in at eighteen-pence the quarter; eggs, at three-pence per dozen; vines, walnuts, peaches, ſtrawberries, and many other things, plentiful in the woods."

Mr. Barclay and Mr. Forbes alſo wrote to the Scotch proprietors: "That the air in this country is very wholeſome; and though it alters ſuddenly, ſometimes being one day hot, and another cold, yet people are not ſo ſubject to catch cold or be diſtempered by it as in England. The land lies for the moſt part pretty high; but on the river and creek ſides are many meadows, which lie low, from which the country people get their hay, whereby their ſtocks are maintained in the winter ſeaſon: that proviſions of all kinds were plentiful and cheap; ſo that they ſaw little wanting that a man could deſire; and they were ſure, that a ſober and induſtrious

induſtrious people might make this a rich country, and enrich themſelves in it, eſpecially poor people, who were hard put to it to gain bread at home, notwithſtanding the exceſſive labour; for they ſaw that people there wanted nothing, and yet their labour was very ſmall; that they worked not by one-half ſo hard as the huſbandmen or farmers in England; and many of theſe who had ſettled there upwards of ſixteen years, had lived upon the product of the land they cleared the firſt two years after they came, which produced not only corn to maintain their own families, but to ſell every year; and the increaſe of their beſtial, whereof they had good ſtore of ſeveral ſorts, as cows, oxen, horſes, ſheep, and ſwine, yielded them other proviſions, and to ſell beſides: yet there were ſome more induſtrious among them, who continued clearing and improving land; and theſe had got eſtates, nor would ſell their plantations for ſeveral hundred pounds: that the merchants in New York, both Dutch and Engliſh, had many of them taken up land, and ſettled plantations in this country; and ſeveral from that colony were deſirous to come and take up land, though they might have land, without paying quit-rents, in their own country: that there was good encouragement for tradeſmen to come over; ſuch as carpenters, maſons, and bricklayers; for they built not only of wood, but alſo of ſtone and brick; yet moſt of the country houſes were built of wood, only trees ſplit, and ſet up on end in the ground; and coverings to their houſes were moſtly ſhingles, made of oak, cheſnut and cedar wood, which made a very neat covering; yet there were ſome houſes covered after the Dutch manner, with pantiles."—"The towns are all ſettled upon rivers, where veſſels of thirty or forty tons may come up to their doors, and the out-plantations generally upon ſome brook or rivulets, which are as plenty here as in our own country, and curious clear water; and in many places are good ſpring wells; but in the towns every man, for the moſt part, has a well digged on his own land: and among all the towns that are there ſettled, none lieth ſo convenient for trade as New Perth." This, with a farther account of the produce and eſtabliſhment of the colony, was dated "Elizabeth Town in Eaſt Jerſey, the 29th of the firſt month, called March, 1684," ſigned, "John Barclay, Arthur Forbes."

The colony continued in a very unſettled ſtate from 1684 to 1687, during which time, Thomas Olive was choſe governor of Weſt Jerſey; he was ſupplanted by Mr. Byllinge, who appointed Mr. Skeine his deputy; and he was ſucceeded as governor by Dr. Daniel Cox of London, in 1687. The Doctor was one of the moſt conſiderable among the proprietors, and held the government until 1690. 1684. 1685. 1687. 1690.

During

During this time ſome ſalutary laws were made, regarding the danger of duels, and the ſcarcity of proviſions. The diviſion line was ran, and alterations made in the manner of locating lands: but to trace the proceedings relative to this line minutely, would be a taſk proper for thoſe immediately concerned; for others they are too voluminous.

1691. Dr. Cox conveyed the government of Weſt Jerſey and territories to the Weſt Jerſey Society, conſiſting of Sir Thomas Lane, Knight, Michael Watts, and forty-ſix other gentlemen *.

1692. "The great flood at Delaware Falls" happened in 1692, which did great damage to the inhabitants, and taught them how to fix their habitations upon higher ground. It was in the ſpring this year that the proprietors of Weſt Jerſey firſt appointed Colonel Andrew Hamilton to be their governor.

1701. This year is remarkable for the public commotions in the colony, which occaſioned a "ſurrender † from the proprietors of Eaſt and Weſt New Jerſey, of their pretended right of government, to her Majeſty" Queen
1702. Anne in 1702, whereby they acknowledged her Majeſty's right to conſtitute governors of thoſe provinces.

"The Queen's acceptance of the ſurrender of government" was dated "at the court at St. James's, the 17th day of April 1702," in a full council, whoſe order was as following: "This day the ſeveral proprietors of Eaſt and Weſt New Jerſey, in America, did in perſon preſent a deed of ſurrender, by them executed under their hands and ſeals, to her Majeſty in council; and did acknowledge the ſame to be their act and deed, and humbly deſire her Majeſty to accept the ſame, that it might be enrolled in the court of Chancery, whereby they did ſurrender their power of the government of thoſe plantations; which her Majeſty graciouſly accepted."

Immediately upon this ſurrender, Edward Lord Viſcount Cornbury, grandſon to the great Lord Chancellor the Earl of Clarendon, and firſt couſin to Queen Anne, was appointed governor of New Jerſey. It recites the diſſentions of the divided colonies; provides for their concord and unity, ſo as to be reunited into one province, and ſettled under one intire government, of which no more than ſeven were to be of the council;

* Vid. the Inſtrument, Revell's Book, B. Secretary's Office, Burlington, p. 298.

† Ibid. Smith, p. 211—219.

and

and as to the general aſſemblies, full directions were given in his inſtructions, in length.

Subſequent obſervations on Lord Cornbury's inſtructions, and the privileges originally granted to the ſettlers, are particularly mentioned in the provincial records, but are too prolix to be inſerted here.

The diſtinction of the two provinces, Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, now became united, under the name of Nova Cæſarea, or New Jerſey. Lord Cornbury convened the firſt general aſſembly after the ſurrender; but his ſpeech, their addreſs, and other proceedings, were diſcordant: therefore his lordſhip diſſolved the aſſembly, and met another, which had its diſſolution; when another aſſembly was called, who remonſtrated the grievances of the colony. Lord Cornbury anſwered that remonſtrance with great aſperity, in a very prolix manner. The aſſembly replied to the ſame purpoſe *. 1703. 1704. 1706. 1707.

A memorial of the Weſt Jerſey proprietors reſiding in England was preſented to the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations. The lieutenant-governor, with ſome of the council, addreſſed the Queen; and the aſſembly continued their complaints during the adminiſtration of Lord Cornbury, who was at laſt diſmiſſed.

John Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, ſucceeded Lord Cornbury, and ſummoned the council to meet him at Bergen on the 20th of December 1708. The ſeſſion continued a month, and was conducted with unuſual ſmoothneſs †. 1708.

The law for regulating the qualification of repreſentatives to ſerve in general aſſembly was now paſſed, and is yet in force; the ſubſtance of which is, that every voter ſhall have 100 acres of land in his own right, or be worth 50 *l.* current money; and that the perſon elected ſhall have 1000 acres in his own right, or be worth 500 *l.* current money in perſonal eſtate ‡.

The inhabitants had ſome reaſon to expect more happy times than formerly; but Lord Lovelace died a few days afterward, and the adminiſtration devolved on the lieutenant-governor, Ingoldſby, who laid before

* The whole may be ſeen in S. Smith, from p. 275 to 336.

† See S. Smith, p. 157.

‡ See the Laws of 1725 and 1730, vol. i. p. 142. 195.

the

the assembly the design of the crown, respecting the expedition against Canada, under the Colonels Nicholson and Vetch; upon which they voted 3000 *l.* for the service, by an emission of paper-bills of credit *; but did not pass the bill at this time.

1710. Brigadier Hunter † arrived as governor in 1710, and removed that confusion in which the colony had been long involved concerning the Quakers oath to serve as jurymen. The general assembly presented a very long address to the governor relative to former innovations, which his excellency undertook to transmit to the Queen, and answered the house, "That her Majesty had given him directions to endeavour to reconcile the differences that were in this province; but if he could not, that he should make a just representation to her." The governor backed the remonstrance, and got all the counsellors removed that were pointed out by the assembly, as the cause of their grievances.

1711. A session of general assembly was convened: but Governor Hunter could not reconcile the differences and animosities between the council
1712. and representatives. The expedition to Canada took up their attention;
1713. after which a new assembly met, and passed several useful acts: but no
1716. farther historical occurrences happened until 1716, when the governor convened a new assembly at Perth Amboy ‡, which occasioned some dif-
1718. ferences between the representatives. The governor recommended to the assembly to augment the salaries of his officers, to assist in running the division-line with New York, and to provide for an agent at the court of Great Britain, because this was the only province in his Majesty's dom-
1719. inions that had none §. Very rainy weather happened, which destroyed the corn, and therefore was called the "wet harvest."

1720. Governor Hunter resigned the government to William Burnet, Esq.
1721. who convened the assembly in 1721. The members of council were twelve, and of the house of representatives twenty-four, to whom the governor addressed an elegant speech, and they returned a loyal answer. The sessions continued near two months; and the support was settled, 500 *l.* a year for five years.

1727. Nothing material happened until 1727, when the assembly passed "an act for the limitation of actions, and for avoiding suits in law," which

* S. Smith, p. 359.

† He was also governor of New York. S. Smith, p. 376.

‡ For the members, see Smith, p. 404.

§ Vid. Laws of the Province, vol. i. p. 63.

was

was conſtructed upon the ſtatutes then in force in Great Britain, and though ſhort in expreſſions, will be of great importance in fact.

Governor Burnet continued to preſide over New York and New Jerſey until 1727, when he was removed to Boſton, and ſucceeded by John Montgomery, Eſq. who continued till his death in 1731. In his time, the aſſembly debated on the ſubject of a ſeparate government from that of New York, and petitioned his Majeſty thereupon, alleging, "That they humbly apprehended it would much more conduce to the benefit of this province, and no prejudice to that of New York, were their governors, as were the governments, diſtinct." This petition was referred by his Majeſty to the Lords of Trade, who reported to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, "That they had conſidered the humble petitions of the preſident and council, the ſpeaker, and ſeveral members of the aſſembly of his Majeſty's province of New Jerſey; of the grand jury of the ſaid province; and Mr. Richard Partridge, agent for New Jerſey," whereupon "they could not doubt but that a ſeparate governor, whom the province was willing to ſupport, would be a means to be a quick diſpatch to their public affairs, to increaſe their trade and number of people, and very much advance the intereſt of the province. Therefore they were of opinion, that his Majeſty might be graciouſly pleaſed to comply with the prayer of thoſe petitions." 1727. 1728. See Beverley's Hiſtory of Virginia.

William Coſby, Eſq. was appointed governor, and continued ſo until his death in 1736, when the government devolved on the preſident of the council, John Anderſon, Eſq. who died ſoon afterward, and was ſucceeded by John Hamilton, Eſq. 1731. 1736.

A commiſſion arrived to Lewis Morris, Eſq. as governor of New Jerſey, ſeparate from New York, and he continued as ſuch until his death in 1746. He was ſucceeded by preſident Hamilton, who ſoon after died, and was ſucceeded by John Reading, Eſq. as eldeſt counſellor. Jonathan Belcher, Eſq. arrived as governor, and continued in his office until 1757, when he was ſucceeded by Mr. Reading as preſident. 1738. 1746. 1747. 1757.

Francis Bernard, Eſq. arrived governor in 1758; but was removed to Boſton, and ſucceeded by Thomas Boone, Eſq. in 1760. Mr. Boone was removed to South Carolina, and ſucceeded to the government of New Jerſey by Joſiah Hardy, Eſq. in 1761. He was removed, and afterward appointed conſul at Cadiz in the room of Mr. Goldſworthy; and Mr. Hardy was ſucceeded in 1763 by William Franklin, Eſq. the preſent governor of the colony. 1758. 1760.

CHAP. III.

The preſent State of the Colony.

THE greateſt length of New Jerſey from north to ſouth, that is from Cape May, in the latitude of 39° to the north ſtation point in the latitude 41° 40′, is 184 miles. Its greateſt breadth is about 60 miles; but ſuppoſing it, on an average, 150 in length, and 50 broad, the whole province muſt then contain 4,800,000 acres; of which, at leaſt, one fourth is poor barren land in reſpect to tillage, but in part abounding with pines and cedars, with ſome tracts of ſwamp that will make meadow. It is thought that Weſt Jerſey contains the greateſt quantity of acres, and in return took the moſt barren land. Eaſt Jerſey is ſuppoſed to have located about 468,000 acres of good land; and 96,000 acres of pine. Weſt Jerſey is partitioned into about 2,625,000 acres, of which the far greater part is already ſurveyed; and what remains are chiefly the rights of minors and people abroad.

Almoſt the whole extent of the province adjoining the Atlantic is barren, or nearly approaching it; yet there are ſcattering ſettlements all along the coaſt, where the people ſubſiſt chiefly by raiſing cattle in the bog undrained meadows and marſhes, and cutting down the cedars, which were originally plenty of both the white and red ſorts. The barrens or poor lands generally continue from the ſea up into the province thirty miles or more, and this nearly the whole extent from eaſt to weſt; ſo that there are many thouſand acres that will never ſerve much of the purpoſes of agriculture; conſequently, when the pines and cedars are gone, this will not be of much value. The lands, however, in general are good.

There are thirteen counties in the province.

I. *Eaſtern Diviſion.*

1. Middleſex; in which lies the city of Perth Amboy, on a point of land that divides the River Rariton and Arthur Kull Sound: It was called Perth from James Drummond Earl of Perth; and Amboy from Ambo, in Indian a point: the harbor is capacious, and the port as good as

as moſt upon the continent. There is alſo New Brunſwick, well built upon the Rariton: Princeton, where is New Jerſey college, founded by charter from Preſident Hamilton, and enlarged by Governor Belcher in 1747. This county contains ſeveral villages, and has a conſiderable trade with New York.

2. Monmouth; which contains Shrewſbury, Middletown, Freehold, and Allen Town.

3. Eſſex; contains the well-ſettled towns of Elizabeth and Newark, in each of which is a public library.

4. Somerſet; in which is the village of Bound Brook.

5. Bergen; where are the remarkable Paſſaic falls; and the family of Schuylers have here two large parks for deer.

II. *Weſtern Diviſion.*

6. Burlington; has its capital of the ſame name, which was laid out in 1677; alſo Borden Town, and Bridge Town; with ſeveral villages. In this county are the Indian ſettlements of Brotherton and Weekpink.

7. Glouceſter; firſt laid out in 1677, and contains the villages of Glouceſter, Haddonfield, and Woodbury.

8. Salem; named by John Fenwick, and diſtinguiſhed by his tenth, in 1675; but the name and juriſdiction were afterwards ſettled by a proprietary law in 1694. It contains the towns of Salem and Hunterdon.

9. Cumberland; ſo named by Governor Belcher, in reſpect to his Royal Highneſs William late Duke of Cumberland: It was divided from Salem by act of aſſembly in 1747; and it contains the town of Hopewell, as alſo the village of Greenwich and ſome others.

10. Cape May; which is divided into three precincts.

11. Hunterdon; was divided from Burlington by act of aſſembly in 1713, and named by Governor Hunter. The chief town is Trenton, which is a good place of trade.

12. Morris; was made a county in 1738, when the boundaries were eſtabliſhed; but altered by the ſeparation of Suſſex in 1753. It was named by Governor Morris, and the courts are held at Morris Town.

13. Suſſex; was named by Governor Belcher, and was divided from Morris by act of aſſembly in 1753. The courts for the county are at Hairlocker's plantation, where a new court-houſe was lately built.

The principal courts in the province are, 1. The chancery. 2. The governor and council. 3. The prerogative court. 4. The vice-admiralty court. 5. The ſupreme courts, held four times a year, alternately at Amboy and Burlington. 6. The ſeſſions and court of common pleas, for buſineſs in the reſpective counties. 7. The juſtices court for trial of ſmall cauſes in a ſummary way.

"Appeals for ſums above 200*l.* ſterling may be made to the king in council, after having been through the courts here."

The beaſts, birds, and fiſh, are thoſe common to the reſt of the continent; but ſome of the colonies have much greater variety.

The number of inhabitants in 1738 was found to be ——	47,369
In 1745 —— —— —— ——	61,403
The increaſe in ſeven years —— —— ——	14,034
Suppoſing the increaſe to be nearly the ſame ſince, the number now muſt be about —— —— ——	100,000

The increaſe of ſome of the counties in Weſt Jerſey, between 1699 and 1745, was found to be more than ſix for one; but the proportion of ſtrangers arriving ſince is not the ſame.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK V.

An Account of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, and its Territories.

SECTION I.

General Remarks: Boundaries: Original Grants from the Crown to the Proprietaries, and from them to the Coloniſts.

IT may in general be obſerved, that gold, ſilver, other valuable metals and minerals, as alſo precious ſtones, and ſpices, were the firſt inducements and objects of our Eaſt and Weſt Indian diſcoveries: but the trade for tobacco, furs, ſkins, fiſh, rice, and naval ſtores, were only incidental.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, began the ſettlement of Virginia, which was dwindlingly carried on until 1606, when King James I. in one patent incorporated two companies, called the North and South Virginia companies.

Captain Henry Hudſon, in 1608, diſcovered the mouth of Hudſon's River, in 40° 30′ of north latitude, upon his own account, as he imagined,

and ſold it, or rather imparted the diſcovery to the Dutch, who made ſome ſettlements there; but were drove off by Sir Samuel Argol, Governor of a ſecond Virginia company in 1618, becauſe within the limits granted to that company. King James, however, in 1620, gave the Dutch ſome liberty of refreſhment for their ſhips bound to the Brazils, which then belonged to them; and the Dutch, taking advantage of the civil wars in England, ſo far extended and improved their firſt and only colony in North America, that they formed a province called New Netherlands, which comprehended thoſe territories that are now called the colonies of New York, the Jerſeys, and ſome part of Pennſylvania.

As this great tract of land had been taken and poſſeſſed by a foreign power, though afterward delivered or ſurrendered back by treaty, King Charles II. to remove all diſputes concerning the validity of former grants, was adviſed to make a new grant of that country to his brother the Duke of York, by letters patent, bearing date the 29th of June 1674.

The province and territories of Pennſylvania are by three diſtinct grants. I. The province of Pennſylvania by patent from King Charles II. dated the 4th of March 1680-1. II. The Duke of York, on the 24th of Auguſt 1682, ſold to William Penn the elder, his heirs and aſſigns, the town of Newcaſtle or Delaware, and a diſtrict twelve miles round Newcaſtle. III. The Duke of York, by another deed of the ſame date, alſo granted to Mr. Penn, his heirs and aſſigns, all that tract of land from twelve miles ſouth of Newcaſtle to the Hoar Kills, otherwiſe called Cape Henlopen, divided into the two counties of Kent and Suſſex; which, with Newcaſtle diſtrict, are commonly known by the name of the three lower counties upon Delaware River.

The northern boundary of the province and territories of Pennſylvania is in 42° parallel of latitude, from Delaware River weſt to the extent of 5° in longitude, being about 245 Engliſh ſtatute miles: thence in a line parallel with the river of Delaware at 5° longitude weſt from it, to a parallel of latitude fifteen miles ſouth of Philadelphia, being about 153 miles in a direct line: but by the courſe of the river to 42° of latitude is about 210 miles.

This is one of the moſt conſiderable of all the North American colonies, and the firſt proprietary was the ſon of Sir William Penn, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, in conjunction with other admirals, in the time of the rump parliament, whom the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell ſent

ſent with Colonel Venables to reduce Hiſpaniola; to which expedition, though fruitleſs as to the firſt object of its deſtination, we owe the Iſland of Jamaica. Admiral Penn had been a ſtrong independent; but became a royaliſt upon the reſtoration, was knighted, and commanded the Engliſh fleet under the Duke of York againſt the Dutch, commanded by Admiral Opdam in 1665; in which battle the Dutch admiral was killed, and Sir William Penn acquired immortal glory, but ſoon after died, and was interred at Redcliff church in Briſtol.

Sir William Penn, in reward of his ſervices to the crown, had a promiſe from King Charles II. of the grant of this part of America; but his ſon, who was a ſtudent at Chriſt church in Oxford, together with Lord Spencer, afterward that great ſtateſman Robert Earl of Sunderland, deſpiſed the ſurplice, and patronized the Quakers, who were then perſecuted. Upon their account he ſolicited the grant promiſed to his father, and reſolved to put himſelf at the head of as many as would go with him to the country which he intended to call Pennſylvania.

The report is probable, that Mr. Penn, beſide his royal grant of the province of Pennſylvania, had alſo a grant of the ſame from the Duke of York, to obviate any pretence that the province was comprehended in a former royal grant of New Netherlands to the Duke of York: But as the three lower counties or territories were by diſtinct deeds or grants from that of the royal grant of the province, when it was left by the proprietary to their option to be united with the juriſdiction of the general government, or to continue a ſeparate juriſdiction, they choſe the latter, ſo as not to be annihilated by a prevalent authority: And thus they continue as two diſtinct legiſlatures, under the direction of one governor; though their municipal laws and regulations are much the ſame.

When Mr. Penn had obtained his patent, he invited ſeveral perſons to purchaſe lands under it; while he alſo bought the lands of the native Indians, which was certainly the beſt right he had to them. The Swedes had encroached upon the Dutch at New York, and ſettled upon or near the freſhes of the Delaware. The King of Sweden appointed a governor here, who had diſputes frequently with the Dutch governor. The Swedes applied themſelves chiefly to huſbandry, and the Dutch to trade, whereby they became more formidable than the Swedes, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch a ſuperiority. Accordingly, John Rizeing, the Swediſh governor, made a formal ſurrender of the country to Peter Stuyveſant, the Dutch Governor; after which, this territory continued ſubject

ſubject to the States General until the Dutch were expelled by the Engliſh, who thereby made the poſſeſſion more eaſy to Mr. Penn.

There were a few Engliſh here before Mr. Penn ſent over the firſt adventurers under his patent; and, as governor of them, he appointed Colonel William Markham, his nephew, to whom both Swedes and Dutch ſubmitted. Thoſe that firſt embarked from England as adventurers were generally Quakers from London, Briſtol, and Liverpool. Servants were to have fifty acres when their times were out, and owners of land fifty acres a head for ſuch ſervants, men or women.

When the province began to be ſomewhat planted, Mr. Penn went over himſelf, with about 2000 perſons, in 1681; ſo that, as he judiciouſly obſerved, this province "was at once made a country." He took the government into his own hands, purchaſed the Indian territories, divided the country into proper diſtricts, and eſtabliſhed courts for the diſtribution of juſtice.

The original draught of the conſtitution for this province was made by that great patriot and lawyer Sir William Jones, who had too much underſtanding, virtue, and honour, to throw the people out of the queſtion, when their religion, their liberty, their property, their well-being in this world and the next, were ſo nearly concerned in it.

"Mr. Penn's firſt charter conceſſions, or form of government to the ſettlers, ſeems Utopian and whimſical; conſtituting a legiſlature of three negatives, viz. the governor, and two diſtinct houſes of repreſentatives choſen by the freemen; one called the provincial council of 72 members, the other the provincial aſſembly of 200 members; the council had an exorbitant power of excluſive deliberation upon, and preparing all bills for the provincial aſſembly; the executive part of the government was intirely with them. The provincial aſſembly, in the bills to be enacted, had no deliberative privilege, only a yes or no; then the numbers of provincial council, and provincial aſſembly, ſeem to be extravagantly large for an infant colony: perhaps he was of opinion with ſome good politicians, that there can be no general model of civil government; the humours or inclinations, and numbers of various ſocieties, muſt be conſulted and variouſly ſettled. A ſmall ſociety naturally requires the deliberation and general conſent of their freemen for taxation and legiſlature; when the ſociety becomes too numerous for ſuch univerſal meetings, a repreſentation or deputation from the ſeveral diſtricts is a more convenient and eaſy adminiſtration. His laſt and preſent ſtanding charter to the inhabitants

inhabitants of the province and territories of Pennſylvania October 28 1701, runs into the other extreme; the council have no negative in the legiſlature, and only ſerve as the proprietary's council of advice to the governor.—A council choſen by the people, to negative reſolves of repreſentatives alſo choſen by the people, ſeems to be a wheel within a wheel, and incongruous; but a council appointed by the court of Great Britain as a negative, ſeems to be a good policy, by way of controul upon the governor on the one hand, and upon the people by their repreſentatives on the other.

"The province of Pennſylvania ſome years ſince was mortgaged to Mr. Gee and others, for 6600 *l.* ſterling. In the year 1713, Mr. Penn by agreement made over all his rights in Pennſylvania to the crown, in conſideration of 12,000 *l.* ſterling; but before the inſtrument of ſurrender was executed, he died apoplectic, and Pennſylvania ſtill remains with the family of Penn *."

* Douglas's Summary, vol. ii. p. 305.

SECTION II.

Diviſions into counties—Deſcription of the city of Philadelphia, legiſlature, and courts of judicature. Religious ſectaries.

WILLIAM Penn, Eſq. carried over many Quakers with him to ſettle in the province, which he divided into proper diſtricts, and founded the capital city of Philadelphia. He continued two years in Pennſylvania, and then returned to England upon the death of his father; but he left the government in the hands of Thomas Lloyd, with a council.

The proper province of Pennſylvania was at firſt divided into the three counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Cheſter, each ſending eight repreſentatives to the aſſembly: the county of Lancaſter has been added ſince, which ſends four repreſentatives; and an addition was lately made of two new counties back inland, by the names of York and Cumberland, which are allowed only two members each: And all theſe, together with two repreſentatives from the city of Philadelphia, make thirty-four repreſentatives, which compoſe the houſe of aſſembly.

The three lower counties, called the territories, on Delaware River, are a diſtinct juriſdiction, and their aſſembly of repreſentatives conſiſts of ſix members from Newcaſtle county, ſix from Kent and Suſſex counties, in all eighteen members.

The city of Philadelphia is ſituated in 75° of weſt longitude, and 39° 58′ of north latitude, between Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, and near their confluence. It is well laid out, in a plain, conſiſting of eight long ſtreets of two miles, and ſixteen croſs ſtreets of one mile each, at right angles, with proper ſpaces for public buildings. It is divided into the following ſuburbs and wards; The South ſuburbs, the Dutch ward, Walnut ward, South ward, Cheſnut ward, Middle ward, High Street ward, North ward, Mulberry ward, Upper Delaware ward, Lower Delaware ward, and the North ſuburbs, which were ſoon well built and populouſly inhabited, but principally by Quakers, to whom, and the other citizens, Mr. Penn, on the 25th of October 1701, granted a charter for erecting the town into a corporation and city, under a mayor, recorder, ſheriff, and town clerk, eight aldermen, and twelve common-council men.

The plan of the city was drawn up by Mr. Thomas Holme, who was appointed ſurveyor general of the province. The city has two fronts on the water; one, on the eaſt ſide, facing the Schuylkill; and the other, on the weſt, facing the Delaware. This city flouriſhed ſo much at firſt, that there were about 100 houſes erected there in leſs than a year, and they continually increaſed until it became a populous and flouriſhing city.

The names of the ſtreets denote the ſeveral ſorts of timber that are common in Pennſylvania; as Mulberry-ſtreet, Saſſafras-ſtreet, Cheſnut-ſtreet, Walnut-ſtreet, Beech-ſtreet, Aſh ſtreet, Vine-ſtreet, and Cedar-ſtreet. There are alſo ſeveral other ſtreets, particularly High-ſtreet, which is 100 feet in breadth; and ſo is Broad-ſtreet, which is in the middle of the city, running from north to ſouth.

All owners of 1000 acres and upward had their houſes in the two fronts facing the rivers, and in the High-ſtreet, running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other. Every owner of 1000 acres had about an acre in front, and the leſſer purchaſers about half an acre in the back ſtreets, by which means the leaſt had room enough for a houſe, garden, and little orchard.

The Schuylkill is navigable more than 100 miles above the falls; and the Delaware is navigable 300 miles. The land on which the city ſtands is high and firm; but the convenience of cover, docks, and ſprings, have very much contributed to the commerce of this place, where many eminent merchants reſide. Ships may ride here in ſix or ſeven fathom water, with good anchorage; and the cellars or warehouſes on the quay are made into the river three ſtories high.

In 1749, the city contained about 14,500 inhabitants: and there were eleven places of public religious worſhip; that is, one Church of England, two Preſbyterians, two Quakers, one Baptiſt, one Swediſh, one Dutch Lutheran, one Dutch Calviniſt, one Moravian, and one Roman Catholic.

In the province of Pennſylvania and its territories no regular eſtimate can be made of the inhabitants, becauſe there is no poll-tax, nor any militia liſt allowed for alarms, or common trainings, to form eſtimates by, as in the other colonies; but, in the laſt ſix months of 1750, there were buried in Philadelphia as follows:

Swedes,		13
Preſbyterians,		26
Baptiſts,		9
Quakers,		104
Dutch Lutheran,		28
Dutch Calviniſts,		39
Roman Catholics,		15
Church of England,		64
Negroes,		42
	In all,	340

There is only one cuſtom-houſe collection in the proper province of Pennſylvania, called the port of Philadelphia; it ſhould be obſerved that Delaware River, or the port of Philadelphia, is generally frozen up, and has no navigation in the months of January and February.

The acts of legiſlature run as follows: "Be it enacted, by the Honourable —— Eſq. Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Pennſylvania, and of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, on Delaware River; by and with the conſent of the repreſentatives of the freemen of the ſaid province, in general aſſembly met." The governor is only deputy to the proprietary, and is ſtiled his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, whoſe annual ſalary has generally been 1000*l.* currency out of the exciſe duty for the province of Pennſylvania, and 200*l.* a year from the territories called the Three Lower Counties. But, by act of parliament, all lieutenant-governors, or deputies, nominated by proprietors, or principal hereditary governors of Britiſh colonies, muſt have the royal approbation.

The houſe of aſſembly conſiſts of thirty-four repreſentatives; and the qualification for an elector or elected is, a freeman reſident in the country for two years, worth in real or perſonal eſtate, or both jointly, the value of fifty pounds currency; which is to be declared upon oath or affirmation, if required: but the territories have a peculiar juriſdiction, as obſerved before.

Their general aſſemblies are annually elective on the firſt of October; and the repreſentatives are not by towns and pariſh elections, Philadelphia excepted, as in the New England colonies; but by county elections.

Pennſylvania

Pennſylvania Proper, called the Province, for many years, conſiſted of only three counties, called the Upper Counties; as, 1. Buckingham county, whoſe chief town is Briſtol. 2. Philadelphia county, whoſe capital is of the ſame name, which implies "brotherly love." 3. Cheſter county, whoſe principal town is Cheſter, about fifteen miles below Philadelphia town. The three interior counties are, Lancaſter, York, and Cumberland, whoſe capitals are of the ſame name. The territories are called the three Lower Counties on Delaware River. 1. Newcaſtle county, the chief town Newcaſtle, about thirty-five miles below Philadelphia. 2. Kent county, whoſe principal town is Dover. 3. Suſſex county, the capital of which is Lewis town or Hoarkill, near Cape Henlopen of Delaware Bay.

The courts of judicature are as following:

Juries are all returned by the ſheriff, except in particular caſes, but not often, when there may be a ſtruck jury by conſent of parties; which muſt be in the preſence of the judges, the ſheriff, and the parties.

The ſheriffs and coroners are annually elected, at the ſame time with the repreſentatives, by a county election. The people elect two for each office, of which the governor chooſes one, who in the ſame manner may be elected for three years running; but cannot be re-elected after three years, without the intervention of three years, when they are capable of a new election.

Juſtices of the peace are all appointed by the governor, and ſit in quarter ſeſſions, conformable to the laws and inſtitutions of England.

The judges of the common pleas are the juſtices of the peace in each reſpective county; and when the quarter ſeſſions are finiſhed, they continue to ſit in quality of the judges of common pleas by commiſſion from the governor.

The ſupreme court conſiſts of a chief juſtice, and two aſſiſtant judges, commiſſioned by the governor. They have all the authority of the king's bench, common pleas, and court of exchequer, in England, in the words of the provincial law. They not only receive appeals, but all cauſes once commenced in the inferior courts, after the firſt writ, may be moved thither by a *habeas corpus*, *certiorari*, writs of error, &c. The judges of this ſupreme court have alſo a ſtanding and diſtinct commiſſion, to hold, as to them ſhall ſeem needful, courts of oyer and terminer and general

general gaol delivery throughout the province, and are juſtices of the peace in every county.

The ſupreme courts in Pennſylvania are held at Philadelphia, the tenth day of April, and the twenty-fourth day of September.

There is an officer called the regiſter-general, for the probate of wills, and granting letters of adminiſtration; whoſe authority extends all over the province, but is executed by a deputy in each reſpective county, except at Philadelphia, where he is obliged to reſide himſelf. He or his deputies, in caſe of any diſpute, or caveat entered, may call two juſtices of the peace to aſſiſt him in giving deciſions. The authority of this officer, and of all the others above-mentioned, is founded on acts of aſſembly, impowering the governor to commiſſion and appoint ſuch as ſeem to him qualified for that purpoſe.

The court of vice-admiralty is, as in the other colonies, by commiſſion from the admiralty in England.

The juſticiary court of admiralty is, as in the other colonies, by commiſſion under the broad ſeal of England. Some of the neighbouring provinces being included in one and the ſame commiſſion, the judges are the governors, councils, captains of men of war, principal officers of the cuſtoms, and ſome juſtices of the peace.

As to the religious ſectaries, the Quakers are the chief; and theſe are a ſeparate body from all the other diſſenters, diſagreeing in doctrine and practice from all alike, and teaching a particular religion from every other body of Chriſtians throughout the world. Their adverſaries have charged them with a denial of all the fundamentals of Chriſtianity. They are a diſtinct political body, governed with great regularity, by laws and rules of their own making; and, in their outward deportment, they ſtudy to appear as contrary to the reſt of mankind as they poſſibly can.

For their faith, the faireſt account we can take of it will be from an Apology which Robert Barclay, one of their own body, preſented to King Charles II.

In this there is no mention of a Trinity of Perſons in the Godhead; nothing of the incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his being actually thereupon God-man; of the plenary ſatisfaction which he gave to the Divine Juſtice for the ſins of men, by his death; of his aſcenſion into

into heaven with the ſame body with which he appeared to St. Thomas after his reſurrection; of his conſtant interceſſion at the right hand of the Father for all mankind; nor of the reſurrection of the body.

Theſe articles the Quakers have been charged with denying, before the writing of Robert Barclay's Apology, and more vigorouſly ſince. In defence for themſelves, they ſay, that they own "the Three that bear record in heaven," 1 John v. 7. But the terms, Perſon and Trinity, they reject, as not ſpiritual; and they ſay farther, that the word Perſon is too groſs to expreſs ſuch an union. They refuſe therefore to ſubſcribe the Nicene and Athanaſian Creeds; and they ſeem to accuſe the doctrines therein contained of polytheiſm. As to the doctrine of the incarnation, as the church of England holdeth it, they are not clear. They keep to Scripture-phraſes, and own, that the Godhead dwelt bodily in Jeſus: but whether they mean any more thereby than that the light, which they call the Chriſt within, dwelt in the Man Jeſus fully, and was given to him without meaſure, is uncertain; for when they have been charged with affirming, that "there is no other Chriſt but what is within them," they reply thus: "When we ſay, There is no other Chriſt than what is within us, we ſay true; becauſe Chriſt, as God, cannot be divided; and the meaſure or manifeſtation of the Spirit of Chriſt in us is not another, but a manifeſtation of the ſame Chriſt, which did, in fulneſs and bodily, dwell in the Man Jeſus." They never ſpeak of the hypoſtatical union of the two natures, divine and human, in the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt. Some of them have been charged with allegorizing away the whole hiſtory of the crucifixion of Jeſus Chriſt at Jeruſalem, and of his reſurrection and aſcenſion; but this their vindicators deny, and many of them have been very explicit in their acknowledgment of the reality of that hiſtory, though they utterly deny, "that the outward perſon who ſuffered his body to be crucified by the Jews, without the gates of Jeruſalem, is properly the Son of God." It will not be difficult to collect how far they agree with the church of England in the doctrine of the full and ſufficient oblation and ſatisfaction which Jeſus Chriſt made for the ſins of all mankind at his death. As to the reſurrection of the body, what they poſitively mean by it, they have never yet explained: negatively they aſſert, that the ſame natural and fleſhly body, which was here upon earth, ſhall not riſe; and in that they are very explicit, and pretend to prove their aſſertion from St. Paul's account of the reſurrection.

At firſt they had no ſuch thing as church government; and every man ſpoke, acted, directed, and admoniſhed all things as he apprehended himſelf to be directed by the light within: but as they grew numerous, they

they found this would not keep them ſufficiently together; and ſo, under the direction of their firſt founder, George Fox, they formed themſelves into a regular body, and obſerved a ſtated diſcipline; in which, though without pretending to any thing like coercion, they are as united, and underſtand the ſtate of one another, as well as any ſociety of men whatſoever, civil or eccleſiaſtical, in Chriſtendom *.

Their monthly and quarterly meetings are held in the ſeveral countries in which they live; and according as their ſettlements are more numerous and thick, ſo more or fewer towns ſend deputies to theſe aſſemblies. In their meetings they take examinations of the ſtate of every town in which they dwell: they inquire who ſtand faſt to their rules and orders, and who backſlide from them; who write againſt them; who pay tithes and churchwardens rates; who ſuffer for non-payment of either; as alſo who are married by prieſts; and accordingly they cenſure or encourage: there they excommunicate; and there, upon occaſion, they receive into communion again: and of all this they keep exact regiſters.

From theſe monthly and quarterly meetings, appeals lie to their yearly ones. Theſe yearly meetings are always held in London, which is the center of communion of all the Quakers throughout the world. Thither deputies come from all parts of Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Germany, and the plantations; in which laſt they have many numerous ſettlements. This meeting is uſually held in White Hart Court, in Grace Church-ſtreet, in a commodious room, built on purpoſe. They ſend alſo a yearly epiſtle to all their ſettlements, giving inſtructions and admonitions proper to the occaſion; to be read in the monthly and quarterly meetings of friends throughout the world.

The ſecond day's meeting is a ſtanding committee, reſiding at London, which meets every Monday in the year: its members are their principal teachers reſiding in or near the city; their buſineſs is to attend every particular exigency relating to the body, which may happen from one yearly meeting to another; but more particularly they are to examine, approve, and licence all books printed or reprinted for the ſervice, as they call it, of the truth.

The meeting of ſufferings is one of the ancienteſt aſſemblies they have; its regular time of meeting is every ſix weeks; its buſineſs is to receive

* Their meetings, by which they act as a ſociety, are of ſeveral ſorts; monthly, quarterly, yearly, ſecond-day's meetings, and meeting of ſufferings.

complaints

complaints out of all parts of England and Wales, from thoſe who have ſuffered for non-payment of tithes and rates, and to take care how to procure them relief, either by ſending them money, or by ſoliciting their cauſes above, or both. Theſe people are more indulged than any other ſubjects; they are not obliged to take the oaths to the government; their bare word or affirmation is held ſufficient: and whereas they uſed to affirm in the name of God, this was looked upon as too great an impoſition on them, and the word God is now left out of it *."

The Quakers were not diſtinguiſhed by any particular name until the year 1650; and in 1656 ſome of them arrived in New England, where they were perſecuted with great ſeverity †; but now, by their ſimplicity of manners, induſtry, integrity, frugality, humanity, and charity, they are univerſally eſteemed.

Mr. Penn became a Quaker when he was twenty-two years of age; and he went with George Fox upon a miſſion into foreign countries; but from Holland they ſoon returned home; after which Mr. Penn wrote voluminouſly in defence of the ſect he had embraced and patronized.

The Quakers have two large meeting-houſes in Philadelphia, and a meeting almoſt in every townſhip of the three firſt ſettled counties. In the other three counties they are not ſo prevalent; but they every where preſerve a power by their two irreſiſtible maxims of riches and unity: they have the ſecret of keeping their young people up to theſe, and let them think and talk otherwiſe as they pleaſe. The external part of their religion conſiſts only in trivial matters, as antiquated modes of ſpeech and plainneſs of dreſs; but the puſilanimous doctrine of not defending themſelves by force againſt an invading enemy, is very ſingular. They ſay, that a regular clergy with benefices are hirelings: but unjuſtly they are ſaid not to regard the Scriptures; whereas, in their exhortations, and defences of their orthodoxy, they uſe Scripture-phraſes and quotations as much as any other ſectaries; but ſome of their tenets ſeem to be Arminian.

There are ſeveral ſorts of Baptiſts in Pennſylvania: 1. The Engliſh are generally a good and ſober kind of people, who have one meeting in Philadelphia, and ſome in the country. 2. The Firſt-day Baptiſts have been already mentioned. 3. The German Baptiſts are alſo reputed

* See the Statutes, 13 Car. II. cap. i. and 8 W. III. cap. 14. 8 Geo. I. cap. vi.
† Neale, vol. i. p. 310. 344. Hutchinſon, p. 196. Douglaſs, i. p. 136.

orderly: they have no meetings, or public places of worſhip in Philadelphia, but many in the country, and generally refuſe the qualification oath. One of their branchings are called Meniſts, who have no meeting in the capital, but follow farming in the country, where they are conſidered as a numerous and wealthy people. Their diſtinction is wearing long beards, and refuſing government oaths. 4. The Dumplers are a ſmall body of German Baptiſts from Philadelphia: both men and women profeſs continency, and live in ſeparate apartments. Tho' an illiterate people in general, they have a decent chapel, and a printing-preſs, where ſome are continually printing, and others are curious in writing fine, particularly in ſcrolls, on religious ſubjects, ſtuck up in their halls and cells: the initial letters are beautifully illuminated with blue, red, and gold; ſuch as may be ſeen in old monkiſh manuſcripts. The men wear a monkiſh habit, without breeches, like capuchins, but lighter cloth. As to oaths, they are the ſame with the Quakers and Moravians; and as craftſmen, they are very ingenious. They have a griſt-mill, a ſaw-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all under one roof, upon a fine ſtream, which brings them in a conſiderable gain.

The Lutherans have one church in Philadelphia, and ſeveral in the country. There are alſo three Lutheran churches belonging to the deſcendants of the old Swediſh families. They are ſupplied once in ſeven years from Sweden, and generally with good men.

The Preſbyterians have two meetings in Philadelphia, and many in the country, particularly a ſmall congregation called Cameronians, or Covenanters, who deny ſubmiſſion to magiſtrates.

The Papiſts are tolerated in this colony, as well as in Maryland, even as to the public exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion; and in Philadelphia there is a public popiſh chapel, frequented by a poor ſet of Iriſh people, whoſe prieſts have generally been Jeſuits from England or Maryland.

The Moravians have tranſported themſelves in conſiderable numbers from Germany, and call themſelves *unitas fratrum*, or united brethren, as before mentioned. In church government they are epiſcopal, but refuſe taking the oaths, in which they are favoured like the Quakers by affirmation, purſuant to an act of parliament in 1749. They publiſh no Creed or Confeſſion of Faith, and preach in an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain. They uſe inſtrumental muſic in their worſhip; and they have a chapel, with a ſmall organ, in Philadelphia: but their grand ſettlement is at Bethlehem, about

about fifty miles from the capital; and, at their ſolemn feſtivals, they uſe French horns, hautbois, and violins. They poſſeſs about eight thouſand acres of land, and make valuable ſettlements. They are very zealous toward converting the Indians, ſome of whom have joined their ſociety, which ſends miſſionaries even to Greenland and Surinam. The Moravians refuſe carrying arms, but willingly contribute toward the pecuniary charge of a war, which ſome Quakers have refuſed.

The Moravians are indulged in Pennſylvania with an affirmation, inſtead of an oath; but their affirmation diſqualifies them to give evidence in criminal caſes, as alſo to ſerve in juries; though the Quakers affirmation is allowed in caſes both civil and criminal.

In Pennſylvania there has alſo been a numerous importation of Palatines, Saltzburgers, and other foreigners; of whom it has been obſerved, that in progreſs of time, by their induſtry and frugality, they may become poſſeſſed of the moſt valuable lands in the colony.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK VI.

The Province of MARYLAND.

CHAP. I.

Rise of the colony; original grants; and first settlements.

MARYLAND is properly a sprout from Virginia; therefore the connection of this settlement with the first discoveries must be referred to the general account of Virginia.

Toward the end of the reign of King James I. Sir George Calvert, then principal secretary of state, afterward Lord Baltimore, obtained a patent for some fishing harbours in Newfoundland; but he met with several disappointments, owing to his zeal for the catholic religion, and soon afterward died; upon which his son and heir obtained a patent from K. Charles I. for "All that part of a peninsula, lying in the parts of America, between the ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeak on the west, and divided from the other part thereof by a right line drawn from the Promontory or Cape of Land, called Watkin's Point, situate in the said Bay, near the river of Wigheo, on the west, unto the main ocean on the east; and between that bound on the south, unto that part of Delaware Bay on the north,

north, which lies under the fortieth degree of north latitude: and all that tract of land within the bounds underwritten; that is, paſſing from thence unto Delaware Bay, in a right line, unto the true meridian of the firſt fountain of the river Potomack; and from thence tending toward the ſouth unto the farther bank of that river; and following the weſt and ſouth ſide thereof unto a place called Cinquack, ſituate near the mouth of that river, where it falls into the Bay of Cheſapeak; and from thence by a ſtraight line unto Watkin's Point."

1632. Upon this patent, Lord Baltimore intended to viſit Maryland in perſon, but altered his mind, and appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to be governor; but he alſo joined Jeremy Hawley, Eſq. and Thomas Cornwallis, Eſq. in the commiſſion. The firſt colony conſiſted of about two hundred perſons, ſent by his lordſhip in the autumn of 1633. They were chiefly gentlemen of good families, but Roman catholics.

They ſailed from Cowes in the Iſle of Wight on the 22d of November 1632, touched at Barbadoes, and arrived at Virginia on the 24th of February following. Their arrival in Potomack River was on the 1ſt of March; and, after ranging about, they at laſt ſettled, with the conſent of the Indians at Yamaco, an Indian town at the mouth of the river, to which place they gave the name of Saint Mary's. It is ſuppoſed, that, in the firſt two years, this ſettlement coſt Lord Baltimore above 40,000 *l.* ſterling, by bringing over coloniſts, proviſions, and ſtores. But during the civil wars in England, Lord Baltimore was deprived of the government or juriſdiction of Maryland. However, ſoon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. Charles Lord Baltimore, ſon of Lord Cecilius, obtained a confirmation of the grant in 1632, and made ſeveral voyages to his province: yet, as the proprietor was a Roman catholic, the crown retained the juriſdiction, and appointed the governor, as well as all other civil officers; after which the proprietor became a proteſtant, and enjoyed the government of the province in its fulleſt extent.

The firſt ſettlement was at Saint Mary's, where the general aſſembly and courts of judicature were kept for many years: but they were removed in 1699 to Annapolis, at the mouth of the River Severn, for the better conveniency of the whole province, as it was nearly the center of it all.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The fourteen counties, as divided and ſettled in 1752; *the courts, legiſlative and executive; proprietors and deputy governors; taxes, quit-rents, and currencies.*

THE province of Maryland in 1752 was divided into fourteen counties; that is, ſeven on each ſide of the Great Bay; as following: 1752.

1. Saint Mary's,	Weſt ſide.	Worceſter,	Eaſt ſide.
2. Calvert,		Somerſet,	
3. Prince George,		Dorcheſter,	
4. Charles,		Talbot,	
5. Anne Arundel,		Queen Anne's,	
6. Baltimore,		Kent,	
7. Frederick,		Cecil,	

Formerly the aſſembly was triennial, but it is very different now, when they are called, adjourned, prorogued, and diſſolved, as occaſion requires. Legiſlative power.

Beſides, it appears, that, in the government of Maryland, there are four negatives in the legiſlative power, as there provincially conſtructed: 1. The lower houſe, or houſe of repreſentatives, where all bills for acts originate. 2. The governor's council. 3. The governor. And, 4. The lord proprietor. But of theſe four negatives, the proprietor ſeems to have three; therefore the late diſcontents might ariſe.

The complement of the council is twelve, appointed by the governor-general, principal, or proprietor; but are paid 180 *lb.* of tobacco *per diem* by the province. The council.

The lower houſe of aſſembly, or houſe of repreſentatives, conſiſts of four from each of the preſent fourteen counties, and two from Annapolis, as the capital of the province; each is paid 160 *lb.* of tobacco *per diem.* Aſſembly.

1. The pariſh-veſtries, who not only manage the affairs of the pariſh-church, but alſo the prudential matters of the diſtrict, like the ſelect men in New England; beſide, they are aſſeſſors of rates or taxes. They are twelve in each pariſh for life; and, upon a deceaſe, the ſurvivors elect another to ſupply the vacancy. Executive power.

2. The county-courts.

3. The

3. The circuit court of aſſizes for trying criminal caſes, and titles of land. There is one court on each ſide of the bay, conſiſting of a chief judge, an aſſiſtant judge, and proper juries, who ſit in, and form the reſpective courts.

4. From the county courts, there is appeal to the provincial court of Annapolis, in perſonal debts of 50 *l.* or upward.

5. In the city of Annapolis are held the mayor's quarterly courts.

6. From the provincial courts held at Annapolis lies an appeal in caſes of 300 *l.* ſterling value, or upward, to the King in council.

The commiſſary grants the probates of wills and adminiſtrations; but he is not a ſuperintendant of the clergy, and his place is worth about 1000 *l.* a year.

The lieutenant-governor is chancellor, and grants licences for marrying, which are given out or ſold, by a miniſter in each county, at 1 *l.* 5 *s.* of which the governor has twenty ſhillings, and the parſon five. The lieutenant-governor has alſo fees for the great ſeal of the province, and many other perquiſites. The country generally gives him three halfpence per hogſhead of tobacco exported; but the ſalary allowed him by the governor is ſeldom publicly known.

The court of vice-admiralty is of the ſame nature as thoſe already deſcribed; and ſo is the juſticiary court of admiralty, purſuant to the act of the 11th and 12th of King William III.

Lords proprietors. 1. Sir George Calvert. 2. His ſon, Cecilius Lord Baltimore, in 1632. 3. Charles Lord Baltimore, ſon of Cecilius, in 1661. 4. Frederick Lord Baltimore, who ſucceeded to the government in 1751.

Deputy-governors. 1. Sir Edmund Andros. 2. Colonel Nicholſon. 3. Colonel Blackiſton. 4. Colonel Seymour, in 1704. 5. Colonel Corbet. 6. Colonel Hunt. 7. Benedict Leonard Calvert, Eſq. in 1732. 8. Samuel Ogle, Eſq. in 1747, until 1752. Horatio Sharpe, Eſq. till 1769.

Taxes, Quit-rents, and Currencies.

Taxes. In Maryland and Virginia, the public rates or taxes, for province, county, and pariſh, are called levies, which conſtitute a capitation or poll-

tax upon all titheables; that is, upon all males of whites, and upon all negroes, males and females, of ſixteen years and upward, to ſixty years of age.——There are about forty thouſand taxables in Maryland; and the tax has generally been from 90 *lb.* to 120 *lb.* of tobacco on each poll annually; 40 *lb.* of which was for the rector of the pariſh, the reſt for the poors rate, aſſembly wages, and other public exigencies: but the clergymen of Maryland are better provided for than thoſe in the other colonies; in Virginia, the pariſh miniſters are fixed to 16,000 *lb.* of tobacco a year for ſalary, but in Maryland there is no ſalary aſcertained: ſo that in this increaſing colony, when the miniſters are paid in proportion to the number of taxables, the more thoſe increaſe the more will the clergy be enriched.

Quit-rents. The proprietor's quit-rents are two ſhillings ſterling a year for every hundred acres; afterward increaſed to four ſhillings in ſome parts, and unſucceſsfully attempted to be advanced to ten in others, which was done by agents. The aſſembly, however, with the conſent of the lord proprietor, experimentally granted him, during the term of three years, in lieu of quit-rents, a revenue of 3*s.* 6*d.* ſterling duty per hogſhead of tobacco, to be paid by the merchant or ſhipper. Thus the planters, or aſſembly, to eaſe themſelves, laid the burden upon trade, which amounted to about 5000 *l.* ſterling a year; but, upon the expiration of the three years, this project was dropped, and the proprietor found it more for his intereſt to revert to the revenue ariſing from the quit-rents as before.

Currencies. The principal currency was tobacco, by the pound or hundred weight, as regulated by acts of aſſembly, or general conſent of the people: but the province was hurt by the emiſſion of paper-currency. In 1734 they emitted 90,000 *l.* in bills of public credit; whereof thirty ſhillings to every taxable was 54,000 *l.* and the remaining 36,000 *l* was to build a governor's houſe, and to be let upon loan. The fund for calling in theſe bills of public credit was a duty upon liquors, and other things, to be paid in ſterling, and lodged in the bank of England, ſo as to be cancelled in the ſpace of thirty years. Theſe bills were not receivable in the proprietor's quit-rents, becauſe an enſuing depreciation was perceived, which really happened; ſo that from thirty-three and three-quarters difference of exchange with London, it gradually aroſe to an hundred and fifty difference. In 1740 the Pennſylvania eight ſhillings was equal to twelve ſhillings Maryland; but as the fund for cancelling theſe bills of credit was regularly tranſmitted to the bank of England, they gradually recovered their value, and 200 *l.* Maryland was equal to 100 *l.* ſterling in 1748, when they were cancelled.

CHAP. III.

Boundaries, mountains and rivers, produce and manufactures.

Boundaries. THESE have been already mentioned; nor are the diſputes yet ſettled: but it may be obſerved, that the terminating line of this province is a ſmall opening between the properties of the Penns and of Lord Fairfax, as ſettled by treaty with the Six Nations of Indians in 1744, whereby it was ſtipulated, that the boundaries ſhould be at two miles above the uppermoſt falls of Potomack River, and run from thence in a north line to the ſouth bounds of Pennſylvania. The Indians gave a quit-claim to all the lands in Maryland, eaſt of that line, for the conſideration of 300 *l.* currency, paid to them by Maryland.

Mountains and rivers. Theſe ſhould be referred to our account of Virginia; yet here it may be obſerved, that as both provinces lie in the ſame extenſive bay of Cheſapeak, the ſame account occurs with regard to both, as to their navigation and trade.

Maryland and Virginia are flat countries, excepting the Apalachian great mountains to the weſtward, which begin in Pennſylvania, and run 900 miles ſouth-weſt, at about 150 or 200 miles diſtance from the eaſtern ſhore of the Atlantic Ocean, and terminate in the bay of Apalachia River, near Penſacola, in the Gulph of Mexico.

Colonel Spotſwood, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, was the firſt who paſſed the Apalachian Mountains, or great Blue Hills; and his attendants were called "Knights of the horſe-ſhoe," having diſcovered a horſe-paſs.

There are two paſſes acroſs theſe mountains: the north paſs is in Spotſylvania; and the ſouth paſs is near Brunſwick.

Some rivers have been diſcovered on the weſt ſide of the Apalachian Mountains, which fall into the River Ohio, and that falls into the River Miſſiſſippi, below the River Ilinois.

Produce and manufactures. Theſe are nearly the ſame in the provinces of Maryland and Virginia; but tobacco is the principal, which is a yearly plant; and when at its full growth, is about five feet eight inches; the ſtalk is ſtraight, hairy, and clammy: in trade there are only two ſpecies of tobacco, that is, Oranokoe from Maryland, and the northern parts of Virginia; with the ſweet

ſweet ſcented from the ſouth parts of Virginia, whereof the beſt kind is from James and York Rivers. The firſt is the ſtrongeſt, and chiefly demanded by the northern markets of Europe; the other is milder, and more pleaſant; but the difference ſeems to be only from the ſoil. Sweet-ſcented, which grows in ſandy lands, is beſt for ſmoaking when new, or only from two to three years old; that from ſtiff land, if kept five or ſix years, much exceeds the former in quality.

Tobacco is generally cultivated in ſets by negroes, who have an overſeer to eight labourers. Each working negro is reckoned one ſhare; and the overſeer has one and a half, or two ſhares. The charge of a negro is a coarſe woollen jacket and breeches, with one pair of ſhoes in winter: victualling is one peck of Indian corn, and ſome ſalt per week.

To prevent tobacco from becoming a drug, no taxable is to cultivate above ſix thouſand plants. The plantation duty is one penny ſterling per pound upon tobacco exported to the other colonies; and is about 200 *l.* toward the revenue of the college of Williamſburgh in Virginia.

The common culture of tobacco is in this manner: The ſeed is ſown in beds of fine mould, and tranſplanted the beginning of May. The plants are ſet at three or four feet intervals or diſtances: they are hilled, and kept continually weeded; but when as many leaves are ſhot out as the ſoil can nouriſh to advantage, the plant is ſtopped, and it grows no higher. It is frequently wormed; and the ſuckers, which put forth between the leaves, are taken off until the plant arrives to perfection, which is in Auguſt, when the leaves begin to turn browniſh and ſpot. In a hot time, the plant is cut down, and hanged up to dry, after being ſweated in heaps for one night, when it may be handled without crumbling; for tobacco ſhould not be handled but in moiſt weather. The leaves are ſtripped off from the ſtalk, tied up in little bundles, and packed up in hogſheads for tranſportation; but no ſuckers or ground leaves are allowed to be merchantable.

An induſtrious man may manage ſix thouſand plants of tobacco, and four acres of Indian corn.

Maryland and Virginia ſometimes produce more tobacco than they can vent to advantage, by glutting the markets too much.

Tobacco is not only their chief produce for trade, but may alſo be called their medium or currency, as it is received in taxes or debts; and the inſpector's notes for tobacco received by him may be transferred.

Formerly the tobacco buſineſs was managed by receivers, at cutting houſes, near the ſhipping places, where the planter delivered his tobacco to the merchants; but this is not the caſe at preſent, for in every river there are country ſtores, where the tobacco is depoſited; and every hogſhead is branded with the marks of the planter, river, and ſtore.

Many ſwine run wild in the woods of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. They are generally ſmall, and are ſalted and barrelled. They feed moſtly upon maſt; eat oily and rank; but they make a conſiderable branch in the export of theſe colonies.

Foreſt nuts, of many kinds, are very plentiful, upon which the price of pork depends. Next to the pork fed with Indian corn, as in New England, acorns make the firmeſt pork. Beech nuts alſo make ſweet pork, but flabby, oily and ſoft.

Good land in Maryland and Virginia generally yields fifteen buſhels of wheat an acre, or thirty buſhels of Indian corn, which caſts whiter than that of New England.

Calavances, or Maryland peaſe, both white and red, are exported to ſeveral of the other colonies; they yield better than the common peaſe of Europe; which makes them a profitable food for the poorer ſort of white people, and for negro ſlaves.

They raiſe, in the uplands, quantities of hemp and flax. In October 1751, from the back ſettlements of Maryland, there came into Baltimore Town above ſixty waggons of flax-ſeed. In ſome counties of Maryland the flax is worked up in charity ſchools.

Iron. Toward the mountains there are ſome furnaces for running of iron ore into pigs and hollow caſt-ware; as alſo forges to refine pig-iron into bars.

Timber and lumber. Their oak is of a ſtraight grain, and eaſily ſplits into ſtaves; but in building of veſſels it is not durable. They build only ſmall craft; but ſome years ſince they built a large ſhip called the Britiſh Merchant, burden one thouſand hogſheads; and, with many repairs, ſhe kept in the Virginia trade thirty-ſix years.

Their black walnut is in great demand for cabinets, tables, and other joiners work.

Maryland

Maryland and Virginia produce beautiful large apples, but very mealy; their peaches are plenty and good, from which they diſtil a good ſpirit.

The alarum liſt, and the training militia, are nearly in the ſame manner, and under the ſame regulations, as in the other colonies already mentioned. The taxables are about forty thouſand perſons, whites and blacks.

About four thouſand negroes are yearly imported into Maryland and Virginia, where ſome planters have five hundred ſlaves, and Mr. Bennet of Maryland had thirteen hundred at one time. A peck of Indian corn and ſome ſalt is their weekly allowance of proviſion for each negro: they are reckoned to raiſe 1000 *lb.* weight of tobacco, beſide ſome barrels of corn, per head; and 6000 plants are computed to yield 1000 *lb.* weight of tobacco, which is the utmoſt quantity allowed.

There may be about 350 felons imported yearly to Maryland from England; but the coloniſts wiſh this importation was reſtrained.

Roman catholics abound in Maryland, where the county courts grant meeting-houſe licences to diſſenting miniſters, which are ſometimes negatived by the ſuperior court.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK VII.

The Hiſtory of VIRGINIA.

CHAP. I.

Original diſcoveries, charters, boundaries, and ſettlements.

THIS country was firſt diſcovered to the Europeans by Sebaſtian Cabot, in 1497, as already mentioned: but notwithſtanding the French pretenſions of any diſcovery made by John Verazzan, the Engliſh juſtly claim it from the care and expence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who obtained letters patent for that purpoſe from Queen Elizabeth in 1583, and fitted out two ſhips the next year, and ſent them upon the enterprize, which was principally entruſted to the conduct of Captain Philip Amidas and Captain Arthur Barlow, whoſe diſcoveries have been related before. They anchored at Roanoke, coaſted the country, and landed in ſeveral parts, from whence they brought furs and other commodities, particularly tobacco and ſaſſafras.

Queen Elizabeth was ſo well pleaſed with the account theſe adventurers gave of the country, that ſhe honoured it with the name of Virginia, either as ſhe was called "a virgin queen," or, as the Virginians ſay,

ſay, becauſe it ſtill appeared to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the firſt creation, and the people their primitive innocence.

Sir Richard Greenville ſailed from Plymouth with ſeven ſhips in 1585, and arrived at Roanoke, where he left 108 men to form a ſettlement under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane, who received a ſupply by Sir Francis Drake in 1586: but this was thought inſufficient, and Sir Francis took them back with him to England, which put an end to the firſt ſettlement.

The ſecond ſettlement alſo proved unſucceſsful in 1587; after which a third ſettlement was attempted by Mr. John White, who conſtituted a form of government conſiſting of a governor and twelve council, incorporated by the name of "the governor and aſſiſtants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia." From theſe ſmall beginnings we may trace this colony, which has increaſed ſo much ſince, that it now furniſhes one of the moſt important branches of the revenue belonging to the Britiſh crown.

This third ſettlement underwent ſevere hardſhips, and was broke up in 1589. Captain Goſnold made an unſucceſsful attempt in 1602; after which, the Briſtol merchants undertook the ſame enterprize, and had better ſucceſs. The Londoners alſo renewed their attempts under Captain Weymouth, who entered the river of Powhatan, and returned with a profitable cargo to England, where the farther deſign of a colony would have been relinquiſhed, if Captain Goſnold had not ſo effectually ſolicited the colonization of Virginia, that ſeveral gentlemen contributed toward it, and they were incorporated by King James I. as two companies in one patent, dated the 10th of April 1606, for two colonies.

The patent, as regarding the firſt company, included Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as they are now diſtinguiſhed from each other. And the patent, as relative to the ſecond company, included New England, New York, New Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, as they are now divided into ſeveral provinces: but the whole country was then called Virginia.

The firſt colony was the earlieſt in their ſettlement; for they immediately fitted out two ſhips, under the command of Captain Newport, who fell in with the coaſt near Cape Henry, the ſouthermoſt point of the Bay of Cheſapeak. With him went the honourable Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, Captain Smith, Captain Goſnold, Captain

tain Ratcliffe, Captain Martin, and Mr. Wingfield, of whom the five laſt were of the council. They raiſed a fort at the mouth of the River Powhatan, where they left 100 men, with proper neceſſaries to make a ſettlement; and this was the firſt colony that remained on the place.

Mr. Wingfield was the firſt preſident, but was ſoon depoſed, and ſucceeded by Captain Ratcliffe, who left the adminiſtration of affairs to Captain Smith. This gentleman was a remarkable navigator and adventurer: He built a fort on the ſouthern cape, which he named Cape Henry, in honour of Prince Henry, the eldeſt ſon of King James; and another fort on the northern cape, which he called Cape Charles, from Prince Charles, afterward King Charles I. and the River Powhatan he called James River, after the name of his Majeſty.

James Town was built upon a peninſula about fifty miles up the river.

In 1607 the plantation met with ſeveral interruptions; but the next year was attended with more ſucceſs to Captain Smith and the Coloniſts. In 1609 John Layden and Anne Burroughs were married; which was the firſt Chriſtian marriage in Virginia. Other ſettlements were made at Nanſomund, Powhatan, and Kiquotan.

Captain Smith purſued his diſcoveries, in which he underwent great hazards and difficulties. The manner of his treatment among the Indians, and his eſcape; his friendſhip to Nautaquaus, the king's ſon; and the ſurprizing tenderneſs of Pocahonta, his daughter, for Captain Smith, when the Indians were determined to put him to death, are incidents agreeable and ſurprizing, but romantic and marvellous. He returned to England, where he gave ſuperlative accounts of Virginia: but thoſe who ſucceeded him almoſt ruined the ſettlement; and thoſe who arrived under the new charter diſagreed among themſelves, ſo that nothing was apprehended of any conſiderable emolument either to the Coloniſts or the Companies; which made the latter reſign their charter, to obtain a new one, in expectation of greater advantages to themſelves, as well as to the Coloniſts in general.

The ſecond charter was granted March 23, 1609; and a third followed March 12, 1611-12.

Virginia is divided by the great Rivers of Potomack, Rapahannock, York, and James, into four necks, and the two counties eaſt of Cheſapeak Bay make the fifth great diviſion.

The firſt ſettlers were intent upon taking up large tracts of land; which occaſioned the ſeveral ſettlements to be diſperſed at conſiderable diſtances, and not fixed in towns or villages. They met with great difficulties until the year 1611, when Sir Thomas Dale arrived with three ſhips, men, cattle, and proviſions. Sir Thomas Gates ſoon after brought a ſtronger reinforcement and a greater ſupply; after which, Captain Argol made his arrival with freſh recruits in 1612. In 1618 Lord Delaware was appointed governor, but died in his paſſage, and was ſucceeded by Governor Yearly. In 1621 Sir Francis Wyat was appointed governor, and arrived with nine ſhips. Every perſon was to plant 1000 plants of tobacco, with eight leaves each plant, which is about 100 pound of tobacco; and corn then ſold at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per buſhel.

King Charles I. diſſolved the company in 1626, and the colony was then brought under the immediate direction of the crown, where it remains to this day.

At firſt there were only a few general patentees; but at preſent every freeholder may be reckoned a patentee.

The government of Virginia pretend to extend their ſettlements ſo far back to the weſtward as the great Lake Erie, and ſome branches of the River Miſſiſſippi, comprehending an immenſe quantity of land unſettled: And, as their ſettlements extend gradually toward the mountains, they create new counties from time to time, for the conveniency of attending inferior courts.

The country between James River and York River is the beſt ſettled, and produces the beſt tobacco. Their remoteſt ſettlement is Lunenburgh, about 100 miles ſouth-weſt from Hanover, which is ſixty miles from Williamsburgh, the metropolis. The beſt lands are above the falls of the rivers.

The lands weſt of the Virginia ſettlements were claimed by the Six Nations, as alſo by the Southern Indians.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Government; Religion; and Laws.

THE firſt aſſembly met at James Town in May 1620, when Sir Francis Wyat was governor. The king had diſſolved the company, and ordered the future form of its government to be by a governor, a council of twelve, and the aſſembly. Sir John Harvey was governor in 1639, when he was ſent priſoner to England for oppreſſing the Coloniſts, who had ſuffered great devaſtations from the Indians. He was ſucceeded by Sir William Berkley, who intimidated the Indians from perpetrating their acts of cruelty. Sir William maintained his loyalty to King Charles I. but Captain Dennis reduced Virginia to the obedience of the parliament. Diggs, Bennet, and Mathews, were ſucceſſively governors during the protectorate: but Sir William Berkley was again appointed governor after the reſtoration, when Colonel Bacon's rebellion broke out upon the following cauſes: 1620. 1639. 1662.

1. The low price of tobacco in England, and the high price of all goods exported thence to Virginia.

2. The grants made by King Charles of ſeveral parts of their country to noblemen in England, in ſome of which ſeveral plantations were included.

3. The burthens laid upon the Coloniſts by the parliament in England, and taxes by the aſſembly in Virginia.

4. The diſturbances given them by the Indians.

This inſurrection was ſuppreſſed; Sir William Berkley returned to England, where he died, and was ſucceeded by Lord Colepepper, who arrived in Virginia with ſeveral acts drawn up in England, to be paſſed into laws. 1677. 1679.

Francis Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed governor, and arrived there in 1684. He was ſucceeded by Sir Edmund Andros; and his ſucceſſor was Colonel Nicholſon, who removed the ſeat of his government from James Town to Middle Plantation, where he marked out the town of Williamſburgh. He was ſucceeded by George Earl of 1683. 1692. 1698. 1704.

Orkney, whoſe deputy was Edward Notte, Eſq. His lordſhip continued in England like an agent for the colony: but as the inhabitants of the Britiſh plantations have a natural right to the protection of their mother ſtate in all caſes, they ought not to have ſtood in need of any other mediation for them than the juſtice and reaſon of the thing, which always ſhould require acceſs to thoſe that can protect them. Colonel
1723. Spotſwood ſucceeded Mr. Notte. Hugh Dryſdal Eſq. was the next deputy-governor; and he was ſucceeded by Major Gouge.

When King Charles I. diſſolved the company, he continued the form of government by a governor and council for the executive power, and placed the legiſlative in the aſſembly.

The chief court next to the aſſembly is the general court, held by the governor and council, who are judges of it, and take cognizance of all cauſes criminal, penal, civil, and eccleſiaſtical. The governor is inveſted with plenary powers in all acts of government, but ſubject to the controul of the crown, and his uſual ſalary has been from 2000 to 3000 *l.* a year, including perquiſites. The council are the upper houſe in the aſſembly, and claim a negative voice to all laws. The aſſembly-men are two for each county, to be choſen by the freeholders; but their acts muſt be approved by the crown.

Beſide the governor and council, the public officers are, the auditor of the revenue, the ſecretary and preſident of the council, the treaſurer, and the collector of the cuſtoms. Theſe are public officers and ſervants of the colony; the inferior officers are ſheriffs, ſurveyors, clerks of courts, and others in ſubordination.

The revenues ariſe by the royal quit-rents: Duties on exportation of tobacco, tonnage for every ſhip, and poll for every paſſenger; fines and forfeitures: waifs and ſtrays; eſcheats of land; and perſonal eſtate for want of a lawful heir. Duties on liquors, ſervants, and ſlaves. The college revenue. Additional duty on tobacco exported to the other plantations: In all about 8000 *l.* a year, as eſtimated by Sir William Keith.

The General Court is alſo called the Quarter-Court, as being held every quarter of a year: but there are inferior courts kept monthly in each county, called the County Courts, or Monthly Courts, where inferior matters are cognizable: from theſe courts there is an appeal to the quarterly courts, in which no action can be originally brought under the value of 10 *l.* ſterling. The ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, and other officers,

officers, are judges of these county-courts, in which every man may plead his own cause: but the frontier or fartheſt back counties being of great extent, no navigation, and little foreign trade, have only quarterly county-courts, and all the others have monthly-courts, as following:

I. *Quarterly County-Courts.*

Brunſwick, Fairfax, Lunenburgh, Frederick, Albemarle, Auguſta.

II. *Monthly County-Courts.*

Henrico, Richmond, Williamſburg, James City, Northumberland, Nanſemond, York, Prince William, Cumberland, Middleſex, Elizabeth City, Spotſylvania, Prince George, King and Queen, Northampton, Stafford, Eſſex, Gooch Land, Princeſs Anne, Surry, Louiſa, Weſtmoreland, Accomack, Charles City, Warwick, Iſle of Wight, Hanover, New Kent, Southampton, Norfolk, Culpepper, Glouceſter, Orange, Cheſterfield, King George, Lancaſter, Carolina, King William, Amelia.

Thus the government is divided into forty-five counties, whereof ſix hold quarterly courts, and thirty-nine hold monthly courts.

The body of the people are members of the church of England; but there are ſome Diſſenters, and a few French Refugees. II. Religion.

The biſhop of London, who is the Ordinary of this and all the other plantations, appoints a commiſſary here, whoſe buſineſs is to make viſitations of churches, and have the inſpection of the clergy, for which he has been allowed 100 *l.* a year.

A college was erected at Williamſburgh, which was amply endowed by King William and Queen Mary. The foundation was to conſiſt of a preſident, ſix maſters or profeſſors, and 100 ſcholars. It began to be carried into execution, and met with great encouragement in the colony: but the building was deſtroyed by fire, and the donation continued dormant for ſeveral years. The firſt preſident of the college, by charter, was Mr. Blair; and Doctor Bray procured conſiderable contributions in England toward collecting a library.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Animals, Productions, and Trade.

WHEN the Engliſh firſt diſcovered Virginia, the Indians were divided into ſeveral nations; which are now almoſt extinct, and the Engliſh remain maſters of the country which they formerly poſſeſſed.

It was a long time before Virginia ſaw a race of Engliſh born upon the ſpot; but now they are very numerous, both maſters and ſervants, who have all retained the manners, cuſtoms, and dreſs of the natives of England; and there are alſo ſeveral families of French Refugees.

The Virginians are a prudent, careful, yet a generous and hoſpitable people, whoſe houſes are open to all travellers, whom they entertain with great civility.

The climate is healthy for Engliſh conſtitutions, having a clear ſky, and a kindly ſoil. The winter months are December, January, February, and March; the froſts are ſevere, but of no long continuance. The rains are frequent and refreſhing; the heats of ſummer are moſt violent in June, July, and Auguſt, which are much mitigated by the rains; and the freſh breezes that are common in Virginia contribute much to render the heat tolerable to new-comers, and hardly ſenſible to the inhabitants.

The ſoil in general is a rich, fat, and deep mould, and under it a loam, of which they make a fine brick; but the ſoil varies according as the ſituation is moiſt or dry. It is diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts, high, low, and marſhy; all which having ſand mixed with them, makes their land warmer than that of Great Britain. The Highlands are moſt ſandy; however, they bear good crops of tobacco: the Lowlands are rich; but the marſh lands indifferent. But, taking all together, Virginia is ſaid to abound in every thing neceſſary for the pleaſure or profit of the inhabitants.

The animals peculiar to this country are beavers, otters, foxes, wild cats, racoons, martins, and minks, in the freſhes, where the Indians are dexterous in catching them for the fur trade. The woods are ſtocked with deer. They have alſo elks, buffaloes, bears, and wolves; as alſo

wild hogs, and Engliſh cattle of all ſorts. Beſide, there are, the arronghena, ſomewhat like a badger; the aſſapanick, or flying ſquirrel; the opoſſum; the utchunquois, a kind of wild cat; and the muſſaſcus, a ſort of water rat, that ſmells like muſk. Hares and rabbits are plentiful, which are as good as thoſe in England.

Of birds there are a great variety, for feather and ſong; particularly the red-bird, which has the ſweeteſt note: blackbirds, that come in prodigious flights out of the woods about the fall of the leaf: nightingales, of a gay crimſon and blue plumage: the mock-bird, in ſize and colour like a thruſh: and the humming bird, whoſe colour is a ſhining mixture of ſcarlet, green, and gold; it is much leſs than the Engliſh wren, revels among the flowers, and ſips the dew from their leaves. The herons are large, and the partridges ſmall. They have eagles and hawks. There is alſo a great variety of wild fowl of the uſual ſpecies.

Of fiſh they have many kinds, and in great abundance. The ſea-coaſt abounds in ſturgeon and cod; and the rivers with almoſt every kind of fiſh that are found in the other parts of the world.

The timber-trees are oak, elm, cedar, aſh, walnut, cypreſs, and firs. There are plenty of ſhrubs, as well as of timber; and the whole country is interſperſed with an incredible variety of plants and flowers. The fruits are alſo of various kinds, peculiar to the native ſoil, together with thoſe introduced from England; as grapes, peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, apples, and pears. Of roots they have ſeveral kinds, among which are the ſhumack, and ſnakes root. Garden herbs are in great plenty of all kinds.

The Indians have reared many ſorts of melons; they had alſo beans, peaſe, and potatoes, before the Engliſh came among them; but corn was their principal food.

Tobacco is the ſtaple commodity of the country, beneficial to the planter, and natural to the ſoil. This plant is now too well known to be particularly deſcribed; only it may be neceſſary to ſay, that it grows much like a dock, and ſome planters have a different way of cultivation from others. It is not known how the Indians cured their tobacco; but it is reported they uſed to let it run to ſeed; only ſuccouring the leaves, to keep the ſprouts from growing up and ſtarving them: When it was ripe, they pulled them off, cured them in the ſun, and

and laid them up for uſe. The Virginia planters have uſually ſow the tobacco ſeeds in beds, where they leave them a month, and ſee them well weeded. The tender plants are removed to ſome tobacco hills, where they thrive, and are properly pruned, till they come to maturity, and are then manufactured under the greateſt care.

From what has been ſaid reſpecting tobacco, it is evident the trade of this province conſiſts generally in that article, which is brought to ſuch perfection as to command a large traffic not only in England, but even in all parts of the world. Immenſe are the ſums acquired by the tobacco trade, both to the colony and the mother-country. This article has been brought to ſuch perfection, that the Virginian tobacco, eſpecially the ſweet-ſcented, which grows on York River, is reckoned the beſt in the world, and is generally vended in England for home conſumption. The other ſorts called Oranoac, and that of Maryland, are hotter in the mouth; but they turn to as good an account, as they are chiefly demanded in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. Of this commodity 30,000 hogſheads have been exported yearly; which, beſide the other advantages that the Engliſh acquire by it, have cleared 5 *l.* a hogſhead in a foreign market, and increaſed the general ſtock of the nation about 150,000 *l.* a year.

The whole trade of tobacco is one of the moſt profitable of all the Britiſh commerce, as it employs about 200 ſail of ſhips every year, and generally brings in between 300,000 and 400,000 *l.* to the royal treaſury annually.

Beſide the great advantage that accrues to the national ſtock, by the exportation of tobacco from England, it ſhould be conſidered how beneficial this trade is, by the prodigious number of hands it employs, and families it maintains, as well in Great Britain as Virginia. Great quantities of manufactures are exported from the mother-country to the colony, whoſe merchants and planters export tobacco, cattle, and proviſions, to the Weſt India Iſlands, from whence they bring in exchange molaſſes, ſugar, and rum.

The country is certainly capable of large improvements by the timber trade and its appurtenances, as pitch, tar, and roſin. They might alſo manufacture flax, hemp, cotton, and even ſilk; but their want of towns prevents them from receiving many advantages by the fertility of the ſoil.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

The Hiſtory of CAROLINA.

CHAP. I.

The diſcovery and ſettlement of this Province; with an account of its government, until the charter was ſurrendered to the crown in 1728.

CAROLINA is the northern part of that extenſive tract of territory which was diſcovered by John Ponce de Leon in 1512, when he arrived there from the Iſland of Porto Rico, and gave the country the name of Florida; becauſe the face of it had the reſemblance of a perennial ſpring.

The Spaniards afterward made ſome farther attempts to ſettle in this country, but were unſucceſsful; and the French then attempted a ſettlement there, in the reign of Charles IX. who ſent Jean Ribaut there with two ſhips, which arrived on the coaſt, where the commander built a fort at the mouth of Albemarle River, then called the Great River, to which he gave the name of Port Royal, in 32° north latitude, bordering upon that part of Virginia which now conſtitutes North Carolina, where the firſt ſettlement was made by an European nation: but the French abandoned the

enterprize, which they ſoon after renewed under the protection of Admiral Coligny, who ſent three ſhips there in 1564, under the command of Lewis Laudoner. The country was now called Carolina, in honour of the French king. Ribaut arrived with three ſhips to reinforce Laudoner; but they were diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards, who killed Ribaut and 600 men, and ſent Laudoner with the reſt to France.

The Spaniards, in their turn, were diſpoſſeſſed by the French, under the command of Captain de Gorgues, who arrived there with three ſhips and 280 men. He penetrated far into the country; but made no ſettlements, and returned to France.

The Spaniards made no farther attempts to recover the country, which from 1567 lay deſerted by all European nations for a conſiderable time; but, in 1622, ſome Engliſh families who fled from the ferocity of the Indians in New England and Virginia, were drove on the coaſt of Carolina, and ſettled near the head of the river of May.

As the country was deſerted by the French and Spaniards, the Engliſh claimed a right to it under the diſcoveries made by Sebaſtian Cabot. This right was aſſerted by King Charles II. who granted it, by letters patent dated the 24th of March 1663, to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England; George, Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord Berkley; Anthony, Lord Aſhley; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkley; and Sir John Colliton; who, as the charter expreſſed, "being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel, begged a certain part of America, not then cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by ſome barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God; therefore, his Majeſty granted the petitioners all that territory in his dominions in America; from the north end of the iſland called Luck Iſland, which lay in the ſouthern Virginian ſea, and within 36° north latitude; and to the weſt as far as the South Seas; and ſo ſoutherly as far as the River San Mattæo, which bordered on the coaſt of Florida, and was within 31° north latitude, and ſo weſt, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas:" with all royalties and juriſdictions neceſſary in an abſolute propriety; paying a quit-rent of twenty marks a year.

Under this charter, the proprietaries proceeded to eſtabliſh a ſettlement, which was ſoon accompliſhed. The firſt proprietors were ſo ſenſible that nothing could people that province, and enrich it, but an univerſal and abſolute toleration, that they made the moſt expreſs and ample

proviſion

proviſion for ſuch a toleration that ever was made in any conſtitution in the world, as may be ſeen in ſome articles * of the fundamental conſtitutions, which provided, as the lords proprietaries worded their intentions, "That ſince the natives of that place, who would be concerned in theſe plantations, were utterly ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, whoſe idolatry, ignorance, or miſtake, gave the proprietaries no right to expel or uſe them ill; and that thoſe who removed from other parts to plant there, would unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they would expect to have allowed them; and that it would not be reaſonable for the proprietaries to keep them out; therefore that ſure peace might be maintained amidſt the diverſity of opinions, and the proprietaries compact and agreement with all men might be duly and faithfully obſerved, the violation whereof, upon what pretence ſoever, could not be without great offence to Almighty God, and great ſcandal to the true religion, which the proprietaries profeſſed: And alſo that Jews, Heathens, and other diſſenters from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, might not be ſcared, and kept at diſtance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its doctrines, and the peaceableneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, might, by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſigns of the Goſpel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth:" Therefore, thoſe conſtitutions provided for their liberty; but declared, "That no perſon above ſeventeen years of age ſhould have any benefit or protection of the law, which was not a member of ſome church or profeſſion, having his name recorded in ſome one religious record."

Many proteſtant diſſenters removed with their families to Carolina, where ſo many people arrived, that it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſolid form of government, which was agreed upon by the lords proprietaries in 120 articles, called "the Fundamental Conſtitutions" abovementioned, which were ſigned, on the 1ſt of March 1699, by the proprietors, who declared, that "thoſe conſtitutions ſhould be and remain the ſacred and unalterable form and rule of government in Carolina for ever."

Theſe remarkable articles were drawn up by that celebrated philoſopher Mr. Locke, on a new ſyſtem of government, at the deſire of that eminent politician the Earl of Shafteſbury, one of the proprietors. The firſt article of theſe fundamentals was, "That a Palatine ſhould be choſen

* The 96th, 101ſt, 102d, and 106th.

out of the proprietaries, who ſhould continue during life, and be ſucceeded by the eldeſt of the other proprietaries." The Palatine had the executive power in general; but the reſt of the proprietaries had their reſpective places and privileges. In fact, they centered all their power in the Palatine of their own chuſing; and three more, who were authorized to execute the whole powers of the charter. This was called the Palatine's Court; and their deputies in Carolina executed it as they were directed by their principals.

By the fundamental conſtitutions, a very plenary power was granted to the lords proprietaries; particularly to create a kind of nobility, under the great ſeal of the province, called landgraves and caſſiques, inſtead of earls and lords; which new dignitaries were to ſit with the deputies, and together make the upper houſe; the lower houſe being elected by the people. Theſe landgraves were to have four baronies annexed to their dignities, of 6000 acres each barony; and the caſſiques two baronies, of 3000 acres each, and not to be divided by ſale of any part. Every county was to have a ſheriff, and four juſtices of the peace: every planter was to pay 1 *d.* an acre quit-rent to the proprietaries, unleſs he bought it off: and all the inhabitants and freemen, from ſixteen to ſixty years old, were bound to bear arms, when commanded by the great council.

The proprietaries entered into a joint ſtock, and fitted out ſhips at the expence of 12,000 *l.* to tranſport people and cattle there; beſide, as much more was diſburſed by ſingle proprietors to advance the intereſt of the colony.

Though the difficulties and dangers they met with at firſt were ſomewhat diſcouraging, all free perſons who came over were to have fifty acres of land for themſelves, fifty more for each man-ſervant; the ſame for each woman-ſervant marriageable; or not marriageable, forty acres; and each ſervant out of his or her time was to have fifty acres, paying the quit-rent of 1 *d.* an acre in full: but ſome gentlemen made intire purchaſes of their lands.

The lords proprietaries appointed Colonel William Sayle to be the governor of their province in 1670; and the next year the proprietaries ſent Captain Halſtead with a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores for the colony: they alſo created James Carteret, Sir John Yeomans, and John Locke, Eſq. landgraves: but the conſtitutions having been found deficient in ſome caſes, temporary laws were added, and the form of government new modelled in this manner:

I. A governor, nominated by the Palatine.

II. A council, conſiſting of ſeven deputies of the proprietors; ſeven gentlemen choſen by the aſſembly; and ſeven of the eldeſt landgraves and caſſiques.

III. An admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief-juſtice, ſecretary, ſurveyor, treaſurer, high-ſteward, high-conſtable, public regiſters, and marſhal of the admiralty.

Theſe were all nominated reſpectively by the proprietors, and the quorum of the council were to be, the governor, and ſix of the council, of whom three were to be the deputies of the proprietors.

The temporary laws were made in 1671, when Lord Craven was Palatine. Sir John Yeomans ſucceeded Colonel Sayle in the government; and Sir John in 1680 was ſucceeded by Joſeph Weſt, Eſq one of the firſt planters, and a gentleman of great integrity. He held a parliament, or an aſſembly, in Charles Town in 1682, when ſeveral acts were paſſed; particularly "an act for highways, for ſuppreſſing drunkenneſs, and profane ſwearing; for obſervation of the Lord's day; and for ſettling the militia."

Joſeph Moreton, Eſq. was appointed governor in 1683, when Admiral Blake's brother arrived there, with ſeveral families of diſſenters out of Somerſetſhire, and Mr. Blake's daughter was married to the governor. The lords proprietaries took the Indians under their protection, and laid out the counties of Berkeley, Craven, and Colliton; all which were divided into ſquares of 12,000 acres. Several public acts were paſſed, particularly relative to the provincial trade.

The next governor was Sir Richard Kyrle, an Iriſh gentleman, who died ſoon after his arrival in the colony; and was ſucceeded by James Colliton, Eſq. brother to Sir Peter Colliton. It was then reported, that the party Governor Moreton had gone a great way in ſuppreſſing, grew now ſo ſtrong among the common people, that they choſe members to oppoſe whatſoever the governor requeſted; inſomuch that they would not ſettle the militia act, though their own ſecurity depended on it, and that it would be grounds of their farther ſtrength.

The reaſon of the diſcontent the people lay under, were diſputes about the tenure of their lands, and payment of their quit-rents, which were not ſettled till Mr. Archdale's government.

The

The aſſembly in 1687 made ſome innovations upon "the fundamental conſtitutions," and drew up a ſure form of government, differing in many articles from the former, to which they gave the title of "ſtanding laws, and temporary laws." But neither the lords proprietaries, or the coloniſts, accepted of them; ſo that the fundamental conſtitutions ſtill kept their ground.

Thomas Smith, Eſq. ſucceeded Mr. Colliton, properly as governor, although Colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, and Colonel Ludwell, were intermediate a ſhort time.

Mr. Archdale arrived as governor in Auguſt 1695, where he found all matters in great confuſion, and every faction ſolicited him for relief. In order to which, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and made a ſpeech to them; but it was with great difficulty that he appeaſed the public diſturbances and animoſities.

Mr. Archdale tells us, he "returned for England, being not ſent for home." He was ſucceeded by Joſeph Blake, Eſq. who governed the country with equal prudence and moderation. In his time Major Daniel brought from England forty-one articles of new conſtitutions, wherein as ample proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience as in "the fundamental conſtitutions." Theſe new laws were called "the laſt fundamental conſtitutions;" but they were never confirmed in the colony.

1701. James Moor, Eſq. was the next governor, though Mr. Moreton was his opponent. The Earl of Bath was dead, and his ſon John Lord Granville was Palatine, who confirmed Mr. Moor in the government; after which ſeveral arbitrary acts were paſſed in the aſſembly, the people unlawfully oppreſſed, and the Indians cruelly perſecuted. The governor obtained 2000 *l.* from the aſſembly to undertake an expedition againſt the Spaniſh ſettlement at Auguſtine. The number of men inliſted for this enterprize conſiſted of 600 Engliſh and 600 Indians, who were ordered to rendezvous at Port Royal, under the command of Governor Moor; and Colonel Daniel commanded a party to proceed by land, while the governor was to ſail and attack the place by ſea.

1702. They both ſet out in Auguſt 1702; when Colonel Daniel took Saint John's and Saint Mary's in his march againſt Auguſtine, which town he alſo took before the fleet arrived. The Spaniards retired into the caſtle, where they made a good defence, until they were relieved by two ſmall men of war; upon which the Engliſh abandoned the ſiege, with the loſs of their ſhips, and returned to Charles Town over land. This unfortunate

nate expedition was attended with the loſs of only two men; but it brought a debt of 6000 *l.* upon the colony, which occaſioned great diſſenſions between the governor and the principal inhabitants.

Sir Nathaniel Johnſon was appointed governor, and Job How, Eſq. was choſen ſpeaker of the new aſſembly; the members of which were packed, and paſſed a ſevere law againſt the diſſenters, contrary to the firſt and laſt fundamental conſtitutions. Colonel Moreton, and ſeveral other gentlemen, prevailed with Mr. Aſh to embark for England, and repreſent the miſerable ſtate of the province to the proprietaries; but he was unſucceſsful in his ſolicitation, and ſoon after died. 1704

A kind of high commiſſion court was erected in Carolina, and ſeveral commiſſioners were appointed, to the great mortification of the diſſenters, who could get none of their complaints regarded, or any of their grievances redreſſed, until they brought the matter before the houſe of lords in England, who thereupon addreſſed the Queen, to uſe the moſt effectual methods to deliver the ſaid province from the arbitrary oppreſſions under which it then lay; and to order the authors thereof to be proſecuted according to law.

To which her Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer, that "ſhe thanked the houſe for laying thoſe matters ſo plainly before her; that ſhe was very ſenſible of what great conſequence the plantations were to England; and would do all that was in her power to relieve her ſubjects."

It appeared to the houſe that ſome of the proprietors refuſed to join in thoſe acts; and the Lords Committee of Trade, to whom the matter was referred, repreſented to her Majeſty, "that the making ſuch laws was an abuſe of the powers granted to the proprietors by their charter, and would be a forfeiture of ſuch power." They farther humbly offered to her Majeſty, "that ſhe would be pleaſed to give directions for re-aſſuming the ſame into her Majeſty's hands by *ſcire facias*, in the court of Queen's Bench." 24 May 1706.

On the 10th of June, her Majeſty was pleaſed to approve of that repreſentation, and accordingly having declared the laws mentioned therein to be null and void, ordered, "that for the more effectual proceeding againſt the ſaid charter by way of *quo warranto*, the attorney and ſolicitor-general ſhould inform themſelves fully concerning what might be moſt neceſſary for effecting the ſame."

The

1705. The aſſembly which paſſed thoſe two memorable acts was diſſolved in the following year, and a new one ſummoned to meet at Charles Town; but faction prevented buſineſs.

Major Tynte ſucceeded Sir Nathaniel Johnſon as governor; afterward the colony was under the adminiſtration of Preſident Gibbs, Charles Craven, Eſq. Robert Daniel, Eſq. Robert Johnſon, Eſq. James Moore, Eſq. and Francis Nicholſon, Eſq. who had been governor of New Scotland, New York, Maryland, and Virginia.

1718. Many pirates were taken, and forty-two of them were executed.

1722. The chiefs of Four Indian Nations came to Charles Town to ſettle the terms of peace between them and the Engliſh, who had ſuffered much by the irruption of the ſavages.

1730. Mr. Middleton preſided in the government; and in his ſpeech to the aſſembly declared, that "he could not think but they muſt be thoroughly convinced of the neceſſity there was for granting immediate ſupplies for paying the arrears due to the garriſons, rangers, ſcouts and look-outs: that they would do well to conſider the miſerable circumſtances of thoſe poor people, who had then three years due to them: that he would be glad to know wherein conſiſted the prudence and policy of deferring the payment of public debts year after year, until the burden became heavy, and the country became bankrupt: that he had no occaſion to tell them the Indians were no longer their friends than the Engliſh kept them in fear; and who would credit the public in time of danger, when they would pay nothing of what they owed in time of tranquillity; and that he muſt put them in mind of humbly addreſſing his Majeſty with thanks, for purchaſing the ſoil, and taking the colony under his immediate protection."

About this time there were about 28,000 negroes in the province, of whom 10,000 might be able to bear arms. They were much ſuperior in number to the whites, whom they intended to maſſacre by a general inſurrection, which was ſeaſonably diſcovered, and happily ſuppreſſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The charter ſurrendered to the crown. A geographical deſcription of Carolina; with an account of the climate, and the diviſions of the province in general.

THE coloniſts were annoyed by the Indians, and unſupported by the proprietaries; therefore they applied by their deputies to the crown, and prayed that the ſurrender of their charter might be accepted, and the colony be put under the protection of his Majeſty.

This ſurrender was made by the proprietaries to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horſey, Henry Smith, and Alexias Clayton, Eſqrs. in truſt for the crown. The proprietaries, in their own right or in truſt, were theſe, Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, Eſq. Mary Danſon, Elizabeth Moor, Sir John Colliton, John Cotton, Eſq. and Joſeph Blake, Eſq. who were poſſeſſed of ſeven-eighths of the propriety of the province, and ſold it to the crown for 17,500 *l.* each proprietary, who had a whole ſhare, having a whole ſhare of 2500 *l.* The outſtanding quit-rents, and other incomes due to the proprietaries from the coloniſts, amounting to above 9000 *l.* alſo were ſold to the crown for 5000 *l.* which was paid to the above-mentioned proprietaries, after the ſale and ſurrender had been confirmed by an act of parliament in 1728, intitled, "an act for eſtabliſhing an agreement with ſeven of the lords proprietaries of Carolina, for ſurrender of their title and intereſt in that province to his Majeſty."

It will appear by the following clauſe in the act of parliament, that the remaining one-eighth of the propriety, and arrears of quit-rents, were reſerved to the Right Honourable John Lord Carteret, afterward Earl Granville: "Having and reſerving always to the ſaid John Lord Carteret, his heirs, executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, all ſuch eſtate, right and title, to one-eighth part of the ſhare of the ſaid provinces or territories, and to one-eighth part of all arrears."

This being ſettled, his Majeſty appointed Robert Johnſon, Eſq. to be governor of Carolina; but Sir Alexander Coming induced the Cherokees to ſubmit to his Britannic Majeſty, and brought ſix of their chiefs over with him to England, where they ſolemnly ratified the ſame. 1729.

1731. Governor Johnſon arrived at Charles Town in 1731, and made a ſpeech to the aſſembly, whom he addreſſed on the advantages they might expect on being taken under his Majeſty's immediate protection.

Carolina has been long divided into two ſeparate governments; the one called North Carolina, and the other South Carolina; but the latter is more populous, and generally retains the name: therefore both may be put together in the geographical and hiſtorical account of the whole.

Carolina contains all the coaſt of North America, between 31° and 36° north latitude. It is about three hundred miles in length; but its breadth is not to be computed, as King Charles II. granted the proprietors all the land weſtward in a direct line to the South-ſeas. It is bounded by Virginia on the north; and, including the new colony of Georgia, is about 500 miles in length from north to ſouth; but has no determinate limits to the weſtward. Of theſe, North Carolina lies moſt northward, South Carolina in the middle, and Georgia on the ſouth; each of them being now a royal government, and the whole under diſtinct governors.

North Carolina contains about 35,000 white inhabitants, and about 5000 negroes. The principal town is Newbern, ſituated on Neuſe River, in the center of the province. The ſoil is different in the northern and ſouthern parts; the former being a rich mould, and the other moſtly ſandy, which makes their produce different.

The commerce of the ſouthern diſtrict conſiſts chiefly in pitch, tar, turpentine, and lumber, as alſo indigo and rice.

The northern diſtrict chiefly produces tobacco, beef and pork, which they ſalt, and ſend to the Weſt Indies; alſo Indian corn, very good Engliſh grain, ſome lumber, and naval ſtores; beſide, they raiſe hemp and flax, which muſt become a conſiderable article of their trade. The timber is ſo plentiful and good, that the building of veſſels muſt turn to great account; and they have produced ſome ſamples of excellent ſilk.

A few years ago it was almoſt ſcandalous to be known for a native of this country, which was the jeſt and ſcorn of the other colonies; but this province is now a growing rival, ſo as to become an object of their envy and jealouſy. The port of Cape Fear is for the ſouthern diviſion, and the port of Ocacock for the northern diſtrict. In the year 1751 two hundred and ſixty-three ſhips and veſſels were entered inward, and two hundred and eighty-eight were cleared outward.

South

South Carolina has ſo kindly a ſoil, that almoſt all ſpecies of trees and plants will grow there to perfection; but rice, cotton, and indigo are more peculiarly the commodities cultivated there.

As to the climate, we are told, "that Carolina is the northern part of Florida; that is, from 29° to 36° ½, which is the center of the habitable part of the northern hemiſphere *."

Carolina, North and South, was divided into ſix counties, of which two are in North Carolina, Albemarle and Clarendon; and four in South Carolina, called Craven, Berkeley, Colliton, and Carteret counties.

1. Albemarle county borders on Virginia, and is watered by Albemarle River. In this part of the country lies the Iſland of Roanoke, where Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow landed in the reign of King James I. When Carolina was firſt ſettled, Albemarle was better planted than any other of the Engliſh ſettlements, and conſiſted of near three hundred families; but the plantations upon Aſhley River grew in time upon it ſo much, that moſt of the planters removed there. This river is full of creeks on both ſides of it, which for breadth deſerve the name of rivers, but they do not run far into the country; and at Sandy-Point it divides into two branches, Noratoke and Notaway. Near to this is Pantego River, and between them is Cape Hatteras; and Neuſe River is next.

2. Clarendon county is next, in which is the remarkable Promontory, called Cape Fear, at the mouth of Clarendon River, called alſo Cape Fear River. Watery River, or Winyarm, is about twenty-five leagues diſtant from Aſhley River; and between this and Clarendon River is a ſmall river called Wingon.

3. Craven county is well inhabited, and watered by the Rivers Lantee and Sewee. The French had a ſettlement on the former, and ſome families from New England ſettled on the latter, where they repulſed an invaſion from the French in 1706.

4. Berkeley county was ſoon well ſettled, on account of the two great rivers, Cooper and Aſhley. On the north coaſt there is a little river, called Bowal; which, with a creek, forms an iſland: and off the coaſt are ſeveral iſles, named the Hunting Iſlands, and Sillivant's Iſle. Between

* Archdale's Deſcription of Carolina, p. 6.

the latter and Bowal River is a ridge of hills, called the Sand Hills. The River Wando waters the north-weſt parts of this county, and has ſeveral good plantations upon it. It runs into Cooper River, and they both unite their ſtreams with Aſhley River at Charles Town, the capital of this province, and now a very flouriſhing place of trade.

Charles Town is built on a narrow neck of land between Aſhley and Cooper Rivers, in 32° north latitude, about two leagues from the ſea: but the town lies moſtly on Cooper River; having a creek on the north-ſide, and another on the ſouth. The whole product of the province is brought here for ſale. The ſituation is delightful, and the adjacent country fruitful and agreeable; but it is unhappy in a bar, that admits no ſhips of above 200 tons. There are ſeveral handſome ſtreets, and ſome beautiful buildings; particularly the principal church, and the Public Library, which owes its riſe to Dr. Bray. There is alſo a French church, and different meeting-houſes for the Diſſenters and Quakers. In this town the governor generally reſides, the aſſembly ſits, the courts of judicature are held, and the buſineſs of the province tranſacted.

The neck of land between Cooper and Aſhley Rivers is about four miles over, and the banks of both are well planted; as alſo is Gooſe Creek. Back River falls into Cooper River, about two miles above Gooſe Creek, and its weſtern branch a little higher, where another church was propoſed to be built.

There are ſeveral fine plantations on each ſide of Aſhley River; and on the ſouth-weſt is the Great Savanna.

In this county is Dorcheſter, a ſmall town, but well inhabited, with a meeting-houſe belonging to the Independents. Next to it is Stono River, which divides Berkeley from Colliton county.

5. Colliton county is watered by Stono River, which is joined by a cut to Wadmoolaw River, and theſe rivers form an iſland, called Boone's Iſland, a little below Charles Town, which is well planted and inhabited. The two principal rivers in this county are North Ediſtow and South Ediſtow, which are full of plantations on both ſides for ſeveral miles up to the town of Wilton, or New London, which is well inhabited.

6. Carteret county is generally eſteemed to be the moſt pleaſant and fertile part of the province. This and Colliton county are diſtinguiſhed from

from the other counties by the name of the Southward Carteret County, is watered by the River Cambage, which joins the River May, and both form the Iſland of Edelano.

The country upon the River May was inhabited by an Indian tribe, called the Weſtoes, who adviſed the Engliſh not to ſettle there, becauſe the Spaniards would diſturb them: however, the Scotch ſettled there, under the Lord Cardroſs, but were ſoon obliged to abandon the place.

Port Royal River lies about twenty leagues from Aſhley River, to the ſouth, and has a bold entrance; having ſeventeen feet low-water at the bar. The harbour is large, commodious, and ſafe for ſhipping; it runs through a fine country, and diſcharges itſelf by various branches into other rivers.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

An account of the ſoil, produce, trade, and inhabitants.

CAROLINA is in general a plain open country, having no conſiderable hills for the ſpace of many miles along the coaſt, within one hundred miles of the ſea: there are, however, many riſings, or gentle aſcents, from five to ſeventy feet above the level of the higheſt ſide. Behind theſe extenſive plains are the vaſt Apalachian mountains, from the foot of which to the ſea is about two hundred miles. Theſe mountains run almoſt parallel with the ſea-coaſt, behind Florida, Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland; and the ſources of moſt of the great rivers in thoſe provinces are in theſe hills.

The ſoil is of a ſandy kind, which near the ſea appeared more barren than it proved to be. There was a great quantity of vines in many parts of the coaſt, which bore abundance of grapes; but within land the ſoil is more mixed with a blackiſh mould; its foundation generally clay, and good for bricks.

Their timber-trees, fruit-trees, plants, and animals, are much the ſame with thoſe in Virginia. Every thing generally grows there that will grow in any part of Europe, particularly nectarines, apricots, apples, and pears, in great perfection, and in ſuch plenty, that they are frequently given to feed the hogs. The country is alſo beautified with odoriferous woods, as pine, cedar, and cypreſs, which afford a perennial verdure.

All ſorts of grain will thrive in Carolina, which produces large quantities of the beſt rice in the world. They have alſo pitch, tar, roſin, ſilk, and furs.

One good account ſays, that the many lakes they have in different parts breed a multitude of water-fowl, but particularly to the ſouthward. All along Port Royal River, and adjacent to it, the air is ſo temperate, and the ſeaſons of the year ſo regular, that there is no exceſs of heat or cold, nor any troubleſome variety of weather; for though there is every year a kind of winter, yet it was both ſhorter and milder than at Aſhley or Cooper Rivers, and paſſes over inſenſibly. This ſweet temperature of air cauſes the banks of the river to be covered with various kinds of lovely trees, which being perpetually green, preſent a thouſand land-

ſcapes to the eye, ſo diverſified, that the ſight is intirely charmed with them.

The ſeaſon of ſowing Indian corn in this colony is from the 1ſt of March to the 10th of June; and one acre produces from eighteen to thirty buſhels.

The ſeed-time for rice is from the 1ſt of April to the 20th of May. It is ſowed in furrows, about eighteen inches diſtant. A peck uſually ſows an acre, which yields ſeldom leſs than thirty, or more than ſixty buſhels; but on a medium, as the land is better or worſe. It is reaped in September and October: the crop in a good year affords 80,000 barrels of 400 *lb.* weight, which will employ above 10,000 ton of ſhipping, and may return to Great Britain about 80,000 *l.* a year.

Silk-worms in Carolina are hatched from the egg, about the 6th of March; at the ſame time that the mulberry leaves, which are their food, begin to open. Being attended and fed ſix weeks, they eat no more, but have ſmall buſhes ſet up for them to ſpin themſelves into balls, which are thrown into warm water, and wound off into raw ſilk.

Roſin, tar, and pitch, are all produced from the pine-trees. Roſin, by cutting channels in the ſtanding green trees, that meet at a point at the foot of the tree, where a receiver is placed. The channels are cut as high as a man can reach with an ax, and the bark is peeled off from all thoſe parts of the tree that are expoſed to the ſun, that the heat of it may more eaſily force out the turpentine, which being taken from the receiver and melted in kettles, becomes roſin.

Tar is made thus: they prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little toward the center, from which is laid a pipe of wood, whoſe upper part is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs. Upon the floor is built up a large pile of dry fine wood, ſplit in pieces, and ſurrounded with a wall of earth, which covers it all over, except a little at the top, where the fire is firſt kindled. After the fire begins to burn, they alſo cover that with earth, that there may be no flame, but only heat ſufficient to force the tar downward into the floor. The heat is tempered as they pleaſe, by thruſting a ſtick through the earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they ſee convenient.

Pitch

Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles, ſet in furnaces, or by burning it in round clay holes made in the earth.

Black cattle have greatly increaſed ſince the firſt ſettling of the colony, and ſome people have 1000 in number. The cows graze in the foreſts, and the calves are kept in incloſures.

Here are hogs in abundance, which feed in the woods, and return in the evening to the plantations. The beef and pork that are raiſed here find a good market in the ſugar iſlands, and are very advantageous to the colony.

It was formerly ſaid, that the trade beween this province and England employed, one year with another, twenty-two ſail of ſhips. A conſiderable trade is alſo carried on with the neighbouring colonies, Madeira, the Weſtern Iſlands, and the African ſettlements.

In the year 1755, no leſs than 104,682 barrels of rice were exported, which might employ 16,000 ton of ſhipping, and return to Great Britain upward of 100,000 *l.* annually. The ſame year there were alſo exported 216,924 *lb.* of indigo, 460 hogſheads, 114 bundles, and 508 looſe deer ſkins, 5869 barrels of pitch, 2396 of common tar, 547 of green tar, and 2171 of turpentine, 1560 barrels of pork, and 416 of beef, 16,428 buſhels of corn, and 9169 of peaſe, 4196 ſides of tanned leather, 1,114,226 ſhingles, 206,432 ſtaves, and 395,190 feet of timber; beſide ſeveral other articles of the growth and manufacture of this province, as alſo a great many more imported from the Bahama and Weſt India Iſlands.

The inhabitants are now reckoned to amount to upward of 100,000.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK IX.

An Account of the Colony of GEORGIA.

CHAP. I.

The original ſettlement of this colony, under the care of General Oglethorpe; with his account of the neighbouring Indians.

GEORGIA is ſituated between South Carolina and Florida, containing about 124 miles in length, and 200 in breadth.

The colony was eſtabliſhed by the royal charter, granted in 1732, by King George II. in the fifth year of his reign.

In Auguſt 1732, Sir Gilbert Heathcote acquainted the court of directors of the bank of England, that his Majeſty had granted a charter for eſtabliſhing a regular colony in Georgia; that the fund was to ariſe from charitable contributions, which he recommended to them, by ſhewing the great charity of the undertaking, and the future benefit ariſing to Great Britain by ſtrengthening her American colonies, and by increaſing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. The directors gave a handſome benefaction, collections were made throughout the kingdom, and the parliament gave 10,000 *l.* which enabled the truſtees to entertain many poor people that offered, and to make proviſion for 1732.

their tranſportation and maintenance until they could provide for themſelves.

The perſons choſen by the truſtees to be ſent over, being about 100, embarked at Graveſend, on the 6th of November, on board the Anne of 200 tons, commanded by Captain Thomas. They had with them all manner of tools, utenſils, arms, and ammunition; and James Oglethorpe, Eſq. one of the truſtees, embarked on board the ſame ſhip, to go and ſee the firſt ſettlement made.

1733. The ſhip arrived at Carolina on the 15th of January following, from whence ſhe ſailed to Port Royal, and Mr. Oglethorpe went up the Savannah River, and pitched upon a convenient ſpot of ground to form a ſettlement, which appears in the beſt light from his own account, as following:

"That the river there formed a half moon, around the ſouth ſide of which the banks were about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they called a bluff. The plain high ground extended into the country five or ſix miles, and along the river about a mile. Ships that drew twelve feet water could ride within twelve yards of the bank. Upon the river ſide, in the center of this plain, he had laid out the town, and oppoſite to it was an iſland of very rich paſturage. The river was pretty wide, and the water freſh. From the key of the town might be ſeen the whole courſe of the ſea, with the Iſland of Tybee, which formed the mouth of the river; and the other way, the river might be ſeen for about ſixty miles up into the country. The landſcape is very agreeable, the ſtream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both ſides. The whole people arrived there on the 1ſt of February, and at night their tents were got up. A fortification was raiſed, and the woods felled." The town and common was marked out; and Mr. Oglethorpe called the town Savannah, the name alſo of the river. The Indian nation there was before called Yammacrane, and Tomochichi was their chief.

After Mr. Oglethorpe had made the firſt ſettlement, he went to Charles Town to ſolicit aſſiſtance for his colony, in which he had ſucceſs, and then returned to Savannah, where he was met by the chiefs of the Lower Creek nation, who claimed from the Savannah River as far as St. Auguſtine, and up Flint River, which falls into the Bay of Mexico. A treaty of alliance and commerce was made and ſigned with them.

Mr. Oglethorpe alſo concluded a treaty with the two nations of the Cherokees and Chickaſaws, relating to their part of the ſame province; and from that time the Indians never moleſted the Engliſh ſettlements in Carolina for many years.

A proviſional treaty was alſo concluded by Mr. Oglethorpe with the governor of Auguſtine and general of Florida, relating to the boundaries between the Engliſh and Spaniards, till the pleaſure of the two crowns could be known; by which the River St. Matheo, called St. John's by the Spaniards, remained the limits between the two nations; being the ſame river mentioned in the grant of King Charles II. and lies in 30° 10′ as the River Savannah does in 32°. Mr. Oglethorpe returned to England, and brought with him ſome of the Indian chiefs, particularly Tomochichi and his family, who were graciouſly received by the king, well entertained by the truſtees, and returned to their native country full of the utmoſt reſpect for their Britiſh friends and allies. 1734.

Upward of 14,822 *l.* had been received by the truſtees ſince the date of their charter for eſtabliſhing their colony; out of which they had expended 8,202 *l.* for that purpoſe. The Coloniſts were 376 Britiſh, and 115 foreigners; in all 491 perſons, ſent by the charity; beſide 21 maſters, and 106 ſervants, gone at their own expence. Thus the whole number of perſons at that time embarked to ſettle there, amounted to 618, of which 320 were men, 113 women, 102 boys, and 83 girls.

The Indian nations of Georgia were afterward attached to the Britiſh intereſt; therefore it may be proper here to give ſome deſcription of their ſtate and manners, for the better explaining of thoſe actions in which they were ulteriorly concerned, eſpecially as this may be depended upon to be the moſt natural and perfect account of theſe nations that has hitherto been delivered into the hands of the public. Indians.

In this province there are three conſiderable nations; the firſt called the Cherokees, inhabiting among the mountains from whence the River Savannah deſcends: Theſe are not the moſt warlike, nor of the larger ſtature; but are more accuſtomed to labour and live upon the corn, than to procure their ſuſtenance by hunting: They have about 5000 warriors, or hunters; for the Indian nations are divided into two kinds of men; and thoſe who they call warriors, or hunters, are like the ancient gentlemen of Europe, whoſe ſingle profeſſion was arms and the chace. The ſecond nation is the Chickaſaws, a warlike and bold people; large of ſtature, patient of fatigues, and of generous and noble ſentiments;

who diſputed the Miſſiſſippi River with the French, and, after many bloody engagements, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the banks of that river, ſo as to hinder the free communication of the French in Canada with thoſe of Louiſiana. The third nation are the Indians called Creeks by the Engliſh, becauſe their country lies chiefly among rivers, which the American Engliſh call Creeks; but the real name of theſe is Uſcheſees: their language is the ſofteſt and moſt copious of all the Indians, and is looked upon to be the radical language; for they can make themſelves underſtood by almoſt all the other Indians of the continent: they are divided into three people, Upper, Lower, and Middle Creeks; the two former governed by their reſpective chiefs, whom they honour with a royal denomination; yet they are nevertheleſs, in the moſt material part of their government, ſubordinate to the chief of the latter, who bears an imperial title: their country lies between Spaniſh Florida and the Cherokee Mountains, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulph of Mexico: They are a tall, well limbed people, very brave in war, and are, as it were, the Spartans of that part of the world; being as much reſpected in the ſouth, as the Iroquois are in the north part of America.

Theſe Indians look upon the end of life to be, living happily; and, for this purpoſe, their whole cuſtoms are calculated to prevent avarice, which they think imbitters life; and nothing is a ſeverer reflection among them, than to ſay, that a man loves his own. To prevent the riſe and propagation of ſuch a vice, upon the death of any Indian, they burn all that belongs to the deceaſed, that there may be no temptation for the parent to hoard up a ſuperfluity of arms and domeſtic conveniences for his children: They ſtrengthen this cuſtom by a ſuperſtition, that it is agreeable to the ſouls of the deceaſed to burn all they leave, and that afflictions follow thoſe who uſe any of their goods. They cultivate no more land than is neceſſary for their plentiful ſubſiſtence and hoſpitality to ſtrangers. They uſe neither horſes or ploughs in their agriculture; but, inſtead of plowing or digging, hoe their fields by common labour.

The reſt of the year they ſpend in hunting; and when they are injured by any neighbouring nation, as ſuppoſing one of their own nation to be killed, they ſend to demand ſatisfaction; but if this is refuſed, they make reprizals upon the firſt they can take of the nation that committed the injury; and thus their wars begin, which are very frequent, and carried on with great rage; there not being any people in the world who have more courage, or are more dexterous in the uſe of their arms, and manner of fight, among woods and buſhes, mountains and ſwamps; none more patient of labour, or ſwifter of foot.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The principal ſettlements, towns, inhabitants, and public affairs; the expedition againſt Saint Auguſtine in 1740; *ſoil, produce, and trade.*

Towns. 1734. TOMOCHICHI, and the other Indian chiefs, re-embarked from England to Georgia, where they ſafely arrived in 1734, on board the Prince of Wales, commanded by Captain Dunbar, who alſo carried over ſome Saltzburghers, and other German Proteſtants, to ſettle in the colony.

1735. Settlements were made upon the coaſt of Thunderbolt and Skidaway. In May 1735, a fort and many houſes were finiſhed in the town of Savannah, where, in January 1736, about 150 Scotch Highlanders arrived, and formed a ſettlement by the ſide of the River Alatamaha, about twelve miles from the ſea. They there erected a little fort, a guard-houſe, ſtore-houſe, a chapel, and ſeveral huts; and gave the name of Darien to their new ſettlement.

1736. On the 5th of February Mr. Oglethorpe arrived with two ſhips, which had three hundred paſſengers on board, and the colony began to proceed in a proſperous way. Materials were provided for building a church, and a wharf for landing of goods; as alſo for finiſhing the fortifications, and clearing the roads.

Old Ebenezer was abandoned by the Germans, who erected the town of New Ebenezer, by the conſent and under the direction of Mr. Oglethorpe, who then viſited the Scotch at Darien, and then went to the Iſle of Saint Simon, which is in the mouth of the River Alatamaha, about thirteen miles long, and three or four broad, about twenty leagues north of Saint Auguſtine.

The fort and town of Frederica were built upon the iſland, which was ſoon greatly improved. Saint Andrew's Fort was alſo erected on Cumberland Iſland, at the mouth of Jekyl Sound. Amelia Iſland was diſcovered by General Oglethorpe, who alſo cauſed the town of Auguſta to be built, about 236 miles by water from the mouth of Savannah River. There are ſeveral plantations to the ſouthward of Savannah, and two villages, called Highgate and Hampſtead, about four miles diſtant from it; as alſo many other villages throughout the colony, which have been put under a proper form of government.

When

1737. When the Spaniſh court in 1737 ſtill aggravated their differences with the Engliſh, Don Thomas Geraldino, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London, preſented a memorial, demanding all the land to thirty-three degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude in North America, and required the government to order the Engliſh ſubjects to withdraw; but if this could not be done, inſiſting that at leaſt no troops ſhould be ſent there; and particularly remonſtrated againſt the return of Mr. Oglethorpe, who was then in England; for the Spaniards dreaded the military abilities of that accompliſhed gentleman, who had ſerved under the illuſtrious Prince Eugene, both as ſecretary and aid-de-camp to his Highneſs in the Turkiſh wars, and that at the particular recommendation of the great John Duke of Marlborough.

At the ſame time, intelligence was received from Commodore Dent, who commanded his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips at Jamaica; and from Governor Bull, who commanded in Carolina, that the Spaniards at the Havanna * were preparing embarkations, and three thouſand men, to invade Carolina; whereupon his Britannic Majeſty immediately appointed Mr. Oglethorpe general of his forces in Carolina and Georgia, ordered him to raiſe a regiment, and repair there. His Excellency arrived in time to prevent the execution of the Spaniſh deſigns, although a conſiderable number of their troops had already got to Auguſtine.

1739. When reprizals were known to have been publiſhed by his Britannic Majeſty againſt the King of Spain, a party of the garriſon of Auguſtine came up, and ſurprized two Highlanders upon the Iſland of Amelia, cut off their heads, and mangled their bodies with great inhumanity.

General Oglethorpe went immediately in purſuit of them, and with ſuch expedition, that he followed them, by land and water, above a hundred miles in leſs than twenty-four hours; but they eſcaped. The general, however, by way of reprizal, paſſed the River Saint Mathea, or Saint John's, into Florida, drove in the guards of Spaniſh horſe poſted upon that river, and advanced as far as a place called the Canallas; at the ſame time ſending Captain Dunbar with a party up the River Saint Mathea, to reconnoitre a fort called Pickalata, near that river, upon the lakes of Florida, twenty miles from the ſea, which they attacked, but were repulſed, having no artillery: however they accompliſhed the intentions of General Oglethorpe, as they had well reconnoitred both that place and another fort, called Saint Francis, upon the ſame lakes.

* A port-town, and the capital city of the iſland of Cuba, ſituated on the north-weſt part of the iſland, at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, about 200 miles ſouth of Cape Florida.

General

General Oglethorpe in January returned to Frederica, where he met with Captain Warren *, who was lately arrived with the Squirrel man of war. When their conſultation was concluded, Captain Warren went and cruiſed off the Bay of Auguſtine, while General Oglethorpe, with a detachment of troops on board of the boats, and ſome artillery, went up the lakes of Florida, rowing by day and ſailing by night; ſo that he attacked the two forts of Pickalata and Saint Francis, which he took the ſame day. 1740.

From the information of the priſoners, which confirmed the other accounts the general had of the weak condition of Auguſtine, he ſent up to Charles Town to deſire the aſſiſtance of the people of Carolina, and to conſult meaſures with the commanders of the men of war, in order immediately to block up Auguſtine before the Spaniards could receive proviſions and aſſiſtance from Cuba, which, if properly executed, the place muſt be ſoon reduced in all probability.

Auguſtine was then the principal town of ſtrength in Spaniſh Florida, ſituate at the mouth of the River Matanzas, about twenty leagues ſouth of the River Saint Mathea, or Saint John's, the boundary of Georgia. The Spaniſh inhabitants had ſhewn great indications of their inclination to infeſt the people of Carolina; for, by ungenerous artifices, they had long been attempting to raiſe an inſurrection among the ſlaves of that colony, which was effected in September 1739; and twenty-three of the white inhabitants maſſacred in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner: but the provincial militia repelled the Indians, who were openly encouraged by the Spaniards, ſo that the Britiſh Coloniſts looked upon Saint Auguſtine in the ſame manner their mother-country had formerly done by the African Sallee, as a den of thieves and ruffians, and the receptacle of debtors and ſlaves, to whom, by a proclamation publiſhed at Auguſtine, they had promiſed freedom and protection, upon their deſertion from the Engliſh.

Such a proceeding awakened the attention of all the inhabitants of Carolina, where all thoſe who had life and property at ſtake were ſenſibly ſhocked at ſuch a danger daily impending over their heads.

To aggravate their concern, they had information that the remainder of the preparations made at the Havanna in 1737 for invading Carolina were then ready for that purpoſe. Prompted by ſuch ſtrong incentives, the lieutenant-governor, the council, aſſembly, and inhabitants of Caro-

* The late Sir Peter Warren, an excellent officer.

lina,

lina, ſeemed very ready to aſſiſt General Oglethorpe upon an enterprize ſo promiſing of ſucceſs, and ſo likely to deſtroy all their fears from the incurſions of the Spaniards in thoſe remoter parts of the Britiſh North American continent.

The Indian nations, before-mentioned, with difficulty were gained by General Oglethorpe to aſſiſt in the war againſt the Spaniards; and the obſtacle was ſo much the more, becauſe the Creeks had frequent intercourſe and friendſhip with them; but the general, by ſending them the marks of blood ſhed by the Spaniards, and acquainting the Indians that the Spaniards had killed ſome of his men upon the land which the Creeks had by treaty conceded to the Engliſh; thoſe Indians conceived themſelves injured in their right of hoſpitality, and ſent to demand juſtice of the governor of Auguſtine, who ill-treated their meſſengers; upon which they ſolemnly engaged to aſſiſt the Engliſh in the war againſt their Spaniſh enemies.

When the war broke out, there was but one regiment of regular troops, conſiſting of ſix hundred men, commanded by General Oglethorpe; and the country, to be then defended, was of above four hundred miles extent, upon the ſea-coaſt. In Carolina there was a militia of about three thouſand men; and the armed people of Georgia were about fifteen hundred; but as there were about forty thouſand negro ſlaves in Carolina, it was eſteemed a difficult taſk to contain ſuch a number of negroes in their duty, if the Spaniards ſhould actually invade.

General Oglethorpe therefore thought that the moſt prudent way of defending ſuch a great extent of country was, by attacking the Spaniards; in which opinion the aſſembly of Carolina concurred: for if that ſmall body of troops were to be diſperſed to defend all parts of the country, they would have been but a handful, eaſily ſubdued in each place; and the ſlaves of Carolina might have revolted, if favoured by an invading enemy: but if the Britiſh Coloniſts acted offenſively, the ſlaves would not be able, nor think of ſtirring, when they ſaw their maſters had power to invade their enemies; the Indians would join them, and the Spaniards be prevented from attacking, by being forced to defend.

There ſtill ſubſiſted among the Spaniards in America a ſtrong party for the Houſe of Auſtria. Some of theſe were men of quality of Mexico, and then officers in Auguſtine, ſent there becauſe they were in diſgrace; a command at that diſtance being, among them, in the nature of a baniſhment.

General

General Oglethorpe had frequent intercourſe with ſome of thoſe principal officers, whom he had influenced intirely to his intereſt; and, at that time, received intelligence, by ſome conſiderable people in the garriſon of Auguſtine, of the ſtate and condition of the town, which was then in want of proviſions, and their half-gallies were gone to Cuba to carry over men and proviſions; ſo that the river of St. Auguſtine was undefended, according to thoſe accounts.

General Oglethorpe, in January, acquainted the aſſembly, that if they could, by March following, join the troops upon the River Saint Mathea, or Saint John, with ſix hundred white men, a troop of horſe, another of rangers, and ſix hundred negroes for pioneers, with a proper train of artillery and neceſſaries, as they had promiſed to do, there might be a probability of taking Auguſtine; at leaſt a certainty of preventing the Spaniards from undertaking any thing againſt Carolina, provided the men of war would block up the port of Auguſtine from receiving ſuccours by ſea.

When General Oglethorpe imparted this material intelligence to the aſſembly of Carolina, they voted to ſupport him with a ſum of money equal to what was wanted; but delayed ſo long, that the general was obliged to go up himſelf to Charles Town and haſten them in their reſolutions.

Captain Warren came alſo into the port of Charles Town with his ſquadron, to conſult meaſures for the expedition; but the aſſembly, through their ſupinity and inactivity, delayed them ſo long, that the month of March was paſſed before they had concluded any thing; ſo that by the time they had paſſed their act, and before they would permit the general to ſet out, the ſhip of war, which had been poſted there until Captain Warren's return, left the ſtation off the bar of Auguſtine, and the half-gallies got into the harbour, with ſuccours of proviſions and men from the Havanna; which was certainly the principal thing that contributed to the preſervation of the place.

Captain Warren, uninformed of the arrival of the gallies, went and lay off the port of Auguſtine, to prevent their coming in; but, in the dark of a calm night, ſix half-gallies came out from Auguſtine, and attacked him, to his great ſurprize. Notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority they had, by the weight of their cannon, which carried double the ſhot his guns did, the number of their men, and the advantage a calm gives to rowing veſſels, Captain Warren defended himſelf beyond all expectation or hope;

but the wind ſprung up in the morning, when he ſunk one of the gallies, and drove the others into port.

General Oglethorpe ſet out from Charles Town, greatly diſguſted at the dilatory proceeding of the aſſembly, which was influenced by the Spaniſh party, and had confined him ſo long from the proper time for action: but upon his arrival in Georgia, he immediately draughted five hundred men out of his regiment, and left the reſt to take care of the coaſt: he alſo raiſed a company of one hundred men from the highland part of the colony, two troops of rangers of ſixty men each, and one hundred boatmen from the other inhabitants.

The general croſſed Saint John's River, with a party of his regiment, and ſome Indians, as did thoſe headed by Molochi, ſon to Brim, the late emperor of the Creeks; the Raven-war-king of the Cherokees; and Tooariahowi, nephew to King Tomo-Chichi. They landed in Florida upon the 10th of May, expecting the levies and pioneers from Carolina. They not arriving, and as the firſt thing neceſſary to be done, was to take the forts that kept open the communication of the Spaniards with the country, the general, impatient of loſing time, after a march of thirty miles, inveſted and took Fort Diego, about three leagues from Auguſtine, among meadows which were well ſtocked with cattle, and commanded a paſs upon the River Diego, half-way between Auguſtine and the River Saint Mathea.

After a ſmart ſkirmiſh for ſome hours, the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, and delivered up the fort, with eleven pieces of cannon. The garriſon conſiſted of a captain, and fifty-ſeven regulars, beſide Indians and negroes, who dreaded the attack.

Soon after, four hundred men, commanded by Colonel Vander Duſſen, arrived from Carolina; but without any horſe, rangers, negroes, or pioneers. About that time arrived a body of Cherokee Indians; as alſo Captain Dunbar, with a party of Chickeſaws, and the rangers and Highlanders from Georgia, under Captain M'Intoſh.

In the mean while, Commodore Pierce in the Flamborough, Captain Warren in the Squirrel, Captain Fanſhaw in the Tartar, and Captain Townſhend in the Phœnix, of twenty guns; with Sir Yelverton Peyton in the Hector, of forty guns, Captain Laws in the Spence, and Captain Dandridge in the Wolf ſloop, arrived off Saint Mathea, or Saint John's River, to aſſiſt upon the expedition. The general went on board the commodore,

commodore, where a conſultation was held, and it was agreed to anchor off Auguſtine, and to attempt an entry into the harbour. The general immediately marched by land, and in three days arrived at Mooſa, a fort which the Spaniards had built for the deſerted negroes from Carolina, and given them ſome adjoining lands. His Excellency made a forced march, with a ſmall detachment, becauſe he had received private intelligence from his party among the Spaniards, that he might have the town delivered to him; but he inſiſted upon hoſtages from them before he would riſque to ſend a party into the caſtle to take poſſeſſion of it. They had agreed to this propoſal, and appointed the place of meeting near to Coovo, in a wood, about a mile from Auguſtine, and two miles from Mooſa. The general went there, with a ſelect party of men, who continued there until the appointed time was long elapſed; but as no perſons appeared, the general went to reconnoitre as far as the works of Auguſtine, and found that the lines from Coovo to the town were all full of troops, very alert; ſo that finding the deſign diſappointed, though then not knowing how, he returned to his party, ordered the drums to beat, that thoſe who had promiſed him might know that he had not failed on his ſide, and then marched back to Mooſa.

Upon the break of day, the general ſaw that the men of war did not come into the harbour, and the proviſions that were to come up had not arrived, upon which his Excellency marched back to the head-quarters at Diego, and ſent on board the commodore to know what had occaſioned the diſappointment of their not maſtering the harbour. The commodore acquainted him, that there was a battery upon the iſland of Anaſtaſia, which defended the entry; therefore he deſired the general to ſend a body of troops to land, under favour of the men of war, upon the iſland; and he would ſend the ſmall veſſels into the harbour, which was too ſhallow to admit the men of war.

The general then marched to the coaſt, and embarked with a party of two hundred men. He had before ſent the highlanders, rangers, and a party of Indians, under Colonel Palmer, with orders to lie in the woods near Auguſtine, and hinder the Spaniſh parties from coming out by land; but with poſitive orders not to come to any general action, if they could avoid it; nor to lie two nights in the ſame place. His Excellency alſo poſted the Carolina new raiſed men at Point Cartel, which makes the mouth of the harbour oppoſite the iſland of Anaſtaſia; and this he did, becauſe they would be ſafe there, being divided from Auguſtine, and covered from any ſally that could be made by the garriſon. The general then came up to the commodore, with whom he held a conſultation; after

which, Captain Warren generouſly offered to land, with a party of ſeamen; and, to prevent all difficulties of rank, the general gave him a commiſſion to command as lieutenant-colonel.

The Spaniards made a diſpoſition to defend the iſland; for they had about 1100 men in garriſon, out of which they could paſs over as many as they thought proper to Anaſtaſia; but the Engliſh had not boats enough to land above 500 men at once. The general, however, reſolved to carry the landing. He ſaw the Spaniards were advantageouſly poſted behind the ſand-hills, covered by the battery upon the iſland, and the fire from the half-gallies, which lay in ſhoal-water, where the men of war could not come; therefore his Excellency ordered the heavy boats to ſtay, and ſeem as if they intended to land near them, while he, with Captain Warren and the pinnaces, rowed with all the ſpeed they could to the ſouthward, for about two miles. The Spaniards ran behind the ſand hills to ſtrive to prevent them; but before they could come up in any order, the boats got near enough to the ſhore. The general and Captain Warren, with a party of ſeamen and Indians, leaped into the water breaſt-high, landed, and took poſſeſſion of the ſand-hills. The Spaniards retired in the utmoſt confuſion to the battery; but were purſued ſo vigorouſly, that they were drove out of the battery into the ſea; ſome ſheltering themſelves on board the half-gallies, which retired under the caſtle of Auguſtine, while the Engliſh boats and ſmall craft entered the harbour.

Being maſters of Anaſtaſia, it was found that the river which runs between that iſland and the caſtle, near which the town lies, was too wide to batter in breach; but the town was not fortified on the water-ſide, as the Spaniards were convinced that the iſland could not be taken, and expected the attack to have been from the land-ſide, where they were well fortified and prepared for defence. It was then reſolved to attempt to croſs the river, and land near the town. What the general had ſaid was now proved, "that if the attempt had been begun before the half-gallies came from Cuba, the Engliſh troops would have found no difficulty in landing on that part of the town where no entrenchments were made; but now the half-gallies were a floating battery, in a wide ditch; ſo that there was no poſſibility of landing, without firſt taking or driving them away."

Many conſultations paſſed for this purpoſe, but none could take effect, although General Oglethorpe offered to attack the enemy with the boats of the ſquadron.

Little hopes were then conceived but from famine; for the Spaniards, who were in the Auſtrian intereſt, and intended to deliver up that place, had been ſuſpected, if not diſcovered; and it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, by the means of a field-officer, afterward puniſhed in England for exhibiting a malicious charge againſt his general *. This was one great diſappointment; but the half-gallies and ſuccours got in from Cuba was a much greater impediment.

Thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, together with planks for batteries, and all other neceſſaries, with 400 pioneers, were to have come from Carolina, but only twelve pieces of cannon arrived; which, for want of planks for batteries, being obliged to fire upon the ſand, ſoon broke their carriages to pieces, and could not be repaired.

The Spaniards, on the other ſide, had ſurprized the party ſent to watch them under Colonel Palmer, who had indiſcreetly, and againſt orders, lodged themſelves, and continued in the fort of Mooſa, which the general had demoliſhed, purpoſely that no refuge ſhould be taken in ſo weak a place. Beſide, this detachment was intended for a ſcouting party, to ſhun any engagements, and prevent the Spaniards from driving cattle into the town.

The Spaniards took ſeveral priſoners at Mooſa, baſely inſulted the bodies of the dead, and would have inflicted cruelties on their priſoners; one of whom was an Indian, named Nicolauſa, whom they delivered over to the Yaeaſſee Nation, to burn him alive; but General Oglethorpe, on that account, ſent a drum, with a meſſage to the governor from the Indian King of the Cherokees, acquainting him, that if he burnt Nicolauſa he would burn a Spaniſh horſeman whom he had taken priſoner: the general alſo mentioned, "that as the governor was a gentleman and a man of honour, he was perſuaded that he would put an end to the barbarous uſage of that country; and expected, from the generoſity of a Spaniſh gentleman, he would prevent inſults to the bodies of the dead, and cruelties to priſoners: and he rather wiſhed it, leſt he ſhould be forced, much againſt his inclination, to retaliations, which the governor muſt know he was very able to make, ſince his priſoners greatly exceeded thoſe made by the Spaniards." Upon which, the governor ſubmitted not to hurt Nicolauſa,

* It is certain thoſe old Spaniſh revolutioniſts were detected in their deſign to deliver up the caſtle to General Oglethorpe, as above-mentioned; but before the time of meeting, as appointed, the Spaniſh gentlemen were maſſacred in the caſtle, to the eternal diſgrace of ſome perſons whom General Oglethorpe had honoured with his confidence, and a principal officer in his own regiment.

though

though the Spaniſh Indians pretended to charge him with deſertion. It was agreed, that the Indians on both ſides ſhould be treated as priſoners of war; ſo that an end might be put to their barbarous cuſtom of burning the unhappy wretches that unfortunately fell into their hands.

General Oglethorpe continued bombarding the place until the regular troops came over from the iſland to the land-ſide, and the Carolina militia were removed from Cartel to Anaſtaſia.

It was agreed, on the 23d of June, that Captain Warren, with the boats from the men of war, the two ſloops hired by General Oglethorpe, and the Carolina veſſels, with their militia, ſhould attack the half-gallies; and that, upon a ſignal given, the general ſhould attack the trenches upon the land-ſide.

This was a deſperate meaſure; yet it was purſued; for the whole troops belonging to the beſiegers, including even the ſeamen, were much inferior in number to the garriſon. The town was alſo covered on one ſide by a caſtle, with four baſtions and fifty pieces of cannon, from whence they run an entrenchment, flanked with ſeveral ſaliant angles, to Fort Coovo, which lay upon the River Saint Sebaſtian. This entrenchment croſſed the neck of land from the River Anaſtaſia to that of Saint Sebaſtian, and intirely covered the town from the land. Upon this, the general drew in all the ſtrength he poſſibly could, and ſent for the garriſon he had left at Diego. Being joined by them and the Creek Indians, and having made a ſufficient number of faſcines, ſhort ladders, provided all other neceſſaries for attacking the entrenchments, and brought up thirty-ſix cohorns, he received notice that the commodore had reſolved to delay the attack.

Sickneſs had ſpread among the troops, and the commodore was obliged to quit the coaſt. The Spaniards had received a ſtrong reinforcement from Cuba; and upon this, all hopes of taking the place by famine ceaſed. The ſquadron ſailed; the Carolina troops marched away, and the general brought up the rear. The garriſon made an unſucceſsful ſally: but the general demoliſhed the Spaniſh forts, which were erected in proper paſſes to hinder the invaſions of the Creek Indians, whereby all the plantations were deſtroyed and laid open; ſo that the Spaniards could not poſſeſs anything out of the reach of the cannon of Auguſtine.

In the year 1702, Colonel Moor, then governor of South Carolina, invaded Florida with a much greater force than that commanded by General Oglethorpe;

Oglethorpe; and after he had inveſted Auguſtine for three months, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. But though General Oglethorpe was defeated in his principal aim, he ſucceeded in his other views, which were to intimidate the Spaniards from invading Georgia or Carolina, and to give thoſe provinces the ſeaſonable and happy opportunity of enjoying their properties, free and undiſturbed from the invaſion of a revengeful enemy. The Spaniards, inſtead of making continual excurſions, dreaded the abilities of ſo able a commander, and remained inactive within their own territories until the year 1742, when they collected a powerful body of troops, and invaded Georgia, where they committed many ravages, but were obliged to quit their enterprize, by the bravery and conduct of General Oglethorpe.

As the latitude of Georgia is between 29° and 32°, it ſhews the happineſs of the climate and ſoil for planting and habitation. The ſoil conſiſts of four different ſorts; pine-barren, which is a ſandy ſoil; oak and hickory, which is good land, fit for moſt ſorts of grain; ſwamps, which, lying low, are clay or fat mud, and is the richeſt and beſt; ſavannas, where wild graſs and cane are plentiful, and alſo good graſs in many places for feeding cattle, which are much increaſed in the colony.

There is a good proportion of all theſe ſorts of lands; but the higher in the country the better. Beſide, the ſoil has alſo been found proper for all kinds of Engliſh grain, as well as moſt of the European and Aſiatic fruits.

They have white oaks, beech, pines, cedar, elms, walnut, cheſnuts, cypreſs, myrtles, vines, and mulberry trees. Among their commodities are, pitch and tar, hemp and flax, pot-aſh, bees-wax, myrtle-wax, bear's-oil, furs, ſkins, and leather; drugs, ſimples, and dyers goods of ſeveral ſorts; as alſo Indian corn, and European grain; vegetables and fruits.

The colony was ſpeedily and populouſly inhabited; and the Indians ſupplied it annually with 10,000 *lb.* weight of deer-ſkins, beavers, and other furs, which were chiefly paid for in woollen goods and iron of the produce and manufacture of England: beſide, the colony gave the ſtrongeſt indications of amply rewarding her mother-country, with a conſiderable produce of ſilk, cochineal, indigo, olives, oil, and cotton; as alſo wine, if properly cultivated.

The raiſing of the ſilk manufacture is practicable even in Great Britain, but much more ſo in her American colonies, particularly Georgia and

and Carolina, where both the climate and ſoil are excellently well adapted to the nature of the ſilk-worm, and the propagation of the mulberry tree, whoſe leaves are the natural food of this inſect; inſomuch that they have been often found feeding thereupon naturally or ſpontaneouſly.

It was principally upon account of promoting this branch of trade that the colony of Georgia was originally eſtabliſhed; and the Britiſh government annually granted a conſiderable ſum of money for that purpoſe: but in 1751 the truſtees reſigned their right to the crown, and the province is now a royal propriety.

In the year 1755 no leſs than 104,682 barrels of rice were exported from Carolina and Georgia; beſide many other commodities, as beforementioned: and upon the whole it appears, that about 800 ſhips have been annually employed to all the Britiſh provinces upon the continent of North America, which may be greatly increaſed.

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HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK X.

The Hiſtory of FLORIDA;

Containing its original and preſent ſtate.

THE Spaniards gave originally the name of Florida to all that part of the continent of North America, which lies north of the Gulph of Mexico, and bounded on the eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean: but this country now is known by many different names, as before deſcribed. Within theſe limits, according to the Spaniſh claim, were included moſt of the Britiſh Colonies in North America; as alſo thoſe countries which the French have denominated Louiſiana and New France. But all that retains the name of Florida at preſent is that peninſula between the colony of Georgia and Cape Florida, in 25° and 30° of north latitude, and 81° and 85° of weſt longitude.

Auguſtine and Penſacola were and are the principal places in this province, which was ceded to the Britiſh Crown by the treaty of peace in 1762, and afterward ſubdivided into two provinces.

With regard to that part of Florida, confining on the Gulph of Mexico, it appears that the Crown of Great Britain had an indubitable right to it,

ever ſince the reign of Henry VII. by whoſe commiſſion Sebaſtian Cabot diſcovered all this coaſt.

The air of Florida is temperate, and the country ſomewhat healthful; but it is ſubject more to heat than cold; though this is tempered by the ſea-breezes; and toward the Apalachian mountains, the air is generally cold.

The coaſt is ſandy in general, but the interior part of the country has an excellent ſoil, where meadows abound with graſs, and fields are fertile of grain.

The natives are rough and indelicate in their manners and cuſtoms; like other Indians, they are idolaters and ſavages.

Penſacola is a ſafe port, and has a communication by land with Apalachy. It was taken in 1719 by the French *, but afterward reſtored to Spain, and now ſubject to the Britiſh government, by whom it was claimed in 1739, and obtained in 1763, when it was divided into the two provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, as will be afterward ſhewn.

The colonies of Penſacola and Dauphin Iſland were on the decline in 1719; the inhabitants having removed to ſettle at Mobile and Biloxi, or at New Orleans, where the lands were much better; for at firſt the ſoil is chiefly ſand, mixed with little earth. The land, however, is covered with woods of pines, firs, and oaks, which make good trees, as well as at Ship Iſland. The road of Penſacola is the only good port thereabout for large ſhips, and Ship Iſland for ſmall veſſels, which may ride in ſafety in fifteen feet, and a good holding ground; the other ports are all only open roads, expoſed to the ſouth, and from weſt to eaſt.

Penſacola is in north latitude 30° 25′; and is the only road in the Bay of Mexico where ſhips can be ſafe from all winds. It is land-locked on every ſide, and will hold a great number of ſhips, which have good anchorage in holding ground of ſoft ſand, and from twenty-five to thirty-four feet of water. Before a ſhip enters the harbour, ſhe ſhould bring the fort of Penſacola to bear between north and north-eaſt, and keep that courſe until ſhe is weſt, or ſomewhat ſouth-eaſt from the fort on the iſland of Saint Roſe; that is, till that fort bears eaſt, and eaſt $\frac{1}{4}$ north. Then ſhe muſt bear away a little to the land on the weſt-ſide, keeping about

* See M. Le Page Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 188.

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mid-way between that and the iſland, to avoid a bank upon the latter, which runs out to ſome diſtance weſt north-weſt of the iſland.

If there are any breakers on the ledge of rocks, which lie to the weſtward of the bar, as often happens; if there is any wind, that may ſerve as a mark for ſhips, which ſteer along that ledge, at the diſtance of a good muſket-ſhot, as they enter upon the bar; then keep the courſe above-mentioned: but ſometimes the currents ſet very ſtrong out of the road; of which particular care ſhould be taken, to prevent veſſels being carried upon thoſe rocks.

As there is but half a foot riſing on the bar of Penſacola, every ſhip of war, if it be not in a ſtorm, may depend upon nineteen or twenty feet of water to go into the harbour, as there are twenty-one feet on the bar: but ſhips that draw twenty feet muſt be towed in.

The French took Penſacola from the Spaniards in 1719; but have given different accounts of the country, and much has been ſaid of it, particularly that it can never prove beneficial, becauſe the French have made ſo little of it.

No country can produce any thing without labourers; which, it is certain, the French have never had in Louiſiana, in any numbers at leaſt, ſufficient to make it turn out to any greater account than it has hitherto done.

The reaſon of this appears not to be owing to the country, but to their proceedings and miſconduct in it: by which means the French had few people in Louiſiana, but convicts for criminal offences, who, looking on the country only as a place of exile, were diſheartened at every thing in it; and had no regard for the progreſs of a colony, of which they were only members by compulſion; and neither knew nor conſidered its advantages to the ſtate *.

The Cape of Florida lies in 25 degrees 20 minutes of north latitude, and in 80 degrees twenty minutes of weſt longitude.

* Laval. Bellin. Charlevoix.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XI.

The History of LOUISIANA.

CHAP. I.

Geographical description of Louisiana; its climate, rivers, soil, first discovery, and settlement by the French.

LOUISIANA is that part of North America which is bounded on the south by the Gulph of Mexico; on the east by Carolina, and by a part of Canada; on the west by New Mexico; and much by Canada on the north. In part it extends, without any assignable bounds, to the *Terræ Incognitæ*, adjoining to Hudson's Bay. Its breadth is about two hundred leagues, extending between the Spanish and English settlements; but its length is undetermined, as being altogether unknown; however, the source of the Mississippi will afford some light on this head. This is the account given by a modern writer *, who resided in Louisiana several years. According to Savary, this large tract of land extends upward of eighteen hundred leagues, and has received the name of Louisiana, because discovered by the French in the reign of Louis XIV. but other

* Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 200.

authors

authors differ about the boundaries, which ſome ſay are too extenſive to be known; while others aſſert the contrary.

The climate of Louiſiana varies in proportion as it extends to the north: but all that can be ſaid of it in general is, that its ſouthern parts are not ſo ſultry as thoſe of Africa in the ſame latitude; and that the northern parts are colder than the correſponding parts of Europe. This difference of climate from that of Africa and Europe has been aſcribed to two cauſes: the firſt is, the number of woods, which, although ſcattered up and down, cover the face of this country: the ſecond is, the great number of rivers. The former prevent the ſun from warming the earth; and the latter diffuſe a great degree of humidity.

Few days paſs in Louiſiana without ſeeing the ſun; but there are frequently ſudden ſhowers of heavy rain: the dews are ſo very plentiful, that they often advantageouſly ſupply the deficiency of rain. It may therefore be well imagined, that the air is very good, the inhabitants healthy, and ſubject to few diſeaſes, eſpecially in the vigour of life.

The rivers in this country are, 1. The Miſſiſſippi, which divides it from north to ſouth almoſt into two equal parts. The firſt diſcoverers of this river called it Colbert, in honour of that miniſter: but by ſome ſavages of the north it was called Meact Chaſſipi, or the ancient father of rivers; of which the French have corruptly formed Miſſiſipi, or Miſſiſſippi. Other Indians called it Balbancha; and the name of Saint Louis was at laſt given to it by the French.

The ſources of this river were diſcovered by M. de Charleville, a Canadian, and are now well known. He went up the river three hundred leagues to the north, above the Illinois, where he was ſtopped by the fall called Saint Anthony's, which is a flat rock acroſs the ſtreams, that gives it only a fall of about nine feet. He cauſed his canoe to be carried over that place, embarked again above the fall, and proceeded farther up the river one hundred leagues more to the north, and met with a nation called Sioux, who were ſurprized at ſeeing him there, and told him of the difficulties of his enterprize, becauſe it was as far to the ſource from the fall as from the laſt to the ſea. He did not ſee the ſource of the Miſſiſſippi; but learned that a great many rivers emptied their waters into it.

2. The River Saint Peter is the firſt from the fall; and ſome leagues lower down is, 3. the River Saint Croix; both of them capacious ſtreams; and ſeveral others are met with of leſs conſequence. 4. The Moingona,

Moingona, which comes from the weſt, about 250 leagues below the fall; it is ſomewhat brackiſh, and above 150 leagues in length. 5. The Illinois comes from the eaſt; takes its riſe on the frontiers of Canada, and its courſe is about 200 leagues. 6. The Miſſouri comes from a ſource about 800 leagues diſtant; runs from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi, about four leagues below the Illinois; from which to the ſea are computed about 500 leagues; and from the Miſſouri to the Wabache an hundred leagues. This laſt is more generally known by the name of the Ohio, by which is the paſſage from Louiſiana to Canada. This voyage is performed from New Orleans by going up the Miſſiſſippi to the Ohio, which they go up in the ſame manner quite to the river of the Miamis, near Lake Erie, from whence they go down the River Saint Lawrence to Quebec in birch canoes.

From the Ohio to Manchac upon the River Iberville, there are few rivers to be ſeen which fall into the Miſſiſſippi, and thoſe ſmall ones, altho' it is about 350 leagues from one to the other; which appears ſomewhat extraordinary: but it ſhould be remarked, that in all this part of Louiſiana, which is to the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, the adjacent lands are ſo high, that in many places the rain-water runs off from the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, and diſcharges itſelf into rivers, which fall into the ſea or into lakes.

In continuing to go down the Miſſiſſippi, there are ſmall rivers from the Wabache to the river of the Arkanſas. 7. The moſt conſiderable is that of Saint Francis, upon which the hunters of New Orleans go every winter to prepare ſalt proviſions, tallow, and bear's oil for the ſupply of the capital.

8. The river of the Arkanſas, which is thirty-five leagues lower down, and two hundred leagues from New Orleans, is ſo denominated from the Indians of that name, who dwelt on its banks, a little above its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi. It runs three hundred leagues, and its ſource is in the ſame latitude with Santa Fè, in New Mexico, in the mountains of which it riſes.

9. Below this river is that of the Yaſous, ſixty leagues lower down: it runs about fifty leagues, but will hardly admit of a boat for a great way. 10. The next is Red River, called at firſt the Marne: it riſes in New Mexico, and has a courſe of two hundred leagues: but about ten leagues from its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, it receives the Black River,

River, or the river of the Wachitas, which takes its riſe near that of the Arkanſas.

Twenty leagues below the Red River is the Little Cut Point; and a league below that point are the Little Cliffs. From the Red River to the ſea are only ſome ſmall brooks; but on the eaſt-ſide, twenty-five leagues above New Orleans, is a channel, called Manchac. This is the River Iberville, which is now to be the boundary of the Britiſh dominions: it diſcharges itſelf into the Lake Maurepas, and from thence into that of Saint Louis *. It receives, 11. the River Amite, which is ſomewhat large, and runs through a fine country for about twenty leagues.

A ſmall river falls into the Lake Maurepas, to the eaſt of Manchac. In proceeding eaſtward, they paſs from this lake into that of Saint Louis, through a river formed by the waters of the Amite: in going to the north of this lake, they meet the little river Tandgi Pao; afterward the river Quefoncte, which comes from the Chactaws; and then the Caſtin Bayouc. Afterward they may quit the lake by the channel, which borders upon the ſame country; and proceeding eaſtward, they meet with Pearl River, which falls into this channel.

Farther up the coaſt, which lies from eaſt to weſt, they meet Saint Louis's Bay, into which a little river of that name diſcharges itſelf. Farther on, they meet the river of the Paſka Ogoulas; and at length they arrive at the bay of Mobile, which runs upward of thirty leagues into the country, where it receives the river of that name, which runs about 150 leagues from north to ſouth.

At a little diſtance from Manchac they meet the river of the Plamequines; and four leagues lower down is the Fork, or a channel running to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, through which a part of the inundations of that river run off. Theſe waters paſs through ſeveral lakes, and from thence to the ſea, by Aſcenſion Bay; but the names of the other rivers to the weſt of this bay are not ſo well known.

The coaſt is bounded to the weſt by Saint Bernard's Bay, where M. de la Salle landed: into this bay a ſmall river falls; and there are ſome others which diſcharge their waters between this and Aſcenſion Bay: but the

* Dumont, ii. p. 297. Du Pratz, i. p. 210.

planters

planters ſeldom frequent that coaſt. On the eaſt, the coaſt is bounded by Rio Perdido, or Loſt River, called ſo by the Spaniards, becauſe it loſes itſelf under ground for a conſiderable ſpace, afterwards reappears, and diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, a little to the eaſt of the Mobile.

From the Fork down to the ſea, there is no river: but about eight leagues from the principal mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, they meet the firſt paſs; and a league lower down, the Otter Paſs; from which it is all a bog down to the ſea. There alſo they find a point, which parts the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi; that to the right is called the South Paſs, or channel; the weſt point of which runs two leagues farther into the ſea than the point of the South Eaſt Paſs, where veſſels firſt entered; but ſhips now enter at the Eaſt Paſs.

At each of theſe paſſes or channels there is a bar, and theſe bars are three-quarters of a league broad, with only about nine feet water; but there is a channel through each bar, which good pilots may paſs in ſafety; and the channel at low water is about eighteen feet in depth.

The Miſſiſſippi is generally muddy after its junction with the Miſſouri; and no ſhip can enter when the waters are high, on account of the prodigious number of trees, and great quantities of dead wood, which the river carries down.

Louiſiana may be divided into the higher and lower, on account of the difference there is between the two principal parts of this extenſive country. The higher might be called that part in which they find a fine free-ſtone, particularly between the river of the Natchez and that of the Yaſous; and that part might be terminated at Manchac, where the high lands end. The Lower Louiſiana might be extended from thence down to the ſea. The bottom of the lands on the hills is a red clay; and ſo compact, as might afford a ſolid foundation for any building whatever. This clay is covered by a light earth, which is almoſt black, and very fertile. The graſs grows there about knee deep; and in the bottoms, which ſeparate theſe ſmall eminences, it is above ſix feet high. Toward the end of September, both are ſucceſſively ſet on fire; and in eight or ten days the young graſs will ſhoot up half a foot. The flat country is watery, and appears to have been formed by every thing that comes down to the ſea, whoſe bottom is a chryſtal ſand.

The month of September is the beſt ſeaſon in the year for beginning a journey into this country, when travellers will meet with fine plains, in-

termixed with thickets; and delightful meadows, interſperſed with hills. The more they advance toward the north, the more beautiful and fertile the country appears, abounding in game of every kind. The herds of deer are numerous; and buffaloes are frequently ſeen from five to ſix hundred in a drove.

The coaſt, which was firſt inhabited, extends from the River Perdido to the Lake of Saint Louis. This ground is very ſandy, ſo as not to produce any thing but pine, cedar, and ſome ever-green oaks.

The Mobile rolls its waters over a pure ſand; but its banks and neighbourhood are not very fertile from its ſource down to the ſea. The lands and water of the Mobile are not only unfruitful in all kinds of vegetables and fiſh, but the nature of the waters and ſoil contributes alſo to prevent the multiplication of animals.

From the ſources of the Paſka Ogoulas to thoſe of Queſoncte, the lands are light and fertile; but ſomewhat gravelly, on account of the neighbourhood of the mountains, that lie to the north. This country is intermixed with extenſive hills, fine meadows, numbers of thickets, and ſometimes of woods, thick ſet with cane, particularly on the banks of rivers and brooks.

To the north of this chain of mountains lies the country of the Chickeſaws, very fine, and free of mountains; having only riſing grounds, ſhady groves, and fertile meadows, which are covered with wood-ſtrawberries in the ſpring: the plains exhibit a variety of flowers in the ſummer; and produce great quantity of muſhrooms in the autumnal part of the year.

All theſe countries are ſtored with game of every kind: the buffalo is found upon the hills, the elks in foreſts, and the deer in all parts; pheaſants, partridges, doves, and ducks, are plentiful; with all ſorts of aquatic birds, and variety of fiſh.

At a diſtance from the ſea, the land is of a good quality, and fit for agriculture; being a light ſoil, though ſomewhat gravelly. The coaſt to the north of the Bay of Saint Louis is of a different nature, and much more fertile. The lands at a greater diſtance to the north are better than thoſe to the eaſt of this bay.

All the paſſes and entrances of the Miſſiſſippi are as rude to the eye as the interior part of the colony is delightful to it. The quagmires continue

nue about ſeven leagues going up the Miſſiſſippi; at the entrance of which is a bar, about three-fourths of a league broad.

All the weſt coaſt reſembles that from Mobile to the Bay of Saint Louis: it is equally flat and ſandy, formed with a bar of iſles, which lengthen out the coaſt, and obſtruct a deſcent. The coaſt continues thus to Aſcenſion Bay, where the ſoil affords a general proſpect of ſterility.

New Orleans is the capital of the colony, and is ſituated on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, where the ſoil is good, but rather too much of an oozy quality; and from thence to Manchac the lands are of the ſame kind.

To the weſt above the Fork the lands are flat, but free from inundations. To the eaſt the lands are higher, with a light mould about three feet in depth. All theſe high lands are generally meadows, and foreſts of lofty trees, with graſs up to the knee: along Gullies they prove to be thickets, in which wood of every kind is to be found, and alſo the natural fruits.

The tall foreſts are of oak and hiccory; about which are muſhrooms and morels. The meadows are full of flowers and plants, agreeable to the eye, grateful to the ſmell, and pleaſant to the taſte. Indigo grows along the thickets without culture; and tobacco grows wild. Cotton is cultivated to advantage. Wheat thrives well, and flax better. In fact, thoſe high lands to the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, from Manchac to the Ohio, may contain ſome particular mines.

Louiſiana in general contains a great deal of ſaltpetre, and all cloven-footed animals are extremely fond of ſalt: and thus it is not to be wondered at, if the buffalo, elk, and deer, have a greater inclination to ſome places than to others, though they are frequently hunted there.

The French fort of the Nachitoches is built upon an iſland, formed by the Red River; but this iſland is full of ſand, and fit only for raiſing potatoes, pompions, and maize.

At the diſtance of ſeven leagues from the French poſt, the Spaniards ſettled one, where they reſided a long time. Above the Nachitoches dwell the Cadodaquious, whoſe ſcattered villages aſſume different names; and near one of theſe were ſome good ſigns of a ſilver mine, whoſe metal lies concealed in ſmall inviſible particles, in a ſtone of a cheſnut colour,

ſpongy, light, and eaſily calcinated; however, it is ſaid to yield more than it ſhews.

The Black River diſcharges itſelf into the Red, ten leagues above the confluence of this laſt with the Miſſiſſippi. The lands to the north of the Red River may be diſtinguiſhed into two parts, which are on both ſides the Black River, as far as the Arkanſas. It is called the Black River, becauſe its depth gives it that colour, which is heightened by the woods that line it throughout the colony. All the Rivers have their banks covered with woods; but this river, which is narrow, is almoſt covered by the branches, and rendered of a dark colour on the firſt view.

The lands found in going up the Black River are much the ſame, as well for the nature of the ſoil as the goodneſs of their qualities. They are riſing grounds, extending in length, and in general may be conſidered as one very extenſive meadow, diverſified with little groves, and cut only by the Black River and little brooks, bordered with wood up to their ſources, where buffaloes and deer are ſeen in numerous herds.

About thirty leagues up the Black River is a brook of ſalt water, which comes from the weſt; and near it are ſome lakes of ſalt. Between the Red River and that of the Arkanſas are ſome quarries of marble and ſlate: but ſome connoiſſeurs have been diſappointed as to their expected diſcovery of particles of gold, and ſpars of emeralds.

The river of the Arkanſas is ſtored with fiſh; has much water, with a courſe of two hundred and fifty leagues, and can carry large boats up to the fall, where it receives the White River, which diſcharges itſelf into the curve. In the whole north tract of the Arkanſas are plains that extend out of ſight, interſected by groves, and plentiful of game, as buffaloes and deer.

Though this country has very extenſive plains, yet it has ſome hilly grounds; and in approaching New Mexico, ſome mountains are ſeen of a conſiderable altitude.

Thirty leagues above the river of the Arkanſas is the River Saint Francis, on the ſame ſide of the Miſſiſſippi and to the north. The adjoining lands are always covered with herds of buffaloes, notwithſtanding they are hunted every winter in thoſe parts; for it was to this river that the French and Canadians came to make their ſalt proviſions for the inhabitants of the capital.

The

The land which lies between the Miſſiſſippi and the River Saint Francis is full of riſing grounds and mountains of a middle height; which, according to the ordinary indications, contain ſeveral mines. The ſilver mines of Marameg is on the little river of that name, and about five hundred leagues from the ſea. There are alſo other mines; but none appear ſo rich, nor ſo eaſy to be worked.

Above theſe mines, continuing ſtill on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, the famous river of Miſſouri falls into it, like a ſiſter ſtream, which ſeems ready to diſpute the pre-eminence. This river is ſaid to take its riſe at eight hundred leagues diſtance from the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi. Its waters are muddy, thick, and charged with nitre, which make the Miſſiſſippi muddy down to the ſea; its waters being very clear above the confluence of the Miſſouri. The reaſon is, that the former rolls its waters over a ſandy firm ſoil, but the latter flows acroſs rich and clayey lands. This great river in its long courſe receives many others, which are not well known, except to ſuch Indian nations as live upon its banks.

On repaſſing the Miſſiſſippi, to reſume the deſcription of the lands to the eaſt from the river Ohio, it is to be obſerved, that this river is near four hundred leagues diſtant from the ſea; and is reckoned to have full four hundred leagues in length from its ſource to its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi. The firſt river that falls into the Ohio is that of the Miamis, which takes its riſe toward Lake Erie, from whence the Canadians come to Louiſiana. The river of the Chaouanens flows from the ſouth, and alſo that of the Cherokees; all which empty themſelves into the Miſſiſſippi. This is what the French call the Wabache, and what in Canada and New England is called the Ohio, which is a beautiful river, greatly abounding in fiſh, and navigable almoſt to its ſource. To the north of this river lies Canada, which inclines more to the eaſt than the ſource of the Ohio, and extends to the country of the Illinois: but it is of little importance to diſpute here about the limits of theſe two neighbouring colonies. The lands of the Illinois are, however, reputed to be a part of Louiſiana, and the French had a poſt there near a village of that nation, called Tamarouas.

The country of the Illinois is extremely good, abounding with buffalo and other game. On the north of the Ohio are ſeen the Orignaux, a ſpecies of animals which are ſaid to partake of the buffalo and ſtag. The French poſt of the Illinois is reputed the beſt in the colony for the culture of wheat, rye, and ſuch other grain; for the ſowing of which it was only neceſſary

neceſſary to ſlightly turn the ſoil. Tobacco alſo thrives there in a tolerable degree; as likewiſe moſt kinds of European plants.

It was by the river Illinois that the firſt travellers came from Canada into the Miſſiſſippi; but ſuch as now want to proceed directly to the ſea, go down the Miamis into the Ohio, and from thence into the Miſſiſſippi.

The whole continent north of the river of the Illinois was not much frequented by the French; but the great extent of Louiſiana inclined them to think that there were mines of ſilver and lead; if ſo, iron muſt conſequently be there; and as Louiſiana is now a province ceded to the Britiſh crown, ſuch mines ought to be vigilantly ſought after in that colony.

The French entertained great hopes of ſome of the ſilver mines in this colony; for, according to their account, upon trial in France, 6 *lb.* of ſilver have been extracted from a quintal of the mineral; which is a produce not to be equalled by any of the Spaniſh mines.

M. Du Mont, in his Hiſtorical Memoirs of Louiſiana, has ſome obſervations concerning its mines, and ſays, there certainly are ſome, both of gold and ſilver; as alſo fine ſtones of rock-cryſtal; quarries of marble and ſlate. "But with regard to the negligence that the French ſeem to have ſhewn in ſearching for theſe mines, and in digging them, we ought to take due notice, that in order to open a ſilver mine, for example, you muſt advance at leaſt 100,000 crowns before you can expect to get a penny of profit from it; and that the people in the country are not in a condition to be at any ſuch charge. Add to this, that the inhabitants are too ignorant of theſe mines, and the Spaniards are too diſcreet to inſtruct them; and the French in Europe were too backward and timorous to engage in ſuch an undertaking: yet it is certain, that the thing had been already done, and that ſome particular reaſons had cauſed it to be laid aſide *."

When the Spaniards had formed ſettlements upon the great Antilles, they ſoon attempted to make diſcoveries about the Mexican Gulph, about the year 1520: but the French ſettled there in 1564, under René de Laudonniere, who built Fort Carolin, whoſe ruins are ſtill to be ſeen above the fort of Penſacola †, where the Spaniards murdered the French; which inſult was revenged by M. de Gourges in 1567, who attacked the Spaniſh

* See alſo Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 364.

† "Fort Carolin was the ſame with Saint Auguſtine." De Laet.

forts,

forts, killed many, hanged others, and returned to France; after which the Spaniards repoſſeſſed the whole.

From that time the French ſeemed to have relinquiſhed all attempts upon that coaſt; but Hennepin, a Franciſcan friar, took an opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the Indians, travelled over the country, and called it Louiſiana. Providence having facilitated his return to Canada, he gave the moſt advantageous account of all he had ſeen: in conſequence thereof, M. de la Salle made his diſcoveries in 1679, returned to France, and renewed them in 1685; ſoon after which he was murdered in a revolt.

It was generally reported, Louiſiana was ſuch a plentiful country, that many perſons from Canada came to ſettle there: but the country was not ſettled till M. de Iberville went there in 1698, and made the firſt ſettlement on the River Mobote, with all the facility that could be wiſhed, but its progreſs proved ſlow. The colony was then granted to M. Crozát; and M. de la Motte Cadillac arrived as governor in 1713, when the colony was in great diſtreſs; becauſe it was impoſſible for it to do the laborious works, and make the firſt advances, always requiſite in the beſt lands.

The Spaniards were jealous of the French, and formed a ſettlement at the Aſſinais: but in 1719 the grant of Louiſiana was transferred from M. Crozat to the Weſt India company, or company of Miſſiſſippi, which was formed in 1669 by M. de la Salle, and eſtabliſhed in 1712; but was afterward united to the India company. M. de la Motte Cadillac was dead, and M. de Biainville ſucceeded as governor general.

The capital place of the colony was then at New Orleans, where the French had ſent eight hundred men from Rochelle, in three ſhips, on board of one of which embarked M. le Page Du Pratz. The company undertook to tranſport the adventurers, with their ſervants and effects, at their expence; as alſo to lodge, maintain, and convey them to their ſeveral conceſſions or grants. Thus New Orleans became the capital of the colony; and was ſo called, in honour of the Duke of Orleans, then regent of France.

Biloxi is ſituated oppoſite to Ship Iſland, and four leagues from it, which was an improper place for the capital of ſuch a colony. The grants were thoſe of Mr. Law, who was to have 1500 men to form the ſettlement: but Mr. Law failed in his extenſive ſcheme; upon which the company

pany ſeized on all the effects and merchandize. This grant ruined many perſons, and impoveriſhed more.

The Weſt India company being informed that Louiſiana produced many ſimples, whoſe virtues were well known by the natives, and of great ſervice in medicine; therefore the company ordered M. de la Chaiſe, the director-general of the colony, to make the beſt inquiry concerning the ſame. M. Du Pratz collected above three hundred ſimples, and ſent them to France, where they were planted in a botanic garden, by order of the company.

The ſettlement at Mobile was the firſt in the colony, which was then the reſidence of the commandant-general, the commiſſary-general, the ſtaff-officers, and others of the government: but it was found inconvenient, and another ſettlement was made at Iſle Dauphine. The ſettlement of Mobile was ten leagues from its harbour, on the banks of the river of that name; and Iſle Dauphine, oppoſite the mouth of that river, is four leagues from the coaſt.

Fort Louis at Mobile was built upon the river that bears the ſame denomination. The fort was about ſixteen leagues diſtant from Dauphine Iſle, and ſtrongly built. This poſt was a check upon the nation of the Chactaws, and cut off the communication of the Engliſh with them. Another fort was erected at Tombechè, to check the Engliſh on the ſide of the Chickeſaws *.

To proceed up the Miſſiſſippi from its mouth, it will be found, that Fort Balix is erected at one of its mouths. The next poſt is the Engliſh Reach, fortified on both ſides the river. The diſtance from this place to the capital is reckoned ſix leagues by water, and the courſe nearly circular; but both ſides of the river are lined with houſes, which afford a beautiful proſpect to the eye.

New Orleans, the capital of the colony, is ſituated to the eaſt, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi in 30° north lat. but for the reſt, ſee Du Pratz.

The Canadians, who are numerous in Louiſiana, are chiefly at the Illinois, which they eſteem a kind of paradiſe. It was this that induced the French to undergo ſo many long and perilous voyages, upward of two

* That fort was only built ſince the war with the Chickeſaws in 1736.

thouſand

thouſand miles, againſt ſtrong currents, ſteep cataracts, and boiſterous winds on the lakes, to get to this ſettlement of the Illinois.

The French had ſeveral hoſtilities with the Indians; particularly the Chitimachas and the Natchez, whom they obliged to ſubmit, and carried the latter as ſlaves to New Orleans, where they were impriſoned, and ſent to Domingo, that the whole nation might be extirpated; which was almoſt effectually done; for moſt of them were deſtroyed or taken priſoners, and the reſt retreated to the Chickeſaws.

CHAP. II.

The language, religion, government, and cuſtoms, of the natives of Louiſiana.

SOME think this people of Phœnician or Carthaginian extraction, and particularly the Natchez; but their origin is uncertain. The figurative ſtile, with the bold and Syriac expreſſions, in the language of the Natchez, ſeems a kind of proof that they are deſcended from the Phœnicians; beſide, it appears that the Carthaginians practiſed that inhuman cuſtom of ſcalping their enemies *: but the Mexicans are ſaid to have been peopled by the inhabitants of Corea in China. When the Natchez arrived in this part of America, they found ſome nations there who are diſtinguiſhed among the natives by the name of Red Men; but their origin is very obſcure.

As to the nations inhabiting on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, they were very populous before their country was diſcovered by the Europeans. However, by a ſtrange fatality, the arrival of the Spaniards in America ſeems to have been the unhappy epoch of the deſtruction of its inhabitants, not only by war, but by nature itſelf †.

The Iroquois, Chickeſaws, and Padoucas, have all ravaged Louiſiana; where the ſmall-pox has ſpread a farther depopulation. The aged died in conſequence of their advanced years and the bad quality of their food; and the young, if not ſtrictly watched, deſtroyed themſelves from an abhorrence of the blotches in their ſkin.

Many are the names by which the inhabitants of this extenſive region have been diſtinguiſhed, and in proportion as we penetrate into the northern parts of Louiſiana, intereſting diſcoveries may be certainly made.

The language of the Natchez is in a figurative ſtile like the Orientals; but in general there are two dialects; the one of the nobles, the other of the people, and both are very copious. Though the women ſpeak the ſame language with the men, they ſoften their words, and make them ſmooth.

* Polybius, lib. i. c. 6. † Du Pratz, vol. ii. p. 131.

They

They acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they call Coyocop-Chill, or Spirit infinitely Great.

They are brought up in a moſt perfect ſubmiſſion to their ſovereign, particularly the Great Sun, or chief of the Natchez, whoſe power is equal to that of the Ottoman emperors.

As they are comprized of ſo many different nations, it cannot be ſuppoſed they have a particular uniformity of manners; but thoſe of the Natchez are the beſt, becauſe they are more ſenſible and civilized in every reſpect. When any one of the women of the natives is delivered of a child, ſhe goes immediately to the river, where ſhe waſhes herſelf and the infant; ſhe then comes home, and lies down, after having put her child in the cradle, and tenderly taken care of it. The children are white when born; but they ſoon turn brown, as they are rubbed with bear's oil, and expoſed to the ſun. They rub them with oil to render their nerves more flexible, and prevent the flies from ſtinging them in their infancy. They never put them upon their legs until they are a year old; and ſuffer them to ſuck as long as they will, or until the mother proves with child. As the children grow up, the parents take care to accuſtom thoſe of their own ſex to the labours and exerciſes ſuited to them. The boys, when about twelve years of age, are taught the uſe of bows and arrows. The children are educated without blows; ſo that the body is left at full liberty to grow, and to form and ſtrengthen itſelf with their years. The youths accompany the men in hunting, to learn what is neceſſary to be practiſed in the field; but when they are at years of maturity they cultivate the land, and perform all other manly exerciſes, both in war and peace.

The Natchez begin their year in the month of March; and at every new moon they celebrate a feaſt, which takes its name from the animals that are then uſually hunted, or from the principal fruits reaped in the preceding month.

The firſt month is called that of the Deer, which is celebrated with univerſal joy. The ſecond is called Strawberry Moon, as that fruit abounds then in great quantities. The third moon is that of the Small Corn, which is impatiently expected, as their crop of large corn is ſeldom ſufficient to nouriſh them from one harveſt to another. The fourth is that of the Water Melons, and anſwers to our June. The fifth moon is that of Fiſh. The ſixth that of Mulberries. The ſeventh is that of Maize, or Great Corn; which is the moſt ſolemn feaſt of all; for it prin-

cipally conſiſts in eating publicly of new corn, which had been deſignedly ſown for that purpoſe, with ſuitable ceremonies. The eighth moon is that of Turkies. The ninth is that of the Buffalo. The tenth of Bears. The eleventh the Cold Meal moon. The twelfth that of Cheſnuts: And the thirteenth that of Walnuts, which is added to complete the year.

Paternal authority is not leſs ſacred and inviolable than the pre-eminence of the men; and it ſtill ſubſiſts among the Natchez, ſuch as it was in the firſt ages of the world. This nation is compoſed of nobility and plebeians; but the chief of the former are called Suns, to whom the latter pay the utmoſt ſervility.

Their nuptial and funeral ceremonies are very ſingular; but too tedious to be mentioned here.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The natural hiſtory of Louiſiana.

THE country produces ſeveral kinds of maize; which is called Turkey corn in France, and in England Indian corn. They have good wheat, rye, barley, and oats. The rice which is cultivated here was brought from Carolina, and ſucceeds ſurpriſingly well: it has been ſown in the flat country without being flooded, and the grain was rich. Beans, potatoes, melons, and pompions, are fit for this ſoil. All kinds of greens and roots, which have been brought from Europe into this colony, ſucceed extremely well when planted in a proper ſoil.

The country is full of vines of different kinds, ſome of which afford good grapes; but in general the trees to which they twine are ſo high, and ſo thick of leaves, and the intervals of underwood are ſo filled with reeds, that the ſun cannot warm the earth, or ripen the fruit. Peach-trees and fig-trees the natives had from Carolina: orange-trees and citron-trees were brought from Cape Francois; and have ſucceeded well; yet there have been winters ſo ſevere that thoſe kinds of trees were totally frozen to the trunk.

They have abundance of wild apples, whortle-berries, mulberries, olive-trees, walnut-trees, hicory, cheſnuts, filberts, and ſweet gum, whoſe balm is highly eſteemed.

White and red cedars are common upon the coaſt; ſo is the cypreſs-tree and pine-tree. All the ſouth parts of Louiſiana are full of laurel. The ſaſſafras, maple, and myrtle-wax trees are plentiful. The cotton-tree, the acacia, holm, mangrove, and oaks, are alſo abundant; ſo are the aſh, elm, beech, lime, hornbeam, aſpen, willow, alder, and liart, which laſt grows very large.

The country has flowers peculiar to itſelf, and in ſuch profuſion that the meadows are covered with them from the month of May until the end of ſummer; beautiful to the ſight, and fragrant to the ſmell: but of all, the flower called lion's-mouth is particularly diſtinguiſhed, as it forms a ſweet noſegay of itſelf, and is worthy the gardens of kings.

Buffaloes

Buffaloes are in numerous herds, and afford the principal food for the natives, who hunt them in all parts. Deer are found in abundance in Upper Louiſiana. The wolf is common in the hunting countries; and the bear appears in winter, when he chiefly lives upon roots and fruits. There is a kind of tiger, of a ſmaller ſize than in Aſia. There are abundance of foxes, wild cats, rabbits, ſquirrels, and particularly thoſe called flying ſquirrels, becauſe they leap from one tree to another at the diſtance of 25 or 30 feet.

Birds are very numerous; inſomuch that it would take a volume to deſcribe the whole.

They had two kinds of ſilk-worms; one was brought from France, the other was natural to the country. The tobacco-worm is a caterpillar of the ſize and figure of a ſilk-worm: it is of a fine ſea-green colour, with an acrimonious ſting, near a quarter of an inch long.

Caterpillars, butterflies, bees, and flies, abound; eſpecially the burning-fly, which is ſmall, but gives great pain.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The trade and commerce of Louiſiana.

DRY buffalo hides are of ſufficient value to encourage the Indians to procure them; eſpecially if they were told, that only their ſkins and tallow were wanted. They would then kill the old bulls, which are ſo fat as ſcarcely to be able to go. Each buffalo would at leaſt afford 100 pounds of tallow; the value of which, with the ſkin, would make it worth the while to kill them: beſide, the ſpecies of buffaloes would not be diminiſhed, as the fatteſt are always a prey to the wolves.

Deer ſkins are well manufactured.

The wax-tree produces wax of ſome eſteem; and there are many timber-trees of uſe in trade. Maſts might be alſo had in the country, on account of the number of pines which the coaſt produces; and, for the ſame reaſon, pitch and tar would be in common uſe. There is no want of oak for the planks of ſhips; and the cypreſs might be put to the ſame purpoſe, with better effects; becauſe it is not injured by the worm.

Elm, aſh, and other woods of different ſpecies, are common, and good for ſhip-building. Iron and hemp are to be had there; alſo ſalt-petre, ſaffron, indigo, cotton, ſilk, tobacco, ſaſſafras, and ſome drugs.

As to the commerce which the French of Louiſiana carried on with their Weſt India Iſlands, it was of cypreſs-wood ſquared for building, of different ſcantlings; and ſometimes they tranſported houſes, all framed, and marked out, ready to ſet up on landing at their place of deſtination; bricks and tiles; maize and other corn. The returns were in coffee, ſugar, and rum; but the profit was generally cent. per cent. in favour of the Continent.

The ſhips which came from France to Louiſiana put in at Cape Francois; and ſometimes there were ſhips obliged to return by Cape Francois to take in their cargo for France, becauſe they had been either paid in money or bills of exchange.

What relates to the commerce with the Spaniards is as follows: The Spaniards generally brought to Louiſiana ſeveral commodities; in particular,

ticular, campeachy and brazil wood, cocoa, cochineal, vanilla, indigo, ſarſaparilla, ſnuff, leather, and tortoiſe-ſhell.

"One will, perhaps, be ſurpriſed to hear ſuch extraordinary things of a country which has been eſteemed ſo much inferior to the Spaniſh or Portugueſe colonies: but thoſe who reflect upon what conſtitutes the genuine ſtrength of ſtates, and the real goodneſs of a country, will ſoon alter their opinion, and agree that a territory well peopled and cultivated would be more beneficial than a land of mines *." The paſſage has been made from Baliſe in Louiſiana, to Rochelle in France, in forty-five days.

The French have told us that the lands of Louiſiana are very proper for the culture of tobacco; but it is allowed that the tobacco of the Natchez and Yaſous is preferable to the reſt †.

The arts and manufactures of the natives are inſignificant if compared with thoſe of the Europeans; yet their induſtry and invention are not to be deſpiſed, ſo far as they affected the neceſſities and utility of life. Their method of getting fire; forming hatchets of flints, and felling trees; of making their bows and arrows, clothes and habitations, are peculiar to themſelves. They erect huts of wood, which are cloſe and ſtrong enough to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the wind. Theſe huts are each a perfect ſquare; none of them are leſs than fifteen feet, and ſome of them are more than thirty feet in each of their fronts. They erect theſe huts in the following manner: Several young walnut-trees are brought from the woods about four inches in diameter, and thirteen or twenty feet in heighth. They plant the ſtrongeſt of theſe in the four corners, and the others fifteen inches from each other in ſtraight lines, for the ſides of the building. A pole is then laid horizontally along the ſides inward; and the other poles are ſtrongly faſtened to it by ſplitted canes. Then the four corner poles are bent inward till they all meet in the center, where they are ſtrongly faſtened together: the ſide poles are then bent in the ſame direction, and bound down to the others; after which, they make a kind of mud-mortar, and fill up the chinks; but leave no other opening than the door, and cover the mud with mats and cane. The roof is thatched with turf and ſtraw intermixed; and over all is laid a mat of canes, faſtened to the tops of the walls by the creep-

* Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 344.

† M. du Mont; who alſo tells us the way of planting and curing tobacco in this country; of making indigo and tar.

ing

ing plant; ſo that theſe huts will endure twenty years without any repairs.

The natives having once erected their habitations, muſt naturally next apply themſelves to the cultivation of the ground; therefore they had fields of maize, and other grain, near all their habitations.

Their women make ſome earthen ware for domeſtic utenſils, but very coarſe. They make kettles of an extraordinary ſize, and pitchers with a ſmall opening; gallon bottles with long necks; large and ſmall plates in the French faſhion; as alſo pots for their bear-oil, which will hold forty pints. The women alſo make the men's girdles and garters, the collars for carrying their burthens, as alſo ſeveral works of embroidery with the quill of the porcupine, which is black and white.

The French commodities for this colony were much the ſame with thoſe ſent to Canada, and the French Iſlands; but thoſe for trading with the Indians were coarſe cloths and hats, knives, hatchets, and pick-axes, ſmall looking-glaſſes, drinking-glaſſes, and vermilion: beſide, there was alſo a great trade of negroes in Louiſiana.

All the labour of agriculture is performed by negroes, eſpecially in the lower part of the colony: and it is for the intereſt of the planters to give their negroes a ſmall piece of waſte ground at the end of the plantation to cultivate for their own profit, that they may be able to dreſs a little better, by ſelling the produce of it, which the planters ought to buy from them upon generous terms.

The two principal officers of the colony were, a director, who had full authority over thoſe employed in commerce, navigation, and the public eſtabliſhments; and a commander in chief of the troops, whoſe inſpection and power extended to all military affairs, as alſo to the Indian tribes.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XII.

The Hiſtory of CANADA.

CHAP. I.

Deſcription of the country, ſoil, and produce. Indians; and their trade with the French.

CANADA is computed by ſome to be as extenſive as one-half of Europe, as it extends from 39° to 65° latitude; that is, from Lake Erie to the north of Hudſon's Bay; and in longitude from the River Miſſiſſippi to Cape Race in Newfoundland *. But others extend it from the 25° to the 53° of north latitude; and from 76° to 93° of weſt longitude; being bounded on the north by the land called Labrador, or New Britain; on the eaſt by the northern ſea, and New England; on the ſouth by Florida; and on the weſt by New Mexico, with the unknown tracts to the north of it: The great River of St. Lawrence, which is twenty-two leagues broad at its mouth, and whoſe ſource is not perfectly known, though traced more than 800 leagues up the country, almoſt entirely croſſes Canada; forming, in its courſe, ſeveral great lakes, ſome of which are of ſuch an extent, that they may be taken for ſeas.

* La Hontan.

Canada, in its largeſt ſenſe, is divided into eaſtern and weſtern; the former of which is commonly known by the name of Canada, or New France; and the latter Louiſiana. The climate and ſoil of this country are different in many places; but all that part which was inhabited by the French, being chiefly along the banks of the great River of St. Lawrence, is very cold in winter, and warm in ſummer. The other parts of the country are interſected with woods, lakes, and rivers; which render it ſtill colder. There are, however, great quantities of fertile lands, which may produce all kinds of grain and fruit; but the chief product is tobacco, which the country yields in great quantities.

There are abundance of deer, elks, bear, foxes, martins, wild cats, and other creatures in the woods; beſide wild fowl and other game. The ſouthern parts eſpecially breed great numbers of wild bulls and cows, ſmall deer, roebucks, goats, wolves, and other animals, both wild and tame. The meadow grounds yield excellent paſturage, and breed great quantities of large and ſmall cattle: And where the arable land is well ſecured, it produces good crops.

The marſhy grounds are full of beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals: the rivers and lakes with fiſh of all ſorts; beſide, the mountains abound with ſome mines of ſilver and of coal.

The whole country is well watered; but the two principal rivers are thoſe of St. Lawrence and the Miſſiſſippi. The entrance into the Bay of St. Lawrence lies between Cape de Retz on the Iſland of Newfoundland, and the north cape in Cape Breton; but the Miſſiſſippi has been already deſcribed.

Canada Proper, including all to the north and weſt of the great river and lakes, contained twenty-eight tribes of Indians. Some of theſe tribes were numerous and brave, fed themſelves by hunting, and ſold their ſkins to the French, who divided the country into the ten following provinces; moſt of them known by their capital towns or ports: as Gaſpé, Saint Jean Iſle, Miſcon Iſle, Richlieu, the three rivers, Montreal, Fort Frontenac, De Conti, Saint Francis, Notre Dame des Anges, Alexis, Saint Michael, and Saint Joſeph.

Theſe Indians, the original inhabitants, were almoſt perpetually at war with each other, conſtantly jealous of their liberty, and always regretting the eſtabliſhment of ſtrangers among them.

The

The Iroquois are the braveſt of all, and have been already mentioned. Among the other Indians there were ſeveral nations in alliance with the French; ſome even who had embraced Chriſtianity, and fixed their reſidence in the middle of the French colonies; as the Hurons, who were ſettled at Loretto; and the Abenakis at Sillery. There were alſo two villages of Chriſtian Iroquois near Montreal; but for the moſt part compoſed of the children taken from theſe Indians during their wars with the French. It was with theſe nations, who were leſs troubleſome and ſuſpicious than the Iroquois, that the French traded for ſkins; which they carried on two different ways: the one was made by the Indians, who came yearly with their caſtors, and other ſkins and furs, to the French plantations: the other was made by the French wood-rangers, who brought the neceſſary European commodities to all the Indian nations of this Continent.

Montreal was the principal place of rendezvous for this commerce; ſcarce a year paſſing without the arrival of thirty or forty canoes, conducted each by three of thoſe wood-rangers, and laden with the caſtors they obtained from the Indians in their huts. The Indians alſo annually ſailed down theſe great lakes, about which they reſided, with a large quantity of furs, which they exchanged for arms, kettles, hatchets, knives, and other commodities; whereby the profits were uſually 200 per cent. in favour of the French.

When their canoes were unladen, their huts erected, and their merchandize ranged in order, they demanded an audience from the governor-general; or, in his abſence, from the particular governor of the place where they arrived. The governor, having granted their requeſt, placed himſelf in a two-armed chair in the middle of the public market-place; when each nation, forming its peculiar circle, ſeated themſelves about him, every one with a pipe in his mouth. All being ſettled, and ſilence enjoined, the orator of one of the nations, in the form of an harangue, addreſſed himſelf to the governor, "That his brethren were come to viſit him, and to renew their ancient friendſhip: that the chief motive of their journey was to be of ſome advantage to the French, who would be at great difficulties to get beaver ſkins if the Indians had not made it their buſineſs to bring them into their colonies: that they knew how much eſteemed beavers were in France, and how inconſiderable the value was of the commodities given them in exchange: that notwithſtanding the friendſhip they had for the French engaged their treating with them; and to be in a condition another year to bring greater ſtores of their furs, they came to take in exchange fuſees, powder, and balls, either to

make the emoluments of their hunting more abundant, or the more to torment the Iroquois, in caſe of their attacking the plantations of their friends the French: and laſtly, that for a pledge of their fidelity, and ſincere dealing, they threw down a belt of wampum, with ſeveral caſtors for the Kichiokima, or the general-governor, whoſe protection they requeſted in caſe of being plundered or ill uſed in the town.

The diſcourſe being finiſhed, and the orator having reſumed his ſeat and pipe, the governor ſpoke in his turn, and alſo made his preſent; after which, the liberty of commerce being granted, the aſſembly broke up; when the Indians returned to their huts, and prepared themſelves for the exchange, which they began the following day.

All this commerce was carried on by truck, where gold and ſilver never interfered; and, as it was very free, the Indians not brooking the leaſt reſtraint, all the inhabitants became dealers; nor was any merchandize reputed contraband, wine and brandy excepted, upon account of the quarrels theſe nations were ſubject to when intoxicated with ſuch liquors. When their bargains were concluded, and their goods exchanged, each nation returned home, after having taken leave of the governors.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The rivers, lakes, towns, and trade; with ſome remarks on the Indians of Canada.

THE principal rivers in Canada are as follow:

1. Saint Lawrence, communicating with the ſea at the Gulph of Saint Lawrence.

2. The Chriſtinaux, or Chriſtino, which diſcharges itſelf into Hudſon's Bay; but there are many others of leſſer note that join theſe in their courſe from the heights of the country to the ſea.

The River Saint Lawrence takes its riſe upward of two thouſand miles from its mouth, at a lake called by the Indians Nipiſſong, which in their language ſignifies a large body of water; and it lies north-weſt from Lake Superior, in 52 degrees of north latitude. The northerly bank of this lake is a bog or moraſs, near four hundred miles in length from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and about one hundred and fifty miles in breadth. North of this bog is a ridge of mountains, extending from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, the whole length of the marſhy country, and beyond it to the weſtward. Theſe mountains are very high and ſteep: they are called by the Indians the head of the country; meaning thereby that they are ſituated in the center, and are the higheſt land upon that continent; which indeed ſeems to be the caſe: for, ſouth-eaſt of theſe riſes the River Saint Lawrence, having its courſe from thence ſouth-eaſterly; north-eaſt riſes the River Chriſtino, and runs north-eaſtwardly: and from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of theſe mountains riſes the Miſſiſſippi, which runs ſouthwardly: ſo that by theſe rivers the continent is divided into ſo many departments, as it were, from a center, which is the before-mentioned mountains.

The Indians who inhabit round Lake Nipiſſong are called the Lake Indians, and are in number about ſix thouſand men. They chiefly live upon the weſt, ſouth, and ſouth-eaſt of the Lake, and in the iſlands upon it, where the lands are tolerably good; the other parts being either marſhy or mountainous. Their country is of conſiderable extent, but of difficult acceſs; upon which account they never had much communication with the Engliſh or French. They have no fire-arms, but hunt with bows and arrows.

arrows. They have little or no war or connections with any other tribe of Indians, but live almoſt as independent as if they had a whole world to themſelves.

They ſometimes go through the Chriſtinaux country to Hudſon's Bay, and purchaſe ſome clothing from the company; but their chief attire is the produce of their own country, only ſkins of beaſts. They never ſhave or cut the hair from their heads, or any part of their bodies; on which account the other Indians eſteem them a ſavage herd in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; nor will they keep any correſpondence or connections with a people ſo uncultivated and rude. They never pretend to improve their land by induſtry, but live upon the wild beaſts of the woods, and the plentiful fiſh in the lakes.

From hence the River Saint Lawrence runs through a rough, broken, deſolate and uninhabited country to Lake Superior, having in its courſe ſeveral falls or cataracts; the moſt remarkable of which is about fifteen miles from the Lake, where the water falls perpendicularly from a conſiderable height. The river is here a quarter of a mile wide: a rock extends ſtrait acroſs the ſtream, over which it falls with a noiſe that may be heard at the diſtance of ſeveral miles. Below theſe falls is great plenty of fiſh, eſpecially trout, which are large and good.

At the entrance of the river into the lake is a town of Indians, called the Souties or Attawawas; which nation inhabit all along at the mouths of the rivers that fall into Lake Superior, and on the north of the Lakes Mechigan and Huron; where they can raiſe about 12,000 fighting men. Theſe Indians are more improved than the Nipiſſongs, as they had a greater intercourſe with the French.

They generally change their habitations in ſpring and autumn, ſpending the ſummer ſeaſon upon the banks of the rivers and lakes, where they fiſh and raiſe their corn: they ſpend their winter among the mountains, ſometimes two or three hundred miles diſtant, for the ſake of better hunting, and their food is according to the ſeaſons. They, as yet, make little uſe of ſpirituous liquors, nor have they made any kind of beverage, excepting the juice of the maple tree, of which they alſo make a kind of ſugar. They live upon the ſimple gifts of nature, when in health; and when they are ſick, the woods and lakes furniſh them with medicines; in the application of which, ſome are allowed to excel in ſkill, but receive no fee. Although they have private property, no perſons are left to ſuffer by illneſs or diſtreſs, while their neighbours can ſupply their wants; and all

all this from the ſimple natural conſideration, that they and their families are liable to the ſame unhappy circumſtances in which they ſee their friends.

At the north of Lake Superior is another tribe of theſe Indians, who call themſelves the Bulls, who inhabit round the bay, called by the French Merduouſt, or North Bay. They differ little from the Souties in their manners; and they can raiſe about four thouſand fighting men. They are originally of the Souties, or Attawawas nation, as evidently appears by the affinity between the two languages. The chief trade of theſe Indians is to Hudſon's Bay, where they carry furs, and exchange for arms.

Lake Superior is upward of two thouſand miles in circumference, and very deep, excepting near the weſt-end, where are ſeveral iſlands; and near where the river joins it is a large iſland, ſeparated from the main by a ſtreight about ſix miles in breadth. The ſoil of this iſland is very good, and there are ſeveral Indian towns upon it. The banks to the north, ſouth, and eaſt, are very high and ſteep in ſome places; being more than two hundred feet above the ſurface of the water, and almoſt perpendicular; ſo that it is difficult to land at any place except where the rivers fall in.

Upon the north and eaſt of this lake, the lands are broken and mountainous, intermixing with many ponds and rivulets. Upon the ſouth and weſt of the lake, the country is level and good quite to the Miſſiſſippi, having extenſive plains covered with tall graſs; there being ſcarce any trees or underwood for ſome hundreds of miles: but in other places the oak maple and locuſt trees are fair, lofty, and excellent. There are likewiſe ſome good iſlands in the north-bay of this lake, of forty or fifty miles in length from north to ſouth, but not near ſo wide.

The Indians in this territory certainly enjoy in the greateſt plenty what they look upon to be the neceſſaries, and even the luxuries, of life; for here are beaſts, fowl, and fiſh, of every ſize and kind, common to the climate, in the greateſt abundance; nor can any reaſon be aſſigned why this might not become a rich and valuable country, ſhould it ever be inhabited by a civilized people. It has rivers, and a kind of ſea peculiar to itſelf; which ſupply the deficiency of its interior ſituation, by facilitating trade and commerce, from one part of the country to another, by a conveyance eaſy and cheap. The Indians ſeldom neglect theſe advantages, but make great uſe of canoes on the rivers and lakes; which veſſels they make of the bark of birch, ſpruce or elm: thoſe made of the former are much

the largeſt and beſt; they will carry from five hundred to two thouſand weight; and are a kind of veſſels well adapted to this country, being ſo light that two Indians will carry one of a middling ſize, when they come to any clift or cataract, until they think proper to take the water again.

The River Saint Lawrence flows from Lake Superior to Lake Huron upward of one hundred and fifty miles, and joins it about twenty miles eaſt of the ſtreights of Michilimakinac. Here the ſtream is generally very rapid, and has one conſiderable fall; round which the Indians are obliged to carry their canoes when they paſs this way. The land adjacent to the river between the two lakes is broken and hilly; but much of it is capable of being improved to great advantage. The timber is tall and thick. Iron ore is found in great plenty; and there are ſtreams ſufficient for any kind of water-works.

A little to the weſt of where the river joins Lake Huron, is a town of the Attawawas Indians, who came here from the ſouth of Lake Superior, their original country. To the north-eaſt of the lake is another town of the ſame Indians; and upon the weſt ſide of the lake the Saganongs are ſeated, at the head of a bay, called Saganong Bay. Beſide, there are ſeveral towns of the Souties or Attawawas upon the rivers flowing into the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of the lake: but theſe Indians have much the ſame cuſtoms as thoſe on Lake Superior.

Lake Huron is ſomewhat of a triangular form; one of the extremities points to the north-eaſt, where a conſiderable ſtream flows into it, called the Souties River, from which there is but a ſhort carrying-place to the Attawawas River, that joins Saint Lawrence River near Montreal. Another extremity points to the north-weſt, at the ſtreights of Michilimakinac: the other to the ſouth, where the River Saint Lawrence iſſues out as from the point of a heart.

This lake is about nine hundred miles in circumference: the country on the north and north-weſt of it is rocky and mountainous: on the ſouth-eaſt the land is low, and covered with ſmall timber, ſuch as oak, white pine, walnut, maple, and aſh. Upon the ſouth-weſt, between Lake Huron and the Lake Michigan, the country is level and plain, and the ſoil is tolerably good, having few trees upon it of any kind.

This wide extended plain is covered with tall-graſs, among which are deers, elks, bears, and other animals. The country alſo abounds in a great variety of land and water-fowls, and indeed ſeems to be deſtitute of nothing

thing that is neceſſary to ſupport the natural wants of the human kind. The number of Indians who inhabit round Lake Huron is about 3000, of which 600 are warriors, or fighting men.

Lake Michigan is ſituated weſt from Lake Huron, and is much of the ſame form; excepting that it is longer, extending further to the ſouth. There is a communication between the two lakes by the Streight of Michilimakinac. It is fifteen miles wide, and forty in length, running nearly eaſt from the Lake of Michigan.

Upon the north end of this lake are ſeveral towns of Indians; and at the ſouth extremity the River St. Joſeph flows into it, about 300 miles weſt of Detroit.

The country between the two lakes is level, and generally of a favourable ſoil; well timbered, and plentifully watered. At the point adjoining Lake Michigan the land is of a ſandy kind; and ſo it is from thence for a few miles toward the ſouth. Here ſtands our fort of Michilimakinac, a good ſtockade, near twenty feet high. Some French inhabitants ſtill reſide here for the ſake of trading with the Indians, and for the trout fiſhery, which is here very valuable; as the trout in theſe ſtreights are exceeding plentiful, and of an extraordinary ſize, the Indians from all the adjacent countries annually reſort hither for the ſake of theſe fiſh, yet their numbers ſeem undiminiſhed.

Upon the ſouth-eaſt ſide of Lake Michigan are ſome towns of the Souties; and at the ſouth-end live the Pottawatamies, who have ſeveral villages upon the weſt ſide of the lake. The Indians round Lake Michigan amount to about 4000 fighting men. Upon the north-weſt part of the lake enters another ſtreight from the Green Bay, which is about forty miles wide, and 100 long: There are ſeveral iſlands in it variouſly tranſpoſed, ſome of which are inhabited by the Pottawatamies, and others by the Attawawas.

The Green Bay is of conſiderable extent; and into the north-eaſt of it flows a large river that riſes between Lake Superior and the Miſſiſſippi; which is called Foxes River, becauſe of a nation called the Fox Indians, who reſide on its banks, and are about 4500 men. Farther ſouth, the country is inhabited by the Kokabouze, whoſe number is about 500 men.

The wide-extended country upon this river, the Green Bay, and the ſtreights from thence to Lake Michigan, is uniformly pleaſant; the ſoil

is good, and wants nothing to make it truly delightful but to be properly colonized. It is at preſent well ſtored with a variety of wild game, the natural flocks and herds of its ſavage inhabitants. The timber is tall; but not ſo thick as to prevent the growth of graſs, which is here very luxuriant, and ſufficiently indicates the goodneſs of the ſoil, where buffaloes, elks, wild cows, bears, deer, and beavers, abound. The air is not leſs agreeable than the ſoil; the winters are never ſevere, and the country wears a verdure the greateſt part of the year.

The Indians in this country raiſe Indian corn, and have plenty of horſes; but their cabbins, or houſes, are like thoſe upon Lake Superior, already deſcribed. Here likewiſe grow ſpontaneouſly a great variety of grapes, which are agreeable enough to the palate, and the Indians make a kind of rough claret from them.

This country alſo produces a kind of wild oats, or rice, which hath already been mentioned as growing upon Lake Superior and Nipiſſong; but here it thrives moſt plentiful in the ſhoaleſt water, where a canoe may be loaded in a little time: The toſſel reſembles oats, but the kernel is liker rice; and it grows two or three feet above the water, where it is pleaſant to the eye.

From this ſhort account of the Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Green Bay, and the adjacent country, it muſt appear to be a very valuable territory, capable of rich improvements, and of ſuch national importance as to require an immediate ſettlement; of which the French were ſo truly ſenſible, that they kept advanced poſts at the River Saint Joſeph, the Green Bay, and the falls of St. Marie, when Canada was ceded to Great Britain, all which have ſince been deſtroyed by the Indians; ſo that the only poſt the Engliſh had left in this part of the country was at Michilimakinac, which is now garriſoned by 100 men.

From the ſouth point of Lake Huron, the River Saint Lawrence runs eaſterly, inclining to the ſouth about eighty miles, where it flows into Lake Erie, after paſſing through Lake Sinclair, which is about twenty-five miles above the other lake.

The river at Lake Huron is about 500 yards wide, but much wider before it reaches the other lake, as ſeveral ſtreams join it on each ſide. Where it enters Lake Sinclair the river is divided into ſeveral branches, by which are formed ſix iſlands of different dimenſions.

The

The Lake Sinclair is nearly circular, and is about ſix leagues acroſs. Upon the eaſt ſide are extenſive marſhes of eight or ten miles from the water; and near the lower end, upon the eaſt ſide, a river enters it; from which, by a ſhort carrying-place, is an eaſy conveyance to Lake Ontario, uſed by the Indians who are a branch of the Attawawas, and inhabit the banks of this river. The land upon the weſt ſide of the lake is alſo tolerably good, and the timber chiefly maple or beech.

At the ſouth ſide of the lake, where the River Saint Lawrence leaves it, there is a ſudden diviſion into two branches, thereby forming an iſland of conſiderable extent: The eaſtermoſt branch keeps a direct courſe; but that which turns to the weſtward forms a ſpacious bay, leaving a point of land between that and the lake called Long Point. From this bay it returns and joins the other branch, forming the above-mentioned iſland in the opening of the bay, and from thence keeps its courſe ſouthwardly to Lake Erie. The land upon each ſide of the river is level, fertile, and good, intirely from one lake to the other. On the eaſtward ſide of the river, a little below Lake Sinclair, is a town of the Attawawas; and further down, upon the ſame ſide, toward Lake Erie is a town of Hurons. The river between theſe lakes is about 800 yards in breadth; and on the weſt ſide below the bay is the fort of Detroit, or the Streights. The French inhabitants here are ſettled on both ſides of the river for about eight miles; and Major Rogers ſays, "That when he took poſſeſſion of the country ſoon after the ſurrender of Canada, they were about 2500 in number; there being near 500 that bore arms, to whom he adminiſtered oaths of allegiance, and near 300 dwelling-houſes: That our fort here is built of ſtockadoes, is about twenty-five feet in heighth, and 1200 yards in circumference *."

The ſituation of this place is pleaſant, and the land very good. The inhabitants raiſe wheat and other grain in abundance, and have plenty of cattle; but they enrich themſelves chiefly by their trade with the Indians, which is here both lucrative and large.

Below Detroit, upon the ſame ſide of the river, near its entrance to Lake Erie, is an Indian town of the Pottawatamies; and below that the Red River enters it, oppoſite the weſt end of an iſland, which divides the River Saint Lawrence into two branches as it flows into the lake. The river is here about two miles in breadth; and there are ſome other ſmaller iſlands, which are very beautiful.

* See his account, &c. p. 168.

Lake

Lake Erie is near 300 miles in length, from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt; about ninety miles wide at the weſterly end, and near forty at the lower end, where it bends off, before the river leaves it, about ſeven or eight miles.

The river enters the lake at the north-weſt corner; and the River Miamee, or Miamis, flows into it at the weſt end of the lake. This river has an eaſy communication with the Ohio, by the River Wabach; there being no more than twelve miles of land-carriage between the two rivers: but half-way between the River Miamee and the ſtreights of Sanduſky the River Huron flows in, on which there are ſome valuable ſprings.

At the ſouth-weſt corner of Lake Erie, the Lake Sanduſky communicates with it, by a ſtreight of half a mile in breadth. The Lake Sanduſky is thirty miles in length, and ten miles in breadth. The River Sanduſky flows in at the ſouth-weſt corner of this lake; and upon the banks of this river, as alſo round the lake, the Huron Indians are ſettled in different towns, ſituated in a pleaſant fertile country, where are about 700 fighting men, who differ ſomething in their manners from the Souties, or any yet mentioned. They build regular framed houſes, and cover them with bark. They are eſteemed the richeſt Indians upon the whole continent, having not only horſes in great abundance, but many black cattle and ſwine. They raiſe great quantities of corn; not only for their own uſe, but ſupply ſeveral other tribes, who purchaſe this article from them. The country of the Hurons extends 150 miles weſtwardly of the lake, and is 100 miles wide. The ſoil is not exceeded by any in this part of the world: the timber is tall and fair: the rivers and lakes abound with a variety of fiſh; and here is the greateſt plenty of wild water-fowl any where in the country: The woods abound with game; and the whole territory, if well populated, would be of the utmoſt utility.

The country on the ſouth ſide of Lake Erie is claimed by the Five Nation Indians, but not inhabited by them; yet they keep it for the ſake of hunting. This alſo is a fine level country towards the ſouth from the lake, for ſeveral miles, having many ſtreams flowing through it into the lake, from the high lands between this and the Ohio.

Our fort at Preſque Iſle is upon this ſide of the lake, about 100 miles from the eaſt end; and from this fort is a carrying-place of thirteen miles to the French Creek, a branch of the Ohio. The country from this

this fort down to where the river flows out of the lake, about ten miles ſouth of where St. Lawrence leaves it, belongs to a town of the Five Nation Indians. The country on the northward ſide of the lake is alſo level, and the timber tall, but not near ſo good as on the ſouth ſide.

There are ſeveral ſtreams which water this country that is much frequented by the Meſſiſſangan Indians, who are a branch of the Attawawas, who continue no longer in a place than when they find plenty of game. Upon this ſide of the lake, and oppoſite to Preſque Iſle upon the other ſide, is a peninſula called Long Point; which extends into the lake 260 miles, and is ſix miles over in the wideſt part, but not more than 100 yards where it joins the main.

There are alſo ſeveral little iſlands in the lake, at the weſt end, which might be improved to advantage; for though they are ſomewhat rocky, they are good land. From the eaſt end of Lake Erie, the River Saint Lawrence runs north-eaſterly, inclining to the north, about fifty miles, to Lake Ontario; and nearly oppoſite to where it iſſues out of the lake is a new fort, called Fort Erie, erected on the northern ſide. Soon after the river forms itſelf; the current is rapid, on account of the rocks and falls in it, for about a mile; over which veſſels may be worked up by windlaſſes. A little below theſe ripples are ſeveral ſmall iſlands; and, at about ſix miles diſtance, the river is divided in two branches by the ſouth-weſt end of the Great Iſland, which extends almoſt down to Little Niagara Fort, and contains about 40,000 acres of good land. The country on both ſides the river to Little Niagara is uninhabited, yet it has the appearance of fertility.

Little Niagara Fort is only a ſtockade, about two miles from the eaſtern end of the Great Iſland, on the eaſt ſide of the river. Near this fort is a remarkable fall, or cataract, in the river, which deſerves a particular deſcription. This cataract is called the Falls of Niagara; and the courſe of the river here is ſouth-eaſt, being about half a mile wide where the rock croſſes it, not in a direct line, but in the form of an half moon. Above the fall is an iſland about half a mile in length, the lower end of which is near the edge of the fall. The current of the river above the iſland is very ſlow; but ſoon after runs on ſwiftly, and, before it comes to the fall, with ſuch violence, as often throws the water to a conſiderable height, eſpecially on the weſt ſide of the iſland; for the whole ſtream appears in a foam, and the deſcent is great. When it comes to the perpendicular fall, which is about 150 feet, no words can expreſs the conſternation of travellers at the firſt view; for there they

they ſee a prodigious body of water falling, or rather violently thrown, from ſuch a precipice, upon the rocks below, that it aſcends again to a very great heighth, appearing white as ſnow, as all converted into foam. The noiſe of this fall is frequently heard at the diſtance of fifteen miles and more. The vapour ariſing from the fall may be ſometimes ſeen at a great diſtance, appearing like a cloud, or pillar of ſmoke, and in it the appearance of a rainbow, whenever the ſun reflects it upon the eye of the traveller. Here many beaſts and fowls loſe their lives by attempting to ſwim, or croſs the ſtream in its rapids, and are found daſhed in pieces below. There are leſſer falls in the river for ſeveral miles, which renders it unnavigable. The bank of the river on the eaſt ſide from the fall downward is 300 feet high, until the traveller comes to another Engliſh fort, about nine miles diſtant from Little Niagara; and this length they are obliged to carry by land, upon account of the rapids above, and the cataracts below.

The land upon the other ſide riſes gradually; and it is much frequented by eagles, who feed upon the carcaſes of beaſts. The land upon the weſt ſide of the River St. Lawrence, from this fort, or landing place, to Lake Ontario, is owned by the Meſſiſſangans, and is tolerably good. The timber is chiefly cheſnut; but the eaſterly ſide, which is claimed by the Five Nations, is thinly timbered with lofty oaks, which ſeem artificially tranſpoſed. The river enters Lake Ontario at the ſouth-weſt corner, at which place is Niagara Fort, nobly, ſtrong, and elegantly built.

The form of this lake is oval; it is near 260 miles in length, and in the middle 150 in breadth.

The country on the weſt and north of the lake, down to the River Toronto, which is about fifty miles, is very good. At the weſt end a river runs in, from which are carrying-places both to Lake Sinclair and Lake Erie, or to rivers that flow into them.

The country upon the lake, between Saint Lawrence and Toronto, is inhabited or owned by the Meſſiſſangans. It has a good ſoil, and is well wooded with plenty of vines. By one of the branches of the Toronto is an eaſy communication with the rivers flowing into Lake Huron; and upward of 100 miles from Toronto, at the north-eaſterly corner of the lake, the River Cataraqua flows into it; but there are ſeveral ſmaller ſtreams between theſe. From Cataraqua is a carrying-place to the

Attawawas

Attawawas River, which joins Saint Lawrence near Montreal. This country is alſo claimed by the Meſſiſſangans, as far northward as Cataraqua; they likewiſe claim all the weſt ſide of Lake Ontario, and north of Lake Erie; but they lead a roving unſettled life, and literally without any local reſidence.

At the eaſt corner of the lake the River Oſwego flows in, where the Engliſh have another fort erected, and a garriſon kept up of a conſiderable force, about two hundred miles from Niagara.

The River Oſwego riſes from the Oneida Lake, which is about thirty miles in length. At the eaſt end of this lake is a royal blockhouſe, which is garriſoned to maintain a communication with the lakes: and on the weſt end of this lake is Fort Brereton, another poſt eſtabliſhed for the ſame purpoſe. About half-way between this and Oſwego is another blockhouſe, to command a ferry over the Seneca River. The Oneida Lake is diſtant about fifty-four miles from the Lake Ontario; and from the Oneida is an eaſy communication with the Mohock River, and conſequently with Hudſon's, by the way of the Wood-Creek.

The country upon the lake, between Oſwego and Saint Lawrence, is level and good for ſeveral miles from the lake; but it is claimed by the Five Nations; and there are ſeveral rivers flowing through it to the lake. The moſt conſiderable is the River Sable, which joins the lake about eighty-five miles eaſt of Niagara, and riſes near a branch of the Ohio. There are ſeveral falls upon it, and one higher than the falls of Niagara. For a conſiderable way, it is about two hundred feet wide; but it is very much concealed from the traveller, as he paſſes it upon the lake, by an iſland ſituated before the mouth of it. About one hundred and fifty miles up this river, are thoſe remarkable ſprings, ſo much eſteemed by the Indians as a remedy for almoſt every diſeaſe: they are called the Oil-ſprings, upon account of an oleous ſubſtance that iſſues forth with the water, and riſes upon the ſurface of it. The Indians uſe theſe ſprings for conſumptions, aſthmas, and various internal diſorders, by drinking the water; and for rheumatic pains, by bathing, with great ſucceſs.

A little further eaſtward flow in the rivers Arundicat and Chineſee.

In the rivers round Lake Ontario are ſalmon in great plenty during the ſummer ſeaſon; and at the entrance of the River Saint Lawrence, during the winter ſeaſon, are abundance of what they call white fiſh, which are peculiar to this place. In ſummer they diſappear, and are ſuppoſed to lie

during that ſeaſon in the deep water, out of ſoundings: they are about the ſize of ſhad, and very agreeable to the palate. Here is great plenty of water-fowl, and game, common to the climate, of all kinds. Upon the whole, the country round this lake is pleaſant, apparently fertile, and capable of ſuch valuable improvements as to be of general utility.

The Five Nations have their towns at ſome diſtance from the lake, and chiefly on the rivers that flow therein.

The River Saint Lawrence takes its leave of Lake Ontario at the north-eaſt corner of it. Near the lake, it is about eleven miles in breadth; it has ſeveral iſlands; and one, at the head of the north rifts, has a little fortreſs, erected by the French, and ſtill maintained by their conquerors. A little ſouth of this iſland, a conſiderable ſtream flows in, which riſes near Hudſon's River, and is called Oſwegotchy, which has many falls.

From Lake Ontario to the Cedars, the weſtern boundary of the province of Quebec, is about eighty miles; and from thence to Lake Saint Francis, which may be called the next ſtage of Saint Lawrence, the diſtance is much the ſame.

Upon the ſouth ſide of the river, at the bottom of the rifts, is a ſmall village of the Five Nations; and another toward Montreal upon the ſame ſide. In the river, and in the Lake Saint Francis, are ſeveral iſlands, which are in general ſettled by the French, belonging to the province of Quebec.

The country upon both ſides is tolerably good, and is capable of ſupporting many thouſands of inhabitants.

On the northern ſide of Lake Saint Francis the Attawawas River flows in, and joins the River Saint Lawrence. The Attawawas riſes eaſt of Lake Superior, from a little lake, where is an Indian tribe, who call themſelves Roundocks; and oppoſite to the north-eaſt corner of Lake Huron is another little lake, called Nipiſſong. The ſtream which flows from it is joined by another that riſes from ſome leſſer lakes among the mountains; and where theſe rivers unite are many iſlands, which render the paſſage difficult to find.

From the head of the weſt branch of this river, there is but a ſhort portage to another that falls into Lake Huron; by which way the Engliſh traders ſometimes carry their goods to and from the Indians in this part

part of the country; but this way is greatly more difficult than that of Niagara, being obſtructed by many falls, around which they are obliged to carry their canoes and goods.

There is another little ſettlement of the Roundocks upon the river, between the iſlands and its junction with the River Saint Lawrence; which junction, after a ſouth-eaſt courſe, is by three different channels: one flows into the river of Saint Francis, and the other two form the iſland of Jeſus, north of Montreal; after which, they meet and unite with the River Saint Lawrence, at the eaſt end of the iſle of Montreal. The country on the banks of this river is broken and indifferent, until you come near the River Saint Lawrence; and the timber is chiefly white pine, of a lofty growth. The winters are cold, and ſubject to the deepeſt ſnows. However, there is great plenty of beaver in this country; and the river, for ſome way up, abounds with ſalmon; which two articles are the principal ſubſiſtence of the Indians reſiding here, who pretend not to keep any animals except dogs. Yet even this country, by a civilized induſtrious people, might be rendered fertile and pleaſant, far ſurpaſſing many in the world that are well inhabited and very populous.

There are ſeveral ſettlements of the Saint John's, Cape Sable, and other tribes of Indians, upon the ſtreams falling into Saint Lawrence from the ſouth, between that and Nova Scotia, and round the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, between that and the Bay of Fundy, and the coaſts of the province of Main, whoſe chief ſubſiſtence is the wild game of the country; for they keep no cattle, and raiſe but little corn.

There are likewiſe ſome Indians upon the north ſide of Saint Lawrence, near Quebec, called Hurons, but of no conſiderable account.

About thirty-five miles below Quebec, a river flows in from the north, that heads near Hudſon's Bay, or James River; on the banks of which reſide ſome other tribes of the Roundocks: but all the Indians on the lakes, except the Hurons and Five Nations, have an affinity in their language, and appear to be of the ſame originality.

From this account of the country upon the River Saint Lawrence, above what is now called the Province of Quebec, there ſeems a proſpect in future, not only of a flouriſhing province, but a great kingdom, exceeding in extent of territory moſt of the kingdoms in Europe, and exceeded by few in the fertility of its ſoil, or the ſalubrity of its air; and, in its preſent uncultivated ſtate, abounding with many of the neceſſaries and

conveniencies of life: and though it has no open communication with the ſea, yet great amends are made for this defect by its numerous lakes and ſtreams running to and from them, by which there is an eaſy communication from one part of the country to another, almoſt through the whole.

This country will always have the advantage of the fur and peltry trade, upon account of its extenſive lakes, and the large uninhabited country to the north-weſt of it, both of which will tend to ſupport that valuable and lucrative branch of commerce here to the end of time.

If it was not for the ſeveral cataracts and water-falls in this river of Saint Lawrence, Canada would lie very commodious for an extenſive trade; nor would it be a difficult matter to paſs from Quebec to the Gulph of Mexico by the lakes and rivers which join that of Saint Lawrence to the Miſſiſſippi, which empties itſelf into this gulph.

The French of Canada were numerous, moſt of them ſubſtantial, and many opulent; but their principal towns were the three following:

1. Quebec, the capital, ſituated on the north-ſhore of the river of Saint Lawrence, about two hundred leagues ſouth-weſt of its mouth; being divided into the upper and lower town, both of them about three miles in circumference; and defended by a caſtle, which was on an eminence. In the upper town, there were five churches, beſide the cathedral. This city was the metropolis of the French dominions in North America, and a biſhop's ſee. The viceroy, who reſided there, aſſumed the title of "governor and captain-general, both of New France and Louiſiana."

2. Montreal is ſituated upon an iſland in the river of Saint Lawrence, about 100 miles ſouth of Quebec. The iſland is about forty miles in length, and ten in breadth; fertile in corn, and plentiful of fruits. The town is finely ſituated upon the bank of the river, which is about a league broad in that part. It contained about two hundred families, and was ſecured by a rampart of large beams, flanked by redoubts. The prieſts of Saint Sulpice at Paris obtained a grant of this town and iſland in 1663, and they kept three courts of juſtice here; erected a noble church, and endowed ſome monaſteries, as alſo a houſe of knights-hoſpitallers. This town was the principal frontier garriſon of the French againſt the Iroquois, or Indians under the protection of New York: but the River of Saint Lawrence is not navigable above Montreal, on account of ſome cataracts.

Montreal

Montreal uſed to carry on a great trade with the Indians, who brought thither all ſorts of furs, which they exchanged for French commodities of all kinds; and for this purpoſe a fair was annually kept along the banks of the river in the month of June, when many Indian nations reſorted there, and ſome from the diſtance of fifteen hundred miles.

3. Trois Rivieres is a town ſo named, from its ſituation at the confluence of three rivers; one of which is that of Saint Lawrence, and lies almoſt in the mid-way between Quebec and Montreal. It is a well-built town, and a conſiderable mart for the Indians. The French colony conſiſted of many plantations, ſituated on both ſides of the river, from Quebec to Montreal, which being only a muſket-ſhot diſtance from each other, compoſed, as it were, two kinds of large villages of near one hundred and fifty miles in length. The leaſt accommodated of theſe planters had four acres of land in front, and thirty or forty up the country: but for large conceſſions, which were properly the ſeignories of the country, whereon the plantations were dependent, they had frequently from ten to fifteen miles in front, with as many as they pleaſed up the country; of which the perſon to whom the grant was made, retained only a part for his capital meſſuage, and farmed the reſt to other planters at 2*s.* 6*d.* ſterling an acre, or thereabout. There were alſo plantations in ſome iſlands formed by the river; whereof thoſe of the iſle of Orleans were in good repute: this iſland is about four miles from Quebec; is about twenty miles in length, and ten in breadth; being very fertile, eſpecially in the produce of wheat.

A part of the Canada commerce conſiſted in corn, and legumes of all kinds; as alſo in planks, and timber for carriages; of which great quantities were conſumed in the colony, and exported for the French iſlands; the return being in ſugar, tobacco, and ſuch commodities as were wanted by the coloniſts, or not cultivated by them. However, ſkins and furs, particularly caſtor, made the principal object of the commerce of this colony; a commerce which paſſed intirely through the hands of the Indians, who received, in exchange for their caſtor, ſeveral European commodities; but the profits were immenſe upon the French ſide, though not ſo great as formerly; eſpecially ſince the Engliſh found a method to treat with theſe Indians for the ſame commodity.

Quebec, Montreal, the Three Rivers, Tadouſac, Richelieu, and Chambli, were the principal places reſorted to by the Indians for this trade: and Chambli was formerly in ſuch reputation, that it was the principal rendezvous

dezvous of the Soccokis, Mahingans, and Openangos; but they were obliged to trade with the Engliſh for fear of the Iroquois.

The moſt valuable of theſe ſkins, and the principal object of commerce with the Indians, are caſtors; but the different kinds of theſe make a great difference in their price; becauſe there are winter caſtors; fat caſtors, or old coat; moulted, dry, and ſummer caſtors; as alſo white caſtors, which are ſcarce.

The beaver, or caſtor, is an amphibious four-footed animal, ſometimes living upon land, and ſometimes in water; though ſome live intirely out of water, where they only go to drink, as other land animals; making holes and dens for themſelves, like rabbits and foxes; but theſe are called ſluggiſh beavers, or land beavers.

The largeſt beavers meaſured, between the head and the root of the tail, about twenty-ſix inches, the head meaſuring ſeven: they have a flat oval tail, covered with thin ſcales, like a fiſh, meaſuring fourteen inches; which in all make about four feet. A few are found in ſome parts of Europe; but they moſt abundantly breed in Canada: under which denomination are comprehended thoſe that come from Acadia and Hudſon's Bay.

The beavers of Canada are of three colours; the brown reddiſh, the black, and the white. The firſt is the cheapeſt; the next is the moſt valued in England; and the laſt is the moſt eſteemed in Canada.

The beavers breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen in a litter. Their fleſh is ſaid to be excellent food; and their ſkins are principally uſed in the manufacture of hats and furs. In 1699 an attempt was made in France to employ it in other merchandizes; and accordingly a manufactory was ſettled in Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, near Paris, where they made cloths, flannels, ſtockings, and other commodities, of beaver, with a mixture of wool; which manufacture flouriſhed for a while, but ſoon decayed; it being experimentally found, that the ſtuffs not only loſt their dye when wet; but when they became dry again, were as harſh and ſtiff as felts *.

Merchants diſtinguiſh three kinds of beaver, though they are all the ſkins of the ſame animal. Theſe are, new beaver, dry beaver, and fat

* Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 152.

beaver:

beaver: the firſt is that taken in the winter-huntings, which is the beſt and moſt eſteemed for rich furs, as having loſt none of its hairs by moulting: dry or lean beaver is got in the ſummer-huntings, when the animal is moulted, and has loſt part of its hair; which, being much inferior to the former, is little uſed in furs, but moſtly in hats: fat beaver, uſually called old coat, is that which has contracted a fat unctuous humour, exhaled by ſweat from the bodies of the Indians, after they have wore it for ſome time; but though this is better than the dry, it is only uſed for hats. After the hair is cut off the ſkin, the pelt or ſkin itſelf is uſed in various works; as for the coverings of mails and trunks, in ſlippers, and other things.

Caſtoreum is a liquid matter, incloſed in bags or purſes, near the anus of the caſtor or beaver, falſely taken for the teſticles of that animal. It is uſed in medicinal compoſitions; but that of Canada is ſaid not to be the beſt. Care ſhould be taken that it is not adulterated with honey or other drugs to increaſe its weight; which is known by ſqueezing it; the ſophiſticated being ſoftiſh, and yielding a faintiſh ſmelling honey; but the natural is hard and heavy; of a brown colour, briſk ſmell, and full of little filaments.

The other furs procured from the Indians of Canada are foxes, black and ſpeckled; martins, and thoſe called ſables; otters, ſome reddiſh, and others brown; bears, black and white; peſkans, or wild cats; polecats, ferrets and weazels; wolves, ſquirrels, and muſk-rats, with their teſticles.

The Indians alſo ſupplied the French with the ſkins of ſeveral animals, ſome green, and others dreſſed after the manner of the country; ſuch as the ſkins of elks, deer, goats, and wolves. But it ſhould be obſerved, that when the Canadian Indians, according to their manner of trafficking, ſpeak ſimply of ſkins, without ſpecifying the name of the animal, elk-ſkins ſhould be underſtood, as they are the deareſt of all thoſe in Canada.

The French of Quebec alſo ſent, during the ſummer-ſeaſon, ſome veſſels to trade for the ſkins of ſea-wolves with the Eſkimaux, who were ſo diſtruſtful as never to come aboard the French; ſo that the commerce with them was carried on in a ſingular manner. The Indians expoſed from their canoes, on the top of a pole, the goods they would ſell; demanding, at the ſame time, what they would have in exchange, as knives, powder, balls, fuſees, hatchets, kettles, and other things. The French

repoſed

repoſed as little confidence in the Indians, and never permitted them to approach too near.

The following is an exact ſtate of the merchandize proper for the caſtor trade of Canada:

Short and light fuſees; gun-powder for fowling; balls and ſmall ſhot; hatchets and bill-hooks; knives and ſheathes; ſword-blades for making darts; kettles and pots of all ſizes; hooks of all ſorts; ſteel and flints for ſtriking fire; ſhort clokes of blue ſerge; common linen ſhirts, and thick worſted ſtockings; Brazil tobacco; thick whipcord for nets; ſewing-thread of different colours; packthread for nets; drinking-glaſſes; a few arrows; ſome broad-ſwords; a little ſoap; with ſome needles and pins. The beſt commodity, and of moſt certain vent, was brandy, if not prohibited; yet it was one of thoſe wherewith the canoes of the wood-rangers were not the leaſt laden; in which canoes, made of birch-bark, all the commerce of the great river and lakes was carried on during the ſummer ſeaſon; but in winter, ſledges were uſed. Nor ſhould it be omitted, that the commerce of the lakes belonged to ſuch of the planters who obtained permits from the governor-general; and that thoſe permits were fixed at a certain number every year: But this private trade, though lucrative to the monopolizers, was prejudicial to the general trade of the colony; as it hindered great numbers of the Indians from bringing their ſkins and furs to a public mart, where all the inhabitants might partake an equal ſhare.

What has been thus diſcuſſed, regards only the interior commerce of Canada; ſo that here it ſeems neceſſary to add ſomewhat concerning the trade promoted there by foreign importations.

There were two ſeaſons for the departure of French ſhips for Canada; one toward the end of April or beginning of May, the other in September: the latter uſed to arrive there when the ice was melted, and the other before it was formed.

The French ſhipping deſtined for this trade paid no duties, except for the Brazil tobacco: and the cargo of theſe ſhips was partly the ſame with that ſent to the Caribbee Iſlands; becauſe tobacco, ſugar, and ſeveral other commodities from the Weſt Indies were of the number of thoſe imported to Canada, where the ſoil and climate are improper for their cultivation. There was alſo ſome difference in the clothes and ſtuffs; as the cold coun-

try of Canada required them warmer and thicker than the Caribbees, ſituated under the torrid zone.

Though great profits accrued from all the commodities imported to Quebec in French bottoms, ſcarcely amounting to leſs than fifty *per cent.* yet ſuch as were leaſt neceſſary, and moſtly for ornament or curioſity, ſold beſt; as lace-ribands, watches, ſnuff-boxes, and a variety of ſuch trinkets; of which a ſufficient quantity ſeldom arrived, though uſually ſold at four times their juſt value, on the deduction of every expence.

When ſhips arrived at Quebec, the merchants there, who kept factors at Montreal and Trois Rivieres, loaded ſome barks with part of the merchandize imported on their account, and ſent it to be ſold by the retailers. There were ſeveral rich traders, however, in theſe towns, who received various commodities at the firſt hand; as they came themſelves to make their market at Quebec, and freighted ſeveral barks which brought back themſelves and their merchandize to the place of their reſidence.

All this merchandize was paid for, either in money or bills of exchange on Rochelle; or in ſkins and furs, corn, timber, or madder. The returns in furs and ſkins were the beſt; but there was never, either of theſe or any other commodities, a ſufficiency to freight all ſhips that came from France; beſide, there were only ſome privileged ſhips allowed to have a full freight for their return. The Rochelle ſhips, not to return empty, frequently took in coals at Cape Breton for Martinico and Guadaloupe, where great quantities were conſumed in refining of ſugar; of which they afterward made their cargoes of return.

It was in the Lower Town of Quebec that the richeſt traders of Rochelle had their warehouſes and factors; where it was alſo that the merchants and traders of the other towns, and even of Quebec, not capable of having any correſpondents in France, came to ſupply themſelves with all kinds of merchandize. There were likewiſe merchants of the colony who kept ſuch warehouſes at Quebec; but theſe were furniſhed with ſhips of their own, which went and came from Canada to France, bringing backward and forward all neceſſary commodities.

The French Canada company carried on a profitable trade until the year 1742, when Europeans gave only a pound of gunpowder for four beavers, a pound of ſhot for one, an ell of coarſe cloth for fifteen, a blanket for twelve, two fiſh-hooks or three flints for one; a gun for twenty-five, a piſtol for ten; a common hat for ſeven, an ax for four, a

check-ſhirt for ſeven, a bill-hook for one, and a gallon of brandy for four: all which is ſaid to have brought in a profit of 2000 *per cent.*

Theſe furs were more eſteemed than thoſe ſold at New York, and brought from the Canadian lakes. A good Indian hunter will kill ſix hundred beavers in a ſeaſon; but they ſometimes burn off the fur, and roaſt the beavers like pigs: beſide, they uſe the ſkins for bedding and coverings; ſo that one man ſeldom brings above a pack, containing one hundred ſkins, to market.

The nearer the Indians of Canada are viewed, the more good qualities are diſcovered in them: for moſt of the principles which ſerve to regulate their conduct, the general maxims by which they govern themſelves, and the eſſential part of their character, diſcovers nothing of the barbarian. Beſide thoſe ideas, though wholly indiſtinct, which they ſtill preſerve of a ſupreme Being, theſe veſtiges, now almoſt effaced, of a religious worſhip, which they ſeem formerly to have paid this ſovereign Ruler; and the weak traces which may be remarked in their moſt indifferent actions of the ancient belief, and of the primitive religion, might reſtore them more eaſily than is imagined to the true path, render their converſion to Chriſtianity eaſier than is commonly found, and which is attended with greater obſtacles even in the more civilized nations. But when an Indian kills another in his cabbin, being drunk, which they often pretend to be, when they harbour any ſuch deſigns, they content themſelves with lamenting the dead. If the crime was done in cold blood, they readily ſuppoſe that the perſon who committed it had very good reaſons before he proceeded to this extremity; but if it appears he had none, it belongs to thoſe of his own cabbin, as being the only perſons concerned, to puniſh him, which they may do with death; this, however, is ſeldom done. In ſhort, crimes are puniſhed in ſuch a manner as neither to ſatisfy juſtice, nor eſtabliſh the public tranquillity and ſecurity. A murder, in which ſeveral cabbins ſhould be affected, would, notwithſtanding, always have troubleſome conſequences, and would often be ſufficient to ſet a whole town, or even a nation, in combuſtion: for which reaſon, in ſuch accidents, the council of the elders leave nothing undone to accommodate matters as well as poſſible; and in caſe of ſucceſs, it is commonly the public that makes the preſents, and takes all the neceſſary ſteps with the offended family. The immediate puniſhment of a criminal would at once put an end to the affair; and the relations of the deceaſed are at liberty to inflict their pleaſure on him, if they can get him in their hands: but his own cabbin think it inconſiſtent with their honour to ſacrifice him; and often the village do not think proper to compel them to it.

The

The way moſt in uſe among all the Indians to indemnify the relations of a man who has been murdered is, to replace him by means of a priſoner of war; in which caſe the captive is generally adopted, enters into poſſeſſion of all the rights of the deceaſed, and ſoon cauſes the perſon whoſe place he fills to be forgot. There are, however, ſome particular crimes which are puniſhed with death on the ſpot; eſpecially what they call witchcraft.

Whoever is ſuſpected of this crime can never be ſafe any where: they even cauſe him to undergo a kind of rack, to oblige him to name his accomplices; after which he is condemned to the ſame puniſhment with the priſoners of war; but they firſt aſk the conſent of his family, which they dare not refuſe. Thoſe who are leaſt criminal have their brains beat out before they are burnt: thoſe who diſhonour their families are treated much in the ſame manner; and juſtice is generally done upon them by their own family.

A plurality of wives is allowed of, among ſeveral nations of the Algonquins; and it is common enough to marry all the ſiſters; which cuſtom is founded upon a perſuaſion, that ſiſters muſt agree better together than ſtrangers. In this caſe, all the women are upon an equal rank: but among the true Algonquins, there are two orders of wives; thoſe of the ſecond order being the ſlaves of the firſt. Some nations have wives in every quarter where they have occaſion to reſide for a while in hunting-time; but there once prevailed among ſome cantons a greater diſorder; which was, a plurality of huſbands.

Among all theſe nations, there are certain conſiderable families who can only contract alliances with each other, and chiefly among the Algonquins; but, generally ſpeaking, the perpetuity of marriages is held ſacred, and carefully obſerved among all ranks, and in all families.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XIII.

An Account of NEW BRITAIN, or TERRA DE LABRADORE, and HUDSON'S BAY.

CHAP. I.

Deſcription of the country. Firſt diſcoveries. Royal charter in 1670. *Settlements. Trade. Climate. Attempts to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage.*

THIS country lies in the northern part of Canada in 80° of weſt longitude; and between 51° and 63° of north latitude; where the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay Company have ſeveral forts and ſettlements; from whence they carry on a valuable traffic with the natives for ſkins and furs.

This Bay is about 300 leagues wide from ſouth to north; but that part of the bay, on the weſt ſide, in latitude 57°, is called Button's Bay; and the eaſtern part, from latitude 55° 15′ to 51°, and the moſt ſouthern part, is called James's Bay.

Upon the eaſtern main, or coaſt of Labradore, are ſeveral iſlands. The continent is very extenſive, and inhabited by Indians, who are rude and uncivilized: but the Engliſh have ſeveral forts and ſettlements on the weſt

weſt main, or New Wales; particularly one at the mouth of Churchill River, in about latitude 59°, and longitude 95°, weſt from London: Another at York Fort, at the mouth of Nelſon's River; one at New Severn; one at Albany River; one at Hayes's Iſland; and one at Rupert's River.

It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that all the Engliſh dominions upon the continent of America were diſcovered, except Hudſon's Streights.

1576. Captain Martin Frobiſher made his firſt voyage for the diſcovery of a paſſage to China, by the north-weſt; and, on the 12th of June, he diſcovered Terra de Labradore in 63° 8′, and entered a ſtreight, which is called by his name. Upon the firſt of October he returned to England, from whence he made ſome other attempts to fix a colony, and trade with the inhabitants; but without ſucceſs.

After this, there were no other adventures until the year 1607, when Captain Henry Hudſon diſcovered as far as 80° 23′; but, in 1611, he periſhed in attempting farther diſcoveries, dearly purchaſing the honour of having this large ſtreight and bay called by his name.

Sir Thomas Button, fitted out by Prince Henry in 1612, paſſed Hudſon's Streights, and, ſailing weſtward, diſcovered a large continent, which he called New Wales. Its ſea and bay retain the diſcoverer's name: He could not proceed farther than 65°, and wintered miſerably upon that weſt continent, in 57° of north latitude. In 1616, Mr. Baffin entered the Streights.

In 1631, Captain Thomas James ſet out from Briſtol, and made farther diſcoveries in Hudſon's Bay. He wintered near the bottom of the bay at Charleton Iſland, in 52° north latitude, and publiſhed a good journal of his voyage.

The firſt eaſtern diſcoveries were made at the charge of a company of Engliſh merchants incorporated in the reign of King Edward VI. and called "The Merchants Adventurers for diſcovering Lands unknown." Their principal deſign was to diſcover a paſſage to India and China by the north-eaſt, and to come in for a ſhare of that rich trade with the Portugueſe, by a ſhorter way than by the Cape of Good Hope; or at leaſt to diſcover ſome countries where they might eſtabliſh a trade of equal advantage to them.

The diſcoveries made by the Dutch in the north-eaſt parts of Aſia toward China and Japan, together with thoſe near the polar circle about Nova Zembla, firſt inſpired the Engliſh Eaſt India Company with a deſire of finding a north-eaſt paſſage to Aſia by the great Tartarian ocean, which they ſeveral times attempted without ſucceſs. This naturally led the Engliſh navigators, who ſaw the great advantages ariſing from ſuch a diſcovery, to turn their thoughts to the north-weſt parts of America, where ſeemed a great probability of obtaining a paſſage, as the difficulties were leſs, and the diſtance between Hudſon's Bay in Davis's Streights, and the north-eaſt coaſt of America above California, no way ſo great as between Nova Zembla and the ſuppoſed Streights of Anian near Japan.

Indeed, from the diſcoveries already made for this age paſt on the north-weſt coaſts of America, the general opinion of a paſſage is ſo ſtrong, that in the charter granted to the Hudſon's Bay Company in 1670, which inveſts them with very extenſive privileges, it is recited as a chief motive for the grant, that they ſhould uſe all means for the diſcovery of ſuch a paſſage; to the ſucceſs of which their ſettlement and trade in Hudſon's Bay, it was reaſonably ſuppoſed, would greatly contribute; as will be farther explained.

The capital fund of the company was 10,500 *l.* ſterling; and ſhares were worth 500 *l.* Its privilege is excluſive for all the trade that can be carried on in Hudſon's Bay; and in all the ſeas, ſtreights, bays, rivers, lakes, and paſſages, in whatever latitude they may be; with the property of all the iſlands and lands therein, not poſſeſſed by any other nation: but the continual wars between England and France, until the peace of Utrecht, ſunk the value of the ſhares.

This company was occaſioned by two French gentlemen, who travelled into the country of the Eſkimaux, and diſcovered what a valuable trade might be carried on there: They repreſented the matter to the French government, who, contrary to their political ſyſtem, rejected it; whereupon the gentlemen communicated their obſervations to the Engliſh, who ſettled the trade. This corporation is ſtill under the direction of a governor, deputy-governor, and ſeven aſſiſtants, who have a handſome hall in Fenchurch-ſtreet to tranſact their affairs in.

In 1670, Mr. Baily, with twenty men, was ſent over by the company to Rupert River. Port Nelſon was the next ſettlement in 1673; and Mr. Bridge was ſent over governor of the weſt main from Cape Henrietta

Henrietta Maria. In 1683, the factory was removed from Rupert River to Mooſe River, becauſe the former was too much expoſed to the depredations of the French, who ſoon perceived their error, grew jealous of the Engliſh, and at different times diſpoſſeſſed them of moſt of their forts, which were reſtored by the treaty of Utrecht; and from that time the Engliſh company has been in a very flouriſhing condition.

From Tadouſac, thirty leagues below Quebec, upon Canada River, there is water carriage to Lake Miſtaſin, which communicates with Rupert River. In 1686, the French from Canada, in time of peace, became maſters of all the Hudſon's Bay factories, Fort Nelſon excepted. In 1693, the Engliſh recovered their factories; but the French ſoon after got poſſeſſion of them again. In 1696, two Engliſh men of war retook them; the French took them again in Queen Anne's war; but by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French gave up to the Engliſh ſo far ſouth as 49° north latitude.

Mr. Dobbs ſays, that this country, called Hudſon's Bay, may be eſteemed from 51° to 65° of north latitude, and from 78° to 95° weſt longitude from London. The true definition of it is, from the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, as follows: From a certain promontory on the Atlantic ocean north latitude 58° 30′ run ſouth-weſt to Lake Miſtaſin*; thence ſouth-weſt to north latitude 49°, and from this termination due weſt indefinitely. The northern boundary may be reckoned Davis's Streights, becauſe of the Daniſh claim, and otherways north indefinitely.

The entrance of Hudſon's Streights at Reſolution Iſland is about fifteen leagues wide. The tide flows four fathom; and the winds are north-weſt about nine months in the year: it is not free of ice above two months in the year, and the ſails and rigging freeze even in July. It is 140 leagues in length to the bay, at the bottom of which is only four feet tide.

Captain Middleton, in twenty-three voyages, never could arrive at the factories above five times before the tenth of Auguſt; and it is a ſtanding order not to attempt coming back the ſame year, unleſs they can ſail from the factories about the middle of September, when it is generally pleaſant weather; but Auguſt is the proper month for the navigation of Hudſon's Bay, where are always good ſoundings.

This grant is divided into the weſt main or continent, formerly in charts called New North and South Wales; and the eaſt main called

* This includes the weſtern half of Terra de Labradore.

Terra de Labradore or New Britain. The French claimed the bottom of the bay, as belonging to Canada; but they diſclaimed it by the treaty of Utrecht.

The country is ſo inhoſpitable, that no towns or plantations can be ſettled there; ſo that it muſt for ever remain a number of ſcattered diſmal lodges or factories; which conſiſt at different places at the mouths of ſeveral rivers for trade with the Indians; particularly on the weſt continent are Churchill River, Nelſon's River, Severn River, Albany River, and Mooſe River. On the eaſt continent are Rupert River and Slude River.

On Churchill River is the Prince of Wales's fort, which is the moſt northerly, being in about 59° north latitude, and 94° 50′ weſt longitude, the moſt weſterly part of Hudſon's Bay, where Captain Middleton, upon a north-weſt diſcovery, wintered miſerably in 1742. At the mouth of this river, the tide comes from north by eaſt two knots; and it is navigable about 150 leagues. The company keeps here about thirty men, who return about 20,000 beaver ſkins a year.

On Nelſon's River is Fort York, in 57° north latitude. It is the fineſt and largeſt river in the bay; for it communicates with great lakes, and branches of rivers of Indian trade. The company have here twenty-five men; and the tide is fourteen feet.

New Severn River was called by the French Saint Huiles: it is in 55° north latitude; but it has a bar, and therefore little frequented.

Albany River is in 52° north latitude, and 85° 20′ weſt longitude. It has four feet tide; and, in 1731, 118 canoes came there to trade. From the middle of May to the middle of September the weather is tolerable: And the company have here twenty-five men.

Mooſe River is in 51° north latitude, and has four feet tide. It is larger than Albany River; and the company have here twenty-five men.

Prince Rupert River is on the eaſt ſide of the bay, in 51° of north latitude; but is now neglected: but at Slude River, in 52°, the company uſually keeps ten men.

The charge of the company is about 120 ſervants, and about four annual ſhips. The trade of the country conſiſts in furs, quills, and

feathers, from which great profits ariſe; and there is beſide a pretty good trade for blubber, in the forts belonging to the Engliſh company.

The natives receive in exchange arms, proviſions, hard ware, and ſome groceries.

The commodities for the ſupport of the colony conſiſt generally in all the neceſſaries of life; the country affording nothing either for the nouriſhment or clothing of the inhabitants of this rich, but miſerable ſettlement, which cannot properly be called a colony; becauſe the people have no eſtabliſhed legiſlature or houſe of repreſentatives, and their laws and regulations are made by the company.

A late writer repreſents in ſtrong terms the ill conſequences of the excluſive charter enjoyed by this company, and makes ſome ſevere reflections on the manner in which the trade is carried on. From what he ſays on this ſubject the following remarks may be extracted.

"Though the deſign, which firſt led our daring countrymen into the "dark receſſes of the north, failed in its firſt object, the diſcovery of "a paſſage that way to China, the attempt failed not of producing other "conſequences which well repaid to their country, if not immediately "to themſelves, the fatigue, danger, and expence of it to the bold "adventurers, by laying them under a neceſſity of ſtopping, when the "ſeverity of the climate made the ſeas no longer navigable, to explore "their inhoſpitable ſhores, for the ſupport of life, till the return of the "ſeaſon proper for purſuing their project, whereby they opened with "the inhabitants an intercourſe of commerce, unthought of before, and "which, but for this caſe, would never have been ſought for through ſo "many and ſuch diſcouraging difficulties.

"The ſecluſion of theſe inhabitants from the more informed part of "mankind by their ſituation; and the ſterility of their country, which "confined their cares within the narrow circle of the indiſpenſible neceſ-"ſaries of life, without applying a ſingle article that could ſuggeſt, "much leſs gratify a thought of any thing farther, neceſſarily brought "commerce with them back to its original, of immediate barter, or "exchange of one commodity for another, without the intervention of "money, the artificial medium made uſe of in countries of more ex-"tended intercourſe and produce, to ſupply the defects, and remedy the "inconveniencies, of ſuch barter.

The

" The advantages of ſuch a commerce to a country able to avail itſelf of " them are ſufficiently obvious. It takes off ſuch of its produce and " manufactures as are moſt plenty, and cheap, at their real value to thoſe " who want, and, not being able to procure them elſewhere, beat not down " their price on account of that plenty, nor require ſuch accuracy and " ornament in the manufacturing of them, as make them come dearer " to the vender without being of greater uſe to the purchaſer; and for " any deficiency in which they would be rejected by other purchaſers; " and brings in return the produce of the country of the barterers, at " the low rate ſet upon it by thoſe who do not want it, who have no " other vent for it, and conſequently are glad to exchange it at any rate " for what they do want, and cannot obtain otherwiſe; not to dwell " upon the great national advantage of its being unmanufactured, and " thereby affording employment to the various artificers who prepare it " for uſe.

" Theſe circumſtances were too ſtriking not to be immediately per- " ceived; but their effect was circumſcribed in ſuch a manner by the " very means injudiciouſly taken to improve and extend it, that what " would have been a moſt important advantage to the whole nation, was, " by the grant of an excluſive charter, confined to a few individuals, " who, actuated by the moſt ſelfiſh, ſordid, and ſhort-ſighted policy, or " rather cunning, reſtrained, inſtead of extending, that commerce, for " fear of its becoming an object of public conſideration, and the mono- " poly of it taken from them, ſhould the (comparatively immenſe) pro- " fits which it might produce, be known; and thereby with the groſſeſt " diſhoneſty defeated intentionally, the expreſs end for which ſuch char- " ter had been originally granted, on the moſt plauſible pretences, and " ſtrongeſt aſſurance to the contrary, and was ſtill from inattention, or " miſrepreſentation, ſuffered to remain with them.

" This will be beſt explained and proved by the following liſt and " eſtimate of the ſeveral articles exported from England to, and imported " into England from, this ſettlement, which are drawn with the utmoſt " exactneſs, and from the beſt authority.

Commodities exported from England to Hudſon's Bay.

" Coarſe woollen cloths, checks, cottons, Britiſh linens, fowling-pieces, " birding guns, gun-flints, gunpowder, ſhot, cutlaſſes, wrought leather, " ſalt, wheaten meal, oatmeal, barley, peaſe, beans, malt, bacon, beef,

" pork, butter, cheeſe, biſcuit, molaſſes, wrought ſteel, iron, braſs, copper, " pewter, pipes, tobacco, hoſiery, hats, tallow candles, ſhip chandlery, " ſtationary wares, bugles, groceries, oil, Britiſh ſpirits, wines, all which " coſt at an average of three years 16,000*l.*

Commodities imported into England from Hudſon's Bay.

" Thirty-four thouſand beaver ſkins, 16,000 marten, 2000 otter, 1100 " cat, 3000 fox, 5000 wolf, 7000 wolverine, 650 black bear, 40 white " bear, 500 fiſher, 250 mink, 3000 muſquaſh, 20 cwt. to 50 cwt. bed " feathers, 20 cwt. to 30 cwt. whalebone, a few tons of oil, 150,000 " gooſe-quills, 2000 lb. cut beaver, 1000 elk, 2000 deer ſkins, 250 lb. " of caſtoreum, worth, as bought at the firſt hand at Quebec, at a like " average of three years, 29,340*l.*

" The firſt view of theſe liſts and eſtimates will moſt probably be " thought to contradict what has been advanced before of the import- " ance of this ſettlement; but when it is conſidered that in the above " liſt of exports is included all that the company ſends for the ſupport " and maintenance of their ſettlements, and for which conſequently " there can be no return, as it is immediately conſumed by their people. " —When it is proved that the commerce of it is kept thus low by " deſign, and the means taken to accompliſh that deſign are ſhewn, the " truth of my poſition will appear in its full force.

" In eſtimating the imports from Hudſon's Bay, I ſtrike the price of " them by that paid for the ſame articles at Quebec.

" The reaſon of my doing this is, that the Hudſon's Bay Company " conduct all their affairs with ſuch impenetrable ſecrecy, that it is not poſ- " ſible to know at what rate they exchange their goods for thoſe of the " natives; an oath of ſecrecy being impoſed upon their ſervants; and " the obſervation of all, upon whom they cannot impoſe ſuch an oath, " prevented by the moſt brutal inhoſpitality and excluſion from every " kind of intercourſe.

" Nor will the groſs quantity of the exports open any ſatisfactory " inſight into this myſtery; as it is not known, nor can, for the above " reaſons, be diſcovered with any degree of preciſion, how much of that " quantity is conſumed by the company's ſervants; and conſequently no " return for it brought home in the imports.

" This

" This much I know from my own experience, that there is no fixed " rate for the barter of any commodity, the company allowing juſt " what they pleaſe, at that time; in which allowance, they are ſo " equitable and reaſonable, that I myſelf have ſeen inſtances of their " being conſcientiouſly content with a profit not above 1000 per cent. " upon particular articles.

" Theſe liſts therefore only ſhew what advantage the nation reaps at " preſent, from the commerce of this ſettlement, under their monopoly. " What it would reap were there no ſuch monopoly, with a more par- " ticular account of the curious methods taken to keep it in its preſent " ſtate of national inſignificancy, ſhall be next ſhewn.

" I have aſſerted, that it is capable of ſuch improvement as would " make it a conſiderable advantage to the nation. It remains now that " I prove this aſſertion. In doing this it will be neceſſary for me to " look back for a moment to circumſtances not attended to at preſent, " but which have influenced this commerce from its very firſt inſtitution, " and do ſtill influence it, in the moſt pernicious manner.

" At the time when the Hudſon's Bay Company was eſtabliſhed, in " 1670, the minds of all people of power or property were ſo fixed " upon the intrigues of the court, and the conſequences immediately " apprehended from them at home, that they would not ſpare a thought " for any thing ſo remote in ſituation and effect as foreign colonization, " by which means that moſt important of political enterprizes fell to " thoſe who were in every reſpect leaſt qualified to purſue it to advantage.

" Under theſe inauſpicious circumſtances, an excluſive charter for " trading to the countries confining on the ſea, called Hudſon's Bay, " was, without enquiring into the conſequences, granted to a ſet of " private adventurers, who, without ſupport or even countenance from " government, undertook, upon the narrow foundation of their own " fortunes, to eſtabliſh a trade, attended with ſuch difficulties in appear- " ance, as would have diſcouraged any men not fully perſuaded of the " certainty of ſucceſs. Nor were they diſappointed; the event exceed- " ing their moſt ſanguine expectations in their very firſt experiment.

" Such ſucceſs from ſo weak a beginning ſhewed to what an height it " might be carried on a more extended foundation. But the ſcheme it " ſuggeſted was very different: Inſtead of extending their firſt plan, " and making their ſucceſs known, to procure an enlargement of

" their capital, the company turned all their care to conceal the whole, " (which the diſtractions of the times gave them too good an oppor- " tunity of doing) and keep the profits of the trade intirely to them- " ſelves, contracted as it was, rather than run the hazard of their being " ſhared in by others, ſhould it be puſhed to its natural extent; a care " which has never been relaxed ſince.

" For this ſordid purpoſe, they contented themſelves with proceeding " on the low capital, which neceſſity had at firſt obliged them to ſet out " upon, and making a few paltry ſettlements, barely ſufficient to carry " on the reſtrained trade which ſuch a capital could ſupport. The event " has in this alſo too well anſwered their deſign. The inconſiderable " amount of their exports, and conſequently of the returns, have kept " the trade in ſuch obſcurity as to ſeem beneath the attention of govern- " ment, whereby it has remained, according to the letter, however con- " trary to the ſpirit of their charter, excluſively in their own hands.

" It muſt be owned, that the temptations to this conduct were power- " ful. Without hazarding, or even advancing more than a comparative " trifle, they have long reaped, and do ſtill reap a profit, which a capi- " tal ten times as large could not produce in any other channel of com- " merce; a reaſon, which too many inſtances prove ſufficient, in the " preſent times, to over-balance national advantage, and juſtify breach " of faith; for by no other name can ſo manifeſt a violation of the " profeſſions of promoting that advantage, upon which all ſuch charters " are granted, be called, without as manifeſt a violation of truth.

" I am aware, that it will be objected to this, by thoſe who are inte- " reſted to keep theſe affairs in their preſent ſtate of darkneſs, that the " imports prove the ſufficiency of the capital for the trade, and that it " is abſurd and unnatural to think any men ſhould be ſo blind to their " own advantage, as not to make large exports could they have adequate " returns for them. The latter of theſe objections has been already ob- " viated. I ſhall now ſhew the fallacy of the former, and in what " manner the imports are kept down to their preſent low ſtand; low, I " mean as to what they might be, for they are high beyond all parallel, " conſidering what they coſt.

" Though the natives of the vaſt countries around Hudſon's Bay, " with whom the traffic of the company is carried on, are ſtill in that " ſtate of natural ignorance, which people more informed have arro- " gantly preſumed to call ſavage, heaven has not denied them the know-

" ledge neceſſary for the few purpoſes of their narrow ſphere of life. " They were not long engaged in this traffic, therefore, before they " diſcovered ſome of the groſs impoſitions practiſed upon them, though " they could not poſſibly form even a conception of the whole.

" I have obſerved that the commerce of the Hudſon's Bay Company " conſiſts in bartering ſome of our manufactures and commodities, the " cheapeſt and worſt of their kinds, with the natives for their furs. " The firſt thing which reaſon would ſuggeſt to be done in ſuch a traffic, " by thoſe who had the lead in it, muſt be to fix the rates of the ſeveral " articles to be brought by them for barter, at ſuch a ſtandard, as ſhould " obviate their being ever under a neceſſity of altering it, and thereby " raiſing a ſuſpicion of injuſtice in the others, who being neither able to " judge of theſe terms, nor of the accidental circumſtances which " might at particular times make an alteration in them neceſſary, were " they ſtruck with exactneſs, would certainly take offence at ſuch " alteration, though they could not avoid ſubmitting to the firſt eſtabliſh- " ment, in the making of which I have not preſumed to mention the " leaſt regard to juſtice.

" But inſtead of this, a new ſtandard is arbitrarily impoſed by the " company every ſeaſon, not on pretence even of any alteration in the " value of their own commodities, or thoſe of the natives, but ſolely " according to the quantity of the latter, the whole of which, be it " more or leſs than on other years, they calculate ſo as to get for their " own, whoſe quantity is nearly the ſame every ſeaſon. Such an im- " poſition was too glaring to eſcape unnoticed even by ſavages; who, " though they could not ſhew their reſentment of it in the ſame manner " as people in other circumſtances, by diſcontinuing the trade, yet did " not fail to take the obvious means of preventing it for the future, by " bringing no more furs than their little experience had taught them " would ſuffice to procure in exchange all the commodities of the com- " pany, the quantity of which they alſo knew by experience. The re- " mainder, for in their huntings for food they ſlay many more of the " various animals than they bring the furs of to market, they either con- " ſume themſelves in uſes they might diſpenſe with, could they turn " them to any better uſe, or actually throw away; practiſing out of " reſentment the ſame policy with the Dutch, in regard to their ſuper- " fluous ſpices.

" The cauſe and conſequences of the conduct which has been inva- " riably purſued by the Hudſon's Bay Company, ever ſince it was " eſtabliſhed,

" eſtabliſhed, having been conſidered, let us now conſider what would " be the effect had they adopted a different ſyſtem, or rather had no " ſuch eſtabliſhment been made from the beginning, but the trade left " open in its natural ſtate; indeed the only ſtate in which any trade can " prove beneficial to a nation, all monopolies by their principles counter- " acting the public intereſt, and ſetting up a private one in oppoſition to " it. The only trade (or at leaſt the only one worth taking any notice of) " carried on at preſent by the Hudſon's Bay Company is the fur trade. " But beſide this, there are others already diſcovered, which, if puſhed " to their proper extent, would very ſoon not only equal, but moſt pro- " bably even excel that; not to mention the probability of diſcovering " ſtill more.

" The firſt of theſe which I ſhall mention, and which, to the ſurprize " of reaſon, has not hitherto been thought of any conſequence, is the " fiſhery. I will take upon me to ſay, that the whale and ſeal fiſheries " in Hudſon's Bay and Baffin's Bay are capable of affording ſufficient, " and ſufficiently profitable, employment to ſeveral hundred fiſhing " veſſels. Nor is this a vague aſſertion. I ſpeak it from experience, " having been ſome years perſonally engaged in the Greenland fiſhery, " after my being at Hudſon's Bay, and gained a clear inſight into every " branch of it.

" The advantages which would neceſſarily reſult from this are moſt " obvious. It would increaſe the number of our ſeamen and ſhipping, " and every branch of commerce which does that, increaſes the eſſential " ſtrength of the nation. And it would not only ſupply us with a ſuf- " ficiency of the produce of theſe fiſheries for home conſumption, but " alſo give us the command of the trade ſo effectually, as to enable us " to underſell all rivals in it at foreign markets. That it is impoſſible " for ſuch a trade to be carried on properly under the unnatural reſtraints " of an excluſive charter, even were the company to make the attempt, " is too evident to require proof; and how much the nation ſuffers by " being ſecluded from it, may be judged from this one circumſtance, " that inſtead of ſeveral hundreds of veſſels, and thouſands of ſeamen, " which this ſingle trade would employ, if laid open to public emulation, " the whole trade of the Hudſon's Bay Company employs no more than " four ſhips, and 130 ſeamen.

" Another moſt valuable article of commerce, which thoſe countries " would ſupply in the greateſt plenty, is copper. In the year 1744, " I myſelf diſcovered there ſeveral large lumps of the fineſt virgin copper,

" which,

" which, in the honeſt exultation of my heart at ſo important a diſco-
" very, I directly ſhewed to the company; but the thanks I met with may
" be eaſily judged from the ſyſtem of their conduct. The fact, without
" any inquiry into the reality of it, was treated as a chimerical illuſion;
" and a ſtop arbitrarily put to all farther ſearch into the matter, by the
" abſolute lords of the ſoil.

" The advantages which would ariſe from a ſufficient ſupply of this
" metal are alſo obvious to every capacity. It would afford employ-
" ment to all our various artificers who work in it; and enable us to
" underſell all competitors at foreign markets; and this at a time when
" our internal ſupplies of it ſeem to be nearly exhauſted, and the uſe of
" it is daily increaſing in all parts of the world.

" I have ſaid that copper is to be found in plenty in thoſe countries,
" for this reaſon: Wherever any metal is found in lumps, on or near the
" ſurface of the earth, it is a certain proof that the earth abounds with
" it deeper down; ſuch lumps being protruded from the body of the
" metal like ſparks from a large fire. Nor is it unreaſonable to expect
" that metals ſtill more valuable might be found in the purſuit of this;
" the richeſt gold mines in the eaſt being intermixed with thoſe of cop-
" per, as copper itſelf is with gold, in proportion to the fineneſs of the
" former; and finer than the lumps I found there have I never ſeen.

" It muſt not be objected to what I have here advanced that the in-
" tenſity of the froſt in thoſe climates would defeat all attempts of mining,
" or at the beſt render them ſo difficult and deſtructive to the lives of
" the miners, as to make it not worth the attempt. This is only a vul-
" gar error. It is known that froſt penetrates but a little way into the
" earth; no farther than the immediate action of the atmoſphere; where
" the ſphere of that action therefore ceaſes, froſt ceaſes of courſe; and
" the moſt ignorant labourer knows, that the deeper he can work into
" the earth, the warmer air he will breathe *."

As for the climate of Hudſon's Bay, Captain Middleton obſerves, in the journal of his north-weſt diſcovery voyage in 1741 and 1742, he arrived in Churchill River on the 10th of Auguſt: the firſt ſnow was on the 1ſt of September, when the geeſe fled to the ſouthward; and on

* The American Traveller; or, Obſervations on the preſent State of the Britiſh Colonies in America, 4to. 1769.

the 27th the thermometer was as low as in London during the great froſt. On the 21ſt of October, ink and water froze by the bed-ſide; and in the beginning of November, a bottle of ſpirits full proof froze in the open air; after which it was for ſome time too cold to venture abroad with ſafety. On the 2d of April it began to thaw in the ſun; about which time the ice at the ſhip was ten feet thick, with thirteen feet ſnow over the ice. The falling ſnow was as fine as duſt until the 10th of April, when it came down in large flakes, a ſign of the winter's being ſpent. No rain had happened for ſeven months preceding the 22d of April, when there fell a gentle ſhower; and the geeſe began to re-appear on the 2d of May. Upon the 13th, they got the ſhip into the ſtream; and, on the 1ſt of July, he ſailed upon the north-weſt diſcovery. He proceeded no farther north than 66° 44′, becauſe, the beginning of Auguſt, he perceived to the ſouth-eaſt, at about twenty leagues diſtance, a ſtreight covered with an impenetrable ſolid body of ice, therefore no communication with the eaſtern ſea; and the tide of flood coming from thence, he had no hopes of paſſing that way into the South Seas, and bore away to the ſouthward on the 8th of Auguſt.

It has been ſaid, that the Engliſh company avoid making any diſcoveries to the northward of Churchill River, or extending their trade that way, for fear they ſhould diſcover a paſſage to the weſtern ocean of America, and by that means tempt the Engliſh merchants to lay open their trade. Indeed, it is ſtrongly preſumed that ſuch a paſſage may be diſcovered, and the Britiſh parliament have encouraged the attempt.

Upon this preſumption, about the year 1730, Arthur Dobbs, Eſq. a gentleman of letters and fortune, a member of the Iriſh parliament at that time, and afterward governor of North Carolina, having drawn up reaſons for a paſſage to the South Sea by the north-weſt part of Hudſon's Bay, and the many advantages ariſing to Great Britain from ſuch a diſcovery, communicated them to Colonel Bladen, one of the commiſſioners for trade and plantations, with a view of engaging the South Sea Company to try the Welcome, which is the moſt north-weſt part of Hudſon's Bay, and where a paſſage appeared to him moſt likely, from the accounts of former adventurers: but Sir John Eyles being then gone out of the government, and the company having relinquiſhed the whale fiſhery in Davis's Streights, the affair ſlept until the year 1733; when Mr. Dobbs ſhewed his manuſcript to Sir Charles Wager, then firſt Lord of the Admiralty, who, on peruſing it, ſeemed ſatisfied of the probability of the diſcovery, and the propriety of attempting it.

As

As the Hudſon's Bay Company, from their charter, appeared the moſt proper body to be conſulted; Sir Charles Wager mentioned the affair to Mr. Jones, formerly a deputy-governor of that company, and at that time an elder brother of Trinity Houſe; who, as much as poſſible, diſcouraged Sir Charles from the deſign; relating to him the diſaſter the company had in the loſs of two ſloops fitted out for this purpoſe, under Mr. Barlow, in 1719. Mr. Dobbs, not ſatisfied with this, got Sir Charles to introduce him to Mr. Jones, who was ſtill againſt the attempt: but notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, Mr. Dobbs accompliſhed his deſire; but whether there is a north-weſt paſſage, or not, is ſtill a matter of uncertainty.

However, by the ſtatute of the 18th of King George II. * it was ſet forth in the preamble, that the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage through Hudſon's Streights, to the weſtern American ocean, would be of great benefit to the trade of Great Britain: And therefore it was enacted, that if any ſhip or veſſel, ſhips or veſſels, belonging to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, ſhould find out and ſail through any paſſage by ſea between Hudſon's Bay and the weſtern or ſouthern ocean of America, the owner or owners thereof, or their aſſigns, ſhould receive as a reward 20,000 *l.* And that all perſons being his Majeſty's ſubjects, and reſiding where the adventurers ſhould come, in proſecution of ſuch diſcovery, ſhould give them all aid requiſite, and ſhould noways obſtruct, or refuſe them reaſonable ſuccour in any diſtreſs.

In 1740, his Majeſty was pleaſed to approve the ſcheme, and two veſſels were ordered to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Captain Middleton, who ſailed in the ſummer of 1741; but it was the end of July before he could paſs Hudſon's Streights; ſo that he found himſelf neceſſitated to winter at the Prince of Wales's fort in Churchill River, where he was accuſed of employing his men in the company's ſervice; but he pleaded ſuch employment was neceſſary to keep them in health. Here he was detained by the ice until July 1742, when he ſailed, and got as far north as lat. 65° 30′, where he found a headland, which he called Cape Dobbs, and abreaſt of it a fair large opening, or inlet, which he called Wager River. Here he got his ſhips into a bay called Savage Sound, and ſent his boats about ſixty miles up, who found a deep channel with a ſtrong current againſt them, and high land on both ſides, the water ſalt or brackiſh. Captain Middleton, upon

* In 1745.

the 2d of Auguſt, left this river or ſtreight, and proceeded to 66° 44′ of north latitude, where he ſaw a cape, which he judged to be the moſt northerly point of North America, the land falling off to the north-weſt; but the following day he found himſelf embayed on all ſides, and gave it the name of Repulſe Bay. Into this bay, he obſerved a tide come from the great ocean, weſt of Greenland, by a paſſage he calls the Frozen Streights; though Mr. Dobbs has aſſerted, that theſe Frozen Streights are imaginary, and that Cape Frigid is joined to the north continent, to which Captain Middleton gave the name of Prince William's Land, in honour of his late Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. From hence Captain Middleton withdrew to the ſouth, and traced the ſhore until the 15th of Auguſt, when he bore for England, having made no effectual diſcovery.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Diſputes concerning a north-weſt paſſage; climate; Indians.

A Paſſage by the north-weſtward, or Davis's Streights, ſeems to be given up or relinquiſhed by all European adventurers; but the paſſage by the ſoutherly branch, or Hudſon's Bay, is ſtill in proſecution.

It has been alleged in favour of a north-weſt paſſage, as follows: 1. The whales found in plenty on the weſt-ſide of Hudſon's Bay; as there is no mention of whales in Hudſon's Streights, they do not come that way: they cannot come from Davis's Streights by the Frozen Streights of Middleton, becauſe of a wide and large field of ice; for whales cannot paſs under a large track of ice; as they cannot live without blowing at times in the open air; therefore theſe whales muſt come from the weſtern or pacific ocean, by ſome ſtreights or paſſage in Hudſon's Bay. It may be probable, however, that the great whales in Davis's Streights, when the ſea begins to be frozen there, paſs into the ocean, or deeper water, becauſe warmer: and thus the cod-fiſh upon the coaſt of New England in very cold winters retire into deep water.

Mr. Dobbs affirmed, that Captain Middleton ſaw no whales near Cape Hope or the Frozen Streights: he judged the Frozen Streights to be chimerical; therefore the whales in Button's Bay muſt come from the weſtward.

2. Wager River, where Captain Middleton made his principal inſpection, in north latitude 65° 24′, and weſt longitude 88° 37′, from ſeven miles wide at its entrance, farther up increaſed to eight leagues in breadth, and from fourteen to eight fathom water. Whales were ſeen twenty miles up the river; and Mr. Dobbs conjectured that theſe whales came from the weſtern ocean, by ſome ſtreight or paſſage, ſouth of Wager River, from north latitude 65° to 62°, where the Eſkimaux Indians followed whaling, and traded with captain Scroggs in 1722.

3. Captain Middleton, from ſome undue influence, did not well inſpect the coaſt, where the greateſt probability was of a paſſage: that he deſignedly kept too great an offing, and deſcried pretended land and mountains in the clouds: ſo that, concluding there were no paſſages, he did not ſend his boats aſhore to try for inlets: but Captain Fox, ſailing on this

this coaſt, diſcovered much broken land and ſome iſlands, as alſo plenty of whales at the end of July in 1632.

4. That Captain Middleton's officers ſaid, the tide was three hours ſooner at the mouth of Wager River than at Cape Frigid; therefore the tide did not come from the Frozen Streights and Baffin's Bay eaſtward, but from ſtreights weſtward. The ſame officers alſo aſſured Mr. Dobbs, that the higher up Wager River the water became the ſalter, and the flood was from weſt ſouth-weſt; but Captain Middleton ſaid the tide came from the north-eaſt.

To evince the impracticability of a north-weſt paſſage, it was then ſaid, 1. That the French, very inquiſitive, and regardful of their intereſt, appeared to have given up any proſpect of this paſſage; becauſe, by the treaty of Utrecht, they readily renounced for ever to Great Britain the ſole and excluſive benefit of a north-weſt paſſage to China from Hudſon's Bay, or Davis's Streights, when diſcovered.

2. That the whales upon the weſt-ſide of Hudſon's Bay by the Frozen Streights came from Davis's Streights, where they are numerous.

3. Captain Middleton ſays, that Indian travellers have gone by land from Churchill River, as high as the Arctic Circle, but met with no paſſages. His northern Indians, which he took on board in Churchill River, were chiefly deſigned to ſhew him the copper-mines.

4. That the farther up Wager River, the tides ride leſs; the water from ſalt becomes brackiſh, and the higher the more freſh.

5. Capt. Middleton alleges, that from his own experience, there is no paſſage thro' Churchill River in north lat. 59° to the north lat. 67°; and farther north, if there be any ſtreights or paſſage, it cannot be clear of ice, if ever clear, above a week or two in the year; and therefore impracticable: that from the River Wager to north latitude 62°, he ſtood into every bay, and ſearched the coaſt narrowly.

6. That as the winds there are generally from the north-weſt, and exceſſively cold, there muſt be a long continued tract of land weſtward, covered with perpetual ſnow and ice, and therefore impracticable: beſide, if there is any ſuch ſtreight, it muſt be narrow and long; ſo that the adventurers would run a certain riſk of being frozen up, and of periſhing with cold and want.

Captain

Captain Middleton, in his too minute Journals of his voyages from England to Hudſon's Bay, obſerved, that in Hudſon's Bay, in the ſame longitudes from London, in ſailing north, the variations increaſe faſter than in any known part of the earth; for inſtance, in one of his voyages he obſerved, that in about 84° weſt longitude from London, the variations increaſe thus:

In north lat.	50	d.	variation was 19.	d. W.
	55		25	
	61		30	
	62		40	

But Captain Scroggs in 1722 traded with the Indians for whale-bone, at Whale Bone Point, in 65° of north latitude, where the tide flowed five fathoms at leaſt.

In 1745 a new trial was intended at a north-weſt paſſage; and an act of parliament was paſſed "for granting a public reward to ſuch perſon or perſons, his Majeſty's ſubject or ſubjects, as ſhould diſcover a north-weſt paſſage through Hudſon's Streights to the weſtern and ſouthern ocean of America."

The committee choſen in 1746 for putting in execution the undertaking to find out the north-weſt paſſage were, Thomas Lord Southwell, Arthur Dobbs, James Douglas, Henry Douglas, and Rowland Frye, Eſqrs. Capt. John Tomlinſon, Mr. Robert Macky, Mr. William Bowden, and Mr. Samuel Smith, who was alſo their ſecretary: but nothing was afterward done.

There is a great advantage that the European weſtern north latitudes have of the American eaſtern north latitudes. Thus it may be obſerved, that in fifty degrees, for inſtance, of north latitude, in the north-eaſterly parts of America, it is as cold as ſixty degrees or upward of north latitude in the north-weſterly parts of Europe; becauſe the ocean and its mellow vapour are to the windward of Europe; but a rude, frozen, and rigorous continent is to the windward of the other; which may be ſeen by the following inſtances:

1. From Churchill River Fort there was no going abroad without being frozen in winter: whereas in Torneo from Lapland in 1736, nearly under the polar circle, to inveſtigate the length of a degree of latitude, there the French academicians, in the ſeverity of the winter, were ſixty-three days in the deſert, procuring a complete ſet of triangles.

2. The bottom of Hudſon's Bay is ſcarcely habitable in winter, though hardly ſo far north as London, which has a moſt agreeable air.

3. In the Orkneys *there is good wintering: barley, peaſe, and oats; cabbages, roots, and pot-herbs grow kindly; nor is there much ſnow or ice, although the Orkneys are a little north of Churchill River.

In the northern factories, the great thaws begin the end of April; and the waters inland are frozen up from the beginning of October to the coming in of May.

In North America, the people judge of the inclemencies of their ſeveral climates, by the times of the flights of their paſſage-birds: wild geeſe and ſwans fly ſouthward about the beginning of October, and fly northward about the beginning of May.

The deer are very large in theſe parts, ſome from twelve to thirteen hands high. Here are alſo white bears, foxes, hares, and rabbits, which in October change their native colour, ſo as to become ſnow-white, and continue ſo for ſix months, until the ſeaſon produces a new coat. The ſame happens to the partridge; beſide which, there are ſwans, ducks of ſeveral kinds, and other water-fowl.

In their meadows they have only moſs, ſorrel, and ſcurvy-graſs. There is ſeldom a night in winter without an aurora borealis; and the wind blows from the north-weſt about nine months in the year. The cold fogs and miſts alſo damp the pleaſure of their ſhort ſummers; and they have nine months ice and ſnow.

As to the Indians, their manners, cuſtoms, language, government, and religion, are much the ſame with the Indians of Canada; and La Hontan has deſcribed them very naturally, excepting that he has raiſed Nature, and made her too delicate in this barbarous clime.

The Indians about Rupert's River, and other places in the bay, are more ſimple than thoſe of Canada, who have had longer commerce with the Europeans: they are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel with themſelves or others, except the Nodways, a wild barbarous people, on the borders of Hudſon's Streights. The Indians of certain diſtricts,

* "Here the Hudſon's Bay ſhips call in to hire men and boys at 5 to 20 l. ſterling per annum, according to the years of their intended continuance. They are called north-weſt men." Douglas, vol. i. p. 283.

bounded

bounded by particular rivers, have each an Okimah or captain over them, held in eſteem for his prudence and experience. He has no authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain occaſions. He is their ſpeech-maker to the Engliſh; as alſo in their own ſerious debates, when they meet every ſpring and fall, to ſettle the diſpoſition of their quarters for hunting, fowling, and fiſhing. Each family has its boundaries adjuſted, which they ſeldom quit, unleſs they have little ſucceſs, and then they join with ſome ſucceſsful family. Every man has commonly two wives, whom they keep in great ſubjection, and make them act all kinds of ſlavery; while the men only hunt and kill the game.

Their notions of religion are very ſimple; for they aſſert, there are two monetoes or ſpirits; that the one ſends all the good things they have, and the other all the bad. Their worſhip conſiſts in ſongs and dances at their feaſts, in honour of the monetoes who have favoured them: but if they are ſick or ſtarved, they hang ſome little bauble on the top of a pole near their tent, to pacify, as they conceive, the ſpirit offended.

Let the learned ſay all the fine things that wit, art, and eloquence can inſpire them with, of the ſimplicity of pure Nature, its beauty and innocence; theſe poor people are a glaring inſtance, that this reputed innocence is abſolute ſtupidity; this pretended beauty a ſtrong deformity, which puts the human ſpecies on an equal footing with the beaſts of the chace.

It is worth obſerving, that the French had ſo good an opinion of their American colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but all unlawful means to preſerve and enlarge them, contemptible as they were in themſelves; whereas the Engliſh had been as negligent of theirs as if they were not worth keeping.

The Chevalier de Troyes, on the 8th of July 1686, came before the fort of Albany River, where the governor then reſided; and, after ſome defence, a capitulation was made, and a treaty concluded upon. The fort was accordingly ſurrendered; but the French paid little regard to the articles of capitulation.

King William III. in his declaration of war againſt the French King, took this particular notice of de Troyes' invading Hudſon's Bay, and deſtroying the Engliſh factories there, as the French had done in other places: "But that the French King ſhould invade our Charibbee Iſlands, and poſſeſs himſelf of our territories of the province of New York and

Hudſon's Bay, in a hoſtile manner; ſeizing our forts, burning our ſubjects ſhips, and enriching his people with the ſpoil of their goods and merchandizes; detaining ſome of our ſubjects under the hardſhip of impriſonment, cauſing others to be inhumanly killed, and driving the reſt to ſea in a ſmall veſſel, are actions not becoming even an enemy; and yet he was ſo far from declaring himſelf ſo, that at that very time he was negociating here in England, by his miniſters, a treaty of neutrality and good correſpondence in America."

This inſult was retaliated in 1696 by the Engliſh: the articles of reſurrender are too prolix and numerous to be inſerted here; but by the peace of Utrecht it was ordered as follows:

"Article X. The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore to the kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be poſſeſſed in full right for ever, the Bay and Streights of Hudſon, together with all lands, ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers and places ſituated in the ſaid Bay and Streights, and which belong thereto; no tracts of land or ſea being excepted, which are at preſent poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of France: all which, as well as any buildings there made; and likewiſe all fortreſſes there erected, either before or ſince the French ſeized the ſame, ſhall, within ſix months of the ratification of this treaty, or ſooner, if poſſible, be well and truly delivered to the Britiſh ſubjects, having commiſſion from the Queen of Great Britain to demand and receive the ſame, intire and undemoliſhed, together with all the cannon and cannon-ball which are therein, as alſo with a quantity of powder, if it be there found in proportion to the cannon-ball, and with the proviſion of war uſually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be intirely free for the company of Quebec, and all other ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King whatſoever, to go by land or by ſea, whitherſoever they pleaſe, out of the lands of the ſaid Bay, together with all their goods, merchandizes, arms, and effects.

"Article XI. The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall take care that ſatisfaction be given, according to the rule of juſtice and equity, to the Engliſh company, traders to Hudſon's Bay, for all damage and ſpoil done to their colonies, ſhips, perſons and goods, by the hoſtile incurſions and depredations of the French in time of peace."

Theſe northern countries produce nothing wanted in Great Britain, and are intirely unfit for the purpoſe of cultivation, as appears not only from the nature and reaſon of things, but from the experience of more than a century and a half. Neither the ſoil nor the climate will admit of any improvements, and

and there is nothing to be done againſt Nature. The length and ſeverity of the winters, the late and backward ſprings, and ſhortneſs of the ſummer-ſeaſon, are unavoidable obſtacles to all improvements in agriculture. Were they to make any thing but the neceſſaries of life in their ſhort ſummers, they would all periſh in their long and hard winters, which laſt for five or ſix months, and longer in the northern parts.

Theſe ſevere colds are occaſioned by the violent north-weſt winds, blowing from the frozen regions of Hudſon's Bay, which rage with ſuch fury all over the continent, that they bring the climate of Hudſon's Bay even to Virginia and Carolina by one blaſt; and as theſe winds blow with great violence about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, they occaſion a ſecond winter, as it is called, at that time of the year, when a warm ſpring might be expected in the latitude of theſe northern colonies, which lie between forty and forty-three degrees.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XIV.

The History of NOVA SCOTIA.

CHAP. I.

Situation and extent of this province. Grant to Sir William Alexander in 1621. French ſettlements, and different revolutions there, until the province was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and confirmed by ſubſequent treaties.

NOVA SCOTIA, or New Scotland, comprehending Acadia, is bounded by the Bay and River of Saint Lawrence on the north-eaſt and north-weſt; by the Atlantic Ocean on the eaſt; by the ſame ocean and the Bay of Fundi on the ſouth; and by part of Canada, and part of New England on the weſt; lying between 43° and 51° of north latitude, and between 63° and 70° of weſt longitude; being about 500 miles in length from north to ſouth, and about 300 miles from eaſt to weſt.

This country was called Nova Scotia by Sir William Alexander, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; who obtained a royal grant on the 10th of September 1621. He was afterward created Lord Alexander, Viſcount of Canada, and Earl of Stirling in 1633. The French called it L'Acadie, an abbreviation

abbreviation or corruption of Arcadia, in the Morea of Greece: but until the year 1749 it could not be called a colony, becauſe it was only an impotent Britiſh garriſon in an ill-regulated French ſettlement.

The French had early ſettlements in Nova Scotia; and in 1613 Captain Argol from Virginia viſited Port Royal and Saint Croix, from whence he brought away two French veſſels. M. Biencourt was then governor of Port Royal: Argol broke up ſome French ſettlements in Sagadahock and L'Acadie, called part of New France, or Terra Canadenſis. Afterward the country north of Saint Lawrence River retained this name only; and this expedition of Argol's made way for the patent granted to Sir William Alexander, who admitted ſome aſſociates in 1623, and they ſent over a ſhip with ſome ſettlers; but they all returned to England the ſame year, and the French proceeded in their ſettlements.

King Charles I. in 1625, upon his marriage with the Princeſs Henrietta-Maria of France, relinquiſhed Nova Scotia to the French; ſince which there have been many revolutions in the property and dominion of it.

1. In 1627 and 1628, Sir David Kirk and his aſſociates, upon a private adventure, but commiſſioned by the crown of England, conquered the French ſettlements in Canada and Nova Scotia; after which patents were obtained, whereby the lands called Canada, north of the River of Saint Lawrence, were granted to Sir David Kirk; and all the land called Nova Scotia, ſouth of that river, were confirmed to Sir William Alexander.

2. Sir William ſold the property to M. Claude de la Toure d'Aunay, a French proteſtant; and England ceded it to France by treaty in 1632.

3. Oliver Cromwell ſent Colonel Sedgwick to reduce it in 1654, and it was confirmed to England by treaty in 1655; but M. St. Eſtienne, ſon and heir of Claude de la Toure made out his claim, and had the property ſurrendered to him. Afterward he ſold that property to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor, and in poſſeſſion of the property until 1662, when it was delivered up to the French; who built a ſtockaded fort at Port Royal, and another at Saint John's River.

4. The French of L'Acadie being troubleſome neighbours, Colonel Phipps invaded them from New England in 1690, and reduced the inhabitants to the ſubjection of England: but by the treaty of Ryſwick in 1697 it was receded to France.

Major Church in 1704, with five hundred volunteers, viſited Penobſcot, Paſſamaquady, and Les Mines: they brought off one hundred priſoners; but attempted Port Royal in vain.

In 1706 Captain Rowſe of Charles Town made a ridiculous attempt upon Annapolis: but in 1708 an expedition from New England was undertaken againſt Port Royal, under Colonel March, which had no effect, although attempted with two regiments of militia, and two ſhips of war. Another attempt was made by Colonel Nicholſon in 1710, which ſucceeded, and the country was confirmed to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, and thus it remains to this day, reconfirmed by the treaty of 1748, and finally ceded in 1763.

Annapolis was not much bettered in changing its name; but the reduction of this country was indubitably a good piece of ſervice; becauſe Port Royal was then a neſt of privateers, and a Dunkirk to the American trade; beſide, it was the head-quarter from whence parties of French and Indians iſſued out, and fell upon the parts of New England.

This made it of ſuch importance to the Engliſh *, that it was well for them the French had little opinion of it; for the managers of the Utrecht treaty would have complied with yielding the country up. Indeed, it was then thought inhoſpitable, unſuſceptible of cultivation, and rude. Time evinces the contrary, in ſome eminent degree.

Colonel Nicholſon went to England, and was appointed governor of Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal; as alſo commander of all the Britiſh forces there, and in Newfoundland.

* See Dummer.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A particular deſcription of the country.

AS to the country of Nova Scotia in general, its harbours are ſo numerous and fine, as not to be exceeded in any part of the world. It abounds with ſalmon, trout, eels, and ſeveral other ſorts of freſh-water fiſh; with a great plenty of wild-fowl of different ſorts. Its woods are ſtocked with deer, rabbits, and an uncommon variety of furred animals; particularly bears. Its ſoil is very fertile, producing all kinds of grain and proviſions. The country is covered with aſh, beech, elm, cedar, maples, firs, and pines, fit for naval uſes. It alſo abounds with limeſtones and fine quarries for building.

Cape Breton, lying a little to the eaſtward of that tract, is neither ſo fertile nor ſo capable of improvement; as it is rocky, ſterile, and cold; abounding neither with furs, or timber for building of ſhips. Its principal, if not only advantage, conſiſted in its ſituation and harbours, which were in the center of all the fiſhing-banks on the North American coaſts *.

We have been authentically told, that there is very little difference in the temperature of the air in the ſeveral parts of New England; ſo its ſeveral products, and aptneſs for different improvements, vary but in a few particulars; the ſouthernmoſt being beſt for corn; the northern for grazing, and affording a much greater quantity of timber and fiſh.

The Weſt India iſlands are furniſhed from the northern colonies with horſes and ſeveral kinds of live ſtock; alſo flour, bread, peaſe, ſalted beef, and pork; codfiſh, mackarel, and herrings; cyder and butter; onions, oil, and turpentine; ſhips, timber, maſts, yards, planks, boards, ſhingles, ſtaves, and hoops.

In theſe colonies, the lands which were already cleared of timber, and improved for tillage and paſture, were far from yielding ſuch profit to the owner, as they were capable of, for want of manuring, and being properly ſubdivided into ſmaller allotments, which the great price of labour made impracticable: but as Nature has furniſhed the country with

* Mr. Little, p. 33.

ſeveral

ſeveral ſorts of marle and ſea-ware, whenever the farmer has been able to enrich the ſoil with them, the produce of his lands has paid his expence, and greatly raiſed their value; yet, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of labourers, few can bear the charge of ſuch a neceſſary cultivation: but, by increaſing their number, the country might be enabled to do it, and conſequently to ſupply the Weſt India iſlands at a cheaper rate.

It was imagined, that any conſiderable number of inhabitants, ſettled on the uncultivated lands in Nova Scotia, would not be able to furniſh themſelves with proviſions for the firſt year: but as the country is full of fine harbours, lakes, and rivers; the lands well covered with timber; and the ſea-coaſt plentifully ſtocked with fiſh and wild-fowl, it would ſoon be in their power to ſupport themſelves *.

Farther, it was ſaid, that it would be of great conſequence to the firſt ſettlers in Nova Scotia, that, in clearing and ſubduing their lands, they would be paid for their labour, by converting their produce into ſhip-timber, maſts, planks, deal-boards, ſhingles, ſtaves, and hoops; all which might be carried from their plantations to market, by veſſels that would ſupply them with horſes, cattle, ſwine, and other neceſſaries, to ſtock their improved lands. That, with theſe advantages, it was eaſy to foreſee how ſoon it was practicable to bring forward new ſettlements in a country which was ſo well furniſhed with ſupplies, and was ſo near Boſton, a market that would always take off their produce, and ſoon enable them to raiſe their proviſions, build their houſes, and ſtock their plantations; ſo as in a few years to export many valuable commodities in veſſels of their own, while they were promoting the trade of the colony: which actually proved true.

But the zeal and attachment of the Nova Scotians to the Romiſh faith, it was thought would always prevent the ſettlement of Proteſtants in the country, unleſs it was done in compact bodies, and under the cover of fortifications; but until this was accompliſhed, it could no more be ſaid that the province belonged to the Crown of Great Britain, becauſe it was poſſeſſed of Annapolis Royal, than of the kingdom of Spain, from our poſſeſſion of Gibraltar. It was thought therefore abſolutely neceſſary, for the ſafety and intereſt of the Britiſh colonies, that ſome ſpeedy and effectual meaſures were taken to put theſe Nova Scotians on a different

* The French King had commonly defrayed the charge of tranſporting his ſubjects to America, and maintaining them a year after their arrival: therefore the intereſt of Great Britain never called for a more neceſſary expence than that of ſettling Nova Scotia with Proteſtants.

footing, or to remove them: the latter could not well be done at that time, though it was afterward; and the former in nothing better than by encouraging a conſiderable number of foreign Proteſtants, and others, to ſettle among them; which was more effectually done by Britiſh emigrants. This would not only be of immediate ſervice, but in a few years would produce various good effects; for, as the country abounded with pines and furs, it would be capable of ſupplying Great Britain with the fineſt deal-boards and timber of all kinds, in veſſels of its own, which were then imported from Norway and the Baltic in foreign bottoms, and drained the nation of immenſe ſums of money. This was not only practicable on the firſt ſettlement of the country, but in the courſe of a few years would become an uſeful and permanent branch of buſineſs. If none of theſe good conſequences enſued, yet ſettling the province with Proteſtants was of the greateſt importance, as the French would otherwiſe continue to ſupport their own inhabitants until they exceeded the number, and were of more conſequence than thoſe of Canada. It required no long time to effect this, in a country whoſe inhabitants were not only very healthful, but very prolific. Surely then it muſt be deemed impolitic to ſuffer ſuch a colony of French bigots to be reared up under the kindly influence of a Britiſh adminiſtration, to maſſacre the Engliſh Proteſtants whenever the popiſh prieſt ſhould conſecrate the knife. In the mean time, they had on all occaſions manifeſted a contempt of the Britiſh government when they could do it with impunity, or were too remote to fear the reſentment of that garriſon. It therefore highly concerned Great Britain that ſome ſteps might be taken to prevent their future growth and defection: but it was difficult to attempt, and almoſt impoſſible to effect, their removal, without bloodſhed; and if they were diſpoſſeſſed, it was then apprehended they would remove to Canada: but this was afterward precluded by proper preventive means.

Their eſtates were held by patent from the French King, for which they paid a ſmall acknowledgment: their right was reſerved to them by the articles of capitulation at the reduction of Annapolis, and was finally ratified by the treaty of Utrecht: but as no civil government had ever been eſtabliſhed, they had no more to do with their new maſters than to pay their quit-rent, which in the whole province did not amount to forty pounds a year.

When the form of government was eſtabliſhed, the inſtructions to the governor and council were copied from thoſe of Virginia; whereby the power of granting lands was veſted in them, and reſtricted to ſuch conditions as proved a great diſcouragement to the coloniſts; for the patentee

tentee was not only obliged to pay a penny ſterling per acre for the whole, but was ſubject to a penny more whenever the government ſhould demand it; and unleſs he had built a houſe, and brought part of his lands under improvement, within three years from the date of his grant, he forfeited his title. This, attended with the conſtant obſtructions, which both the French and Indians had made to any Proteſtant ſettlements, when compared on the eaſy terms upon which lands were granted in other parts of North America, evidently accounted for the ſituation of the colony. But ſince it was apparently for the public intereſt, that the growing ſtate of thoſe Nova Scotians ſhould be checked; that they ſhould either be rendered uſeful, or prevented from becoming dangerous to the other colonies, it was thought this could not be more effectually done than by erecting ſuch fortifications as would keep their moſt populous towns in ſubjection, and at the ſame time ſerve as a protection to the propoſed ſettlements in the colony; a more particular deſcription of which ſeems neceſſary to elucidate the plan that was afterward adopted, purſued, and executed, under the direction and protection of the Earl of Halifax *.

About ſeventeen leagues north from Cape Sable, the entrance of the Bay of Fundi commences, where it is about twenty leagues wide; and extending near forty leagues, divides itſelf into two branches; one of which terminates in ſeveral rivers, that diſcharge themſelves into Minas Bay; and the other running more northerly to Chignecto, forms an iſthmus of that name, between this branch and the Bay of Vert, which empties itſelf in the Gulph of Saint Lawrence.

Twelve leagues from that entrance, on the ſouth ſide of the Bay, lies the Gut of Annapolis, which is about three-quarters of a mile wide and half a league in length, on each ſide of which the land is very mountainous and rocky. The tides are ſo impetuous, as often to render this a dangerous paſſage for large veſſels; but when they are once in, a moſt delightful harbour preſents itſelf in view, called the Baſon of Annapolis, from the gradual declivity of the lands ſurrounding it, being about three leagues in length from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and two in breadth, with ſafe and commodious anchorage in moſt parts of it for a numerous fleet of ſhips †. Upon its ſouth ſide are two ſmall rivers of little conſequence, and the land is mountainous and rocky. On the north-eaſt ſide a little

* It had always been found impracticable to ſettle in Nova Scotia without entering into a conteſt with the French, who claimed the ſpot; and if that failed, the Indians were ſure to challenge the property as lords of the whole: and indeed it was difficult to determine what right the inhabitants had, or how extenſive it was, without a ſpecial inquiry and ſurvey.

† "All the ſhips in England," ſays Mr. Little, p. 53.

iſland forms the entrance of Annapolis River, which continues navigable for large veſſels on that courſe about ten leagues. At the mouth of this river were ſeveral ſmall French villages, from whence it is about two leagues to Annapolis Royal; which ſtands, on a point of land, formed by this, and another ſmall river that ranges about ſouth-eaſt.

The ſituation of this fortreſs being elevated ſixty or ſeventy feet above the level of the river, and ſtanding on its bank, renders an attack from ſhips almoſt impracticable; becauſe the ſtrength of the tides makes it difficult for them to moor, unleſs it be in the eddy, or counter-tide, which brings them too near the ſhore to do execution. As it is ſituated on a level with the campaign, there was nothing to prevent the regular approaches of an enemy on two ſides of the garriſon. Upon both ſides of this river, ſeveral pleaſant villages were ſcattered for thirty miles; containing about three hundred families, who, being awed by the garriſon, were the moſt tractable inhabitants in the colony.

Annapolis is ſituated in 44° and 40′ of north latitude; it lies upon a fine baſon, where the tide is twenty-three feet; but the rapid tides in the Bay of Fundi make a difficult navigation. From Cape Anne, near Boſton harbour, to Cape Sable, are eighty-ſeven leagues; and from Cape Sable to Annapolis are thirty leagues; but it has been ſailed in twenty-four hours.

On the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the Bay of Fundi, about thirty leagues from the entrance of Annapolis, is the Bay of Minas; a name derived from the report of ſome valuable mines having been diſcovered in its neighbourhood; being twelve leagues in length, and three in breadth; into which the Rivers Canard, Caobegat, Piſegat, and others, diſcharge themſelves.

Upon the other branch, and at the head of the Bay, are ſeveral villages; and about three leagues up a deep and narrow river, ſtands the town of Chignecto, or Chignectico; a corruption, as it is ſaid, from Le Chignon du Col. There were about two hundred families in this place: the country is very healthy and pleaſant; ſurrounded with fine meadows, which on its weſt ſide are more extenſive than any thing of the kind in this part of the world: it abounds with rivers, that at high-water are navigable for large veſſels: to the northward of this place runs the moſt rapid and the longeſt branch of the Bay of Fundi, about north north-eaſt into the main-land, which the French called Gaſpaſia, where were ſome ſmall villages; but on account of the badneſs of its navigation, they were little known.

Upon

Upon the north ſide of the Bay, about eight leagues below Chignecto, and upon a navigable river, lies a village called Chipotee, which contained about ſeventy families; from whence, about forty leagues afford neither harbour nor river that is navigable for large veſſels; the ſea-coaſt being very mountainous, and ſkirted with rocks and precipices, affords a diſagreeable proſpect to navigators.

North from the entry of Annapolis lies the fine River of Saint John, with a capacious road for ſhips at its entrance; on the north ſide of which is a narrow ſtreight, not a piſtol-ſhot over, through which there is no paſſing but at the top of the tide, when the water is upon a level; at other times, the fall is ſo conſiderable, eſpecially at low-water, as to make a deſcent of near thirty feet, being lined on both ſides by a ſolid rock, and having more than forty fathoms of water in the middle. This river ſpreads itſelf about half a mile in breadth, and with a gentle current toward its outlet admits of a delightful navigation for large ſhips fifty or ſixty miles into the country, and much farther for ſmaller veſſels. From its ſeveral branches the Indians traverſe this vaſt part of the continent, by tranſporting their canoes by land acroſs ſome ſhort ſpaces, called by them carrying-places. Here, in 1748, were no more than four French families; the forces from New England having deſtroyed all their ſettlements, ſo that moſt of the inhabitants removed to the other ſide of the Bay.

A few leagues farther weſtward are ſeveral fine harbours, among which is harbour L'Etang, ſo called from its reſemblance of a Pond, as it is ſurrounded with high lands; its entry being deep, narrow, free from danger, and its ſurface always unruffled. This is near the River Saint Croix, the weſtern boundary of the province; from whence to New Hampſhire, the ſea-coaſt is covered with iſlands that almoſt form a continued harbour for near two hundred miles.

From the entrance into the Bay of Fundi to Cape Sable, there are ſeveral fine rivers and harbours, and two villages. From Cape Sable, ſo called from the ſand-banks on its ſhore, to Canſo, the iſlands and harbours are ſo numerous as not to admit of either deſcription or mention; but the moſt conſiderable were Chebucto, Malegaſh, Port Roſſignol, Port Mutton, Port le Have, Port Rozoir, Liſcombes harbour, Canſo, and others, which then ſerved only as a retreat to fiſhing veſſels, and others, in bad weather, or to wood and water. A few ſtraggling ſavages, who ſhifted their habitations as the ſeaſons for fiſhing and hunting varied, were the only inhabitants upon this extenſive coaſt.

From

From Canſo, a navigable ſtreight, called from it the Gut of Canſo, parts the iſland of Cape Breton from the continent, and leads into the Bay of Saint Lawrence; on the ſouth-weſt ſide of which is Tatamagauche, a very good harbour, where the French formerly received their ſupplies of cattle and proviſions from the Nova Scotians for Louiſburgh; and it was one of the ſafeſt and ſhorteſt communications they could have with thoſe inhabitants.

From thence, about ten leagues north-weſt, lies the Bay of Vert, before-mentioned, on which and the eaſtern ſide of the province, as far as the mouth of Canada River, lies a great variety of fine rivers and harbours, little known at that time, as no perſon had been employed by the government to attempt a particular diſcovery of them.

From this deſcription of the country, ſeveral places appeared neceſſary to be fortified, of which the moſt convenient, as well as thoſe which were moſt commodious for bringing forward the propoſed ſettlements, were pointed out as follows:

Canſo and Chebucto, upon the ſea-coaſt of this province, naturally preſented themſelves firſt to conſideration; the former from its having been a long time improved in the fiſhery, and having once had a wooden block-houſe, as alſo a ſmall detachment of troops for its protection: the latter for its ſpacious and fine harbour, having on this account been made the rendezvous of Duke d'Anville's ſquadron.

Canſo was conveniently ſituated for the cod-fiſhery; yet claimed the preference to the latter only for having been earlier known, and already improved: but Chebucto greatly exceeded the former in ſeveral reſpects, as to its ſituation, its harbour, and aptitude for agriculture.

Its ſituation was ſuch, that it had a ſhort and eaſy communication by land with all the ſettlements on the Bay of Fundi; was equally commodious for the fiſhery with Canſo; and was more in the way of all ſhips paſſing to and from Europe to New England, that might occaſionally, or by ſtreſs of weather, ſeek a port for ſhelter or relief.

Its harbour gave place to none in the world; and by its natural form, with an iſland at its entrance, was capable of being well defended by a regular fortification.

Its

Its ſoil exceeded that of Canſo; and by the vicinity of ſeveral fine harbours, muſt afford great conveniencies to the firſt inhabitants; which particular advantages it might boaſt beyond any other place on that ſide. Whereas Canſo, though then poſſeſſed for near forty years, could ſhew no improvements but upon ſome ſmall iſlands, which produced little more than a few kitchen gardens; beſide, its harbour was complained of, as not being defended from hard gales of wind; had a very rocky and difficult entrance, and the communication from thence to the inland parts of the province was through Chebucto or Tatamagauche. This laſt ſeemed alſo to claim ſome ſhare of attention, and was thought, upon a critical ſurvey, that it might be found ſuitable for a ſettlement.

Leaving this ſide, and the ſea-coaſt of the province, we ſhould return to the Bay of Fundi again, where the ſoil and manner of improving lands differ from all other parts of North America; and where two or three different fortreſſes would there be neceſſary to awe the French and Indians, as alſo to protect the propoſed ſettlements from their inſults.

In all parts of this Bay, the rivers are of great length and very numerous. The ebbing and flowing of the tides is from four fathom at the entrance to ten or eleven at the head of its longeſt branches. Between their banks and the verge of the upland, are fine and large tracts of ſalt marſh, in many places extending themſelves upon a plain for thirty or forty miles without interruption. In the Bays of Minas, Chignecto, and their branches, were millions of acres never improved.

The French, to ſave themſelves the labour of ſubduing the lands that were covered with foreſt-wood, and interſperſed with moraſſes, ſurrounded part of theſe marſhes with dykes *, without which they would often be flowed at high water, and always by ſpring tides: they were afterward ploughed up; produced all kinds of grain in three years; and when fallowed ran into fine graſs. This land, by reaſon of its natural richneſs, required little manuring; and was not only eaſy of tillage, but afforded a beautiful proſpect: their gardens, with ſome patches for particular uſes, being all the upland they had under improvement.

It was obvious from this account, which ſeemed far from being exaggerated, that no country was better calculated to yield an eaſy ſupport to its infant colonies, with more certainty and leſs labour, and affording them a comfortable ſubſiſtence in the intermediate time.

* This term by cuſtom was applicable to the bank as well as the ditch; and was always uſed for both in Nova Scotia.

The

The high lands which lie commonly near the ſides of the ſea-coaſt and the Bay of Fundi, are rocky, and covered chiefly with firs; but produced plenty of graſs when brought under cultivation. The level country is covered with ſeveral other kinds of wood uſeful in building; and when ſubdued and fitted for tillage, diſcovers a fine rich mould, producing all things in perfection that are natural to the climate. This will ſerve as a general deſcription of the province; for although ſome parts of the Cape Sable and Canſo ſhores are rocky and unfit for tillage, they are intermixed with valuable tracts of low lands, navigable rivers, and many iſlands, where fiſh may be taken all the year, as the harbours are ſeldom obſtructed with ice.

On the north ſide of this Bay, Saint John's River ſeemed to be the fitteſt place for erecting a fortreſs, and making a ſettlement. About fifty miles from its entrance, the moſt judicious and conſiderable, though not the moſt numerous tribe of Indians on this part of the continent were ſettled; and in the war of 1744 had a ſlight fortification erected by the French for their defence.

Here the land is fertile, and lies nearly on a level very far into the country; having a gradual declivity only toward the river, that ſerves to direct the courſe of ſeveral large branches into its ſides.

By the information of the natives, the inland parts of this country are capable of the higheſt improvements: and although there is little marſh-land, the goodneſs of the ſoil makes ample amends for the want of it; beſide, there were no claims of any ſignificancy to prevent the ſettlement of it.

In order to ſhew what places in the Bay of Fundi were moſt proper to be fortified, it was thought neceſſary to begin with this, as it is not only a valuable country, but is commodiouſly ſituated for the fiſhery. From hence the direct intercourſe with Canada was maintained through the country, and continued acroſs the Bay to Minas and Annapolis, from which places it is not more than twenty leagues diſtant.

Within and near the ſtreight, the land ſeemed conveniently elevated to erect a fortreſs that would command the entrance; and, in time of war, a boom-chain would effectually ſecure the paſſage. This place might not only ſerve to protect ſhips in the road below, but would be a ſufficient defence to a new ſettlement; and, if properly garriſoned, might cut off the correſpondence between the Nova Scotians and Quebec.

It

It was apprehended, that the Indians of the Saint John's tribe might on this occaſion attempt to interrupt a ſettlement; but as they were in a ſtate of hoſtility with the Engliſh, and by the treaty of Utrecht their lands were given up by the French to the Britiſh crown, no peace ought to be concluded with them but upon dictatorial terms; for they were actually the aggreſſors, by joining the enemy in the ſiege of Annapolis, contrary to ſeveral treaties they formerly entered into with the province of the Maſſachuſets Bay.

From this place to Chignecto, the country has only two or three harbours, and but little known; but the ſea-coaſt was very mountainous, and the natives boaſted of the fertility of the inland parts.

Chignecto forming the peninſula, which the French called Acadie, was commonly mentioned as a neceſſary place to be fortified, to cut off the communication of Canada in time of war, the Iſthmus not being there above two leagues wide. The foregoing reaſon would have more weight, if the French tranſported any baggage or train with them upon thoſe occaſions; but that was not practicable, and therefore they commonly croſſed the rivers below in canoes with their ſmall arms and ammunition; their larger ſtores being landed out of veſſels from Canada at Tatamagauche. Several places here ſeemed well ſituated for erecting a fortreſs; upon one of which, an eminence ſurrounded with marſh, and commanding both the river and the town, appeared to be the moſt eligible place for that purpoſe: beſide, it was well known that many of the inhabitants of this place had actually born arms in conjunction with the French and Indians, and were concluded to be with them when they attacked the auxiliary troops at Minas in the winter of 1746. M. Jonquier, who commanded the French fleet at Chebucto after the Duke d'Anville's death, furniſhed all perſons in the province, who were fit for ſervice, with arms and ammunition, to aſſiſt him in the reduction of Louiſburg.

From Chignecto by land to Caobegat on the Bay of Minas it is near twenty leagues; and from thence to the town of that name it is near twenty. As Minas was then the principal place in the province, and the center of all the ſettlements, it ſeems to require a more particular deſcription, as following:

It was compoſed of ſome villages and many farm-houſes, extending ſix or eight miles in length, and, including ſome towns a little more re-

mote, contained about 1000 families. It is not hereby meant ſo many houſekeepers, but ſuch as would be thus denominated among the Engliſh; for here it was cuſtomary, when one of a family married, to enlarge the manſion-houſe; and, by the addition of new apartments, they made room for the expected progeny. From this practice, it was common to find three or four generations under one roof; and it was computed they amounted to 7000 people. Had the inhabitants been induſtrious, they might have produced immenſe quantities of corn; becauſe the ſoil of their marſhes, being ſubject to the periodical overflowing of the ſpring tides, was compoſed of the fat and ſlime that had been waſhed from the interior and mountainous parts of the country by rains, and the melting of ſnow for ages paſt; upon which account, it admitted of a long improvement without any manure.

Whenever it happened that any of their dykes were accidentally broken down, the overflowing of the tide rendered the marſh incapable of bearing any corn for three years; but afterward, by means of the new recruit of ſalt which was incorporated with the mold, the ſoil was renewed, and produced as fine crops as ever. Thus nature ſeemed by accident to have pointed out a proceſs, whereby its fertility was reſtored, without any expence to the owner; which lands, after ſome years improvement, produced ſeveral kinds of graſs, and ſerved all the various uſes of huſbandry.

The inhabitants made a joint buſineſs of dyking many extenſive tracts, which ſerved firſt as common fields; and, being afterward ſubdivided into ſmaller allotments, were capable of improvements.

Their dykes were made of large ſods of marſh cut up in ſquare pieces, and raiſed about five feet higher than the common ſurface, of a competent thickneſs to withſtand the force of the tides, and ſoon grew very firm and durable; being overſpread with graſs, and had commonly foot-paths upon their ſummit, which were both convenient and delightful.

Upon the different branches of Minas Bay were ſcattered ſeveral other towns and villages, whoſe inhabitants purſued the ſame methods of improving their lands.

There was one thing peculiar to theſe people, which ſecured their allegiance during the war of 1744; that was, the dread of having their dykes cut down, and their eſtates deſtroyed. They felt the ſevere effects

fects of this practice before, when the lands were thus expoſed by the New England forces; the remembrance of which was ſtrongly impreſſed on the old inhabitants, and had a good effect on their poſterity.

Minas is ſo ſituated as to have a ſhort and eaſy communication with the extreme parts of the province, being within a day's march of Chebucto, on the ſouthern ſhore; and not farther by land from Annapolis; is about thirty leagues by water from Saint John's River, and not much farther from Tatamagauche.

From this account of the country and its inhabitants, it appears that Minas was not then only conſidered the beſt part of it, but was moſt properly ſituated as a metropolis.

Nova Scotia was divided into ſeveral little diſtricts, each of which annually ſent one deputy to be approved by the governor at Annapolis: but there was, in fact, no civil power, either legiſlative or executive.

As the French were reſtored to Cape * Breton, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, it was neceſſary for the Engliſh to think of colonizing their long neglected ſettlement of Nova Scotia. The Earl of Halifax promoted this valuable ſcheme; and the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations, in 1749, gave proper encouragement for ſettling the colony, and eſtabliſhing a civil form of government in the province; whereby the new coloniſts were to have a due proportion of land allotted to them, and to be ſubſiſted for twelve months after their arrival, with utenſils for huſbandry, and arms for their defence. The following were the particular terms, as dated at Whitehall, March 7, 1748-9.

" That a propoſal had been preſented unto his Majeſty, for the eſtabliſhing of a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia in North America, as alſo for the better peopling and ſettling the ſaid province, and extending and improving the fiſhery thereof, by granting lands within the ſame, and giving other encouragements to ſuch of the officers and private men lately diſmiſſed his Majeſty's land and ſea ſervice, as ſhould be willing to ſettle in the ſaid province: And his Majeſty having ſignified

* The Britiſh parliament, in 1747, " Granted 235,749*l.* for reimburſing our American Colonies their expences in taking Cape Breton, as follows: to Maſſachuſets Bay 183,649*l.* to New Hampſhire 16,355*l.* to Connecticut 28,863*l.* to Rhode Iſland 6,332*l.* and to James Oſborn, Eſq. 547*l.*" *Hiſtory of our National Debts and Taxes*, part iv. p. 150.

his royal approbation of the purport of the ſaid propoſals, the right honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations did, by his Majeſty's command, give notice, that proper encouragements would be given to ſuch of the officers and private men lately diſmiſſed his Majeſty's land and ſea ſervice, as were willing to accept of grants of lands, and to ſettle, with or without families, in the province of Nova Scotia.

" That fifty acres of land would be granted in a fee ſimple, to every private ſoldier or ſeaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes, for the term of ten years; at the expiration whereof, no perſon to pay more than 1 *s. per annum* for every fifty acres ſo granted.

" That a grant of ten acres, over and above the ſaid fifty acres, would be made to each private ſoldier or ſeaman having a family, for every perſon, including women and children, of which his family ſhould conſiſt; and further grants made to them, on the like conditions, as their families ſhould increaſe, or in proportion to their abilities to cultivate the ſame.

" That eighty acres, on like conditions, would be granted to every officer, under the rank of enſign, in the land ſervice, and that of lieutenant in the ſea ſervice; and to ſuch as had families fifteen acres over and above the ſaid eighty acres, for every perſon of which their families ſhould conſiſt.

" That 200 acres, on like conditions, would be granted to every enſign, 300 to every lieutenant, 400 to every captain, and 600 to every officer above the rank of captain in the land ſervice; as alſo the like quantity of 400 acres, and on the like conditions, to every lieutenant in the ſea ſervice, and 600 acres to every captain; and to ſuch of thoſe officers as had families, a further grant of thirty acres would be made, over and above their reſpective quotas, for every perſon of which their families ſhould conſiſt.

" That the lands would be parcelled out to the ſettlers, as ſoon as poſſible, after their arrival, and a civil government eſtabliſhed; whereby they would enjoy all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, enjoyed by his Majeſty's ſubjects in any other of the colonies and plantations in America under his Majeſty's government; and proper meaſures would alſo be taken for their ſecurity and protection.

" That

"That all ſuch as were willing to accept of the above propoſals, ſhould, with their families, be ſubſiſted during their paſſage, as alſo for the ſpace of twelve months after their arrival.

"That they ſhould be furniſhed with arms and ammunition, as far as would be judged neceſſary for their defence; with a proper quantity of materials and utenſils for huſbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fiſhery, and ſuch other purpoſes as ſhould be neceſſary for their ſupport.

"That all ſuch perſons as were deſirous of engaging in this ſettlement ſhould tranſmit, by letter, or perſonally give in their names, ſignifying in what regiment or company, or on board what ſhip they laſt ſerved; and if they had families, what number of perſons belonging to ſuch families they intended to carry with them, diſtinguiſhing the age and quality of each perſon to any of the officers appointed to receive and enter the ſame in the books open for that purpoſe. And that proper notice would be given of the ſaid books being cloſed, ſo ſoon as the intended number ſhould be completed, or at lateſt on the 7th of April.

"That it was propoſed, that the tranſports ſhould be ready to receive ſuch perſons on board on the 10th of April, and be ready to ſail on the 20th; and that timely notice would be given of the place or places to which ſuch perſons were to repair in order to embark.

"That, for the benefit of the ſettlement, the ſame conditions that were propoſed to private ſoldiers and ſeamen, ſhould likewiſe be granted to carpenters, ſhipwrights, ſmiths, maſons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, and all other artificers neceſſary in building or huſbandry, not being private ſoldiers or ſeamen.

"That the ſame conditions as were propoſed to thoſe who had ſerved in the capacity of enſign, ſhould extend to all ſurgeons, whether they had been in his Majeſty's ſervice or not, upon their producing proper certificates of their being duly qualified."

It was then foreſeen that the Bay of Chebucto and the river that falls into it would become the principal port of Nova Scotia, and the ſeat of its metropolis. Nor was it forgot that theſe new Adventurers would be altogether free from the difficulties which uſually attended others in the like circumſtances. They were not going in ſearch of an unknown country

country to ſettle in; no new ſeas to explore, or untrodden climates to wander in; no inhabitants to fight with and drive away, and very little, if any, uncertainty to encounter with. On the contrary, they were to ſet out to a country long ſince diſcovered, well known, and familiar to many Engliſhmen, within the moderate diſtance of ſix weeks ſail from London; in a great meaſure ſettled and peopled already with Europeans, to the number of 7000 or 8000, and conſequently improved in ſome proportion; a wholeſome climate, well agreeing with a Britiſh conſtitution, abounding with all neceſſaries of life, the ſeas and rivers with ſtores of excellent fiſh, and the woods with plenty of all kinds of game; the ſoil very capable of improvement, inſomuch that the huſbandman and fiſherman might well vie with each other for ſucceſs in their reſpective vocations, and ſet their induſtry in competition, to attain a comfortable retreat for the decline of life.

The parliament the ſame year granted 40,000 *l.** to ſettle this colony; and the next year they granted the further ſum of 76,254 *l.* ‡ for ſupporting and enlarging the ſettlement. About 4000 families were carried from England to eſtabliſh the colony; with two† regiments of ſoldiers, and Colonel Cornwallis, who was appointed their governor. They ſailed from Portſmouth in May, and arrived in Chiboctou harbour in June, after a ſhort and pleaſant paſſage of between five and ſix weeks. Few perſons died on the paſſage, or upon their arrival. Their health and preſervation was greatly owing to the prudent and wiſe meaſures taken by thoſe who had the direction of this ſalutary work, in having ventilators and air-pipes put on board the ſhips, and rice and proviſions furniſhed for the uſe of the ſick, as well as the lying-in women and young children.

Colonel Cornwallis arrived in the Sphinx of twenty guns, and on his arrival gave proper orders for tranſporting the Engliſh garriſon from Cape Breton to Chiboctou, becauſe the former place was then repoſſeſſed by the French purſuant to the treaty of peace. The aſſiſtance, as well as the ſecurity, that the adventurers might receive from the troops, muſt greatly forward the ſettlement; the officers having brought all their furniture with them, with a great number of milch cows and other ſtock, beſide military ſtores and ammunition of all ſorts. A company of rangers alſo arrived from Annapolis, commanded by Captain Goreham,

* Hiſtory of the National Debts and Taxes, part iv. p. 161.

‡ Ibid. p. 164.

† Hopſon's and Warburton's.

who

who encamped near the other troops, and gave great aſſiſtance to the adventurers.

Some thouſands of German Proteſtants followed the Britiſh Coloniſts, and the infant province began to ſhew a cheerful countenance. The town of Halifax was ſet out at the head of Chiboctou harbour, in the center of the ſouthern coaſt of the province, having Annapolis Royal on the left, and Canſo on the right; which gave inſupportable diſcontent to the French.

It now fully appeared that the harbour of Chiboctou might juſtly be reputed one of the fineſt upon that continent, with the beſt conveniencies and advantages for a noble fiſhery. The entrance into the harbour is from the ſouth, with an iſland of an irregular form, lying on the north-eaſt ſide. They called this Cornwallis's Iſland, which is about two miles in length from north to ſouth, and about one from eaſt to weſt. Between this iſland and the oppoſite ſhore on the ſouth-weſt is a channel, wide and deep enough for the largeſt ſhips. This harbour, as well as a ſmaller one lying higher up the harbour which they named George Iſland, is very commodiouſly ſituated for a fiſhery, and has conveniencies of all ſorts proper for drying and curing the fiſh.

About two miles higher up the harbour, on the ſouth-weſt ſide, is a river, with a ſmall harbour at its entrance, for the reception of ſhallops and other ſmall veſſels. They called this Sandwich River, which is at the mouth about as wide as the Thames at London bridge, and as deep; having ſalt water for about four or five miles up, where it terminates at the fall of a ſmall freſh water rivulet into it from the north.

From the mouth of Sandwich River, to the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, is about two miles, with good anchoring ground for the largeſt ſhips in any part of it, and a fine watering-place upon the north-eaſt ſide.

The land on both ſides is every where pretty high, rich, and fertile, but was then, as well as other parts, covered with wood.

About five miles north from Sandwich River is a narrow entrance of half a mile into a large bay of about twelve miles in circumference, which they named Bedford Bay: This has ſeveral ſmall creeks at the bottom of it, abounding with excellent ſalmon: There are alſo ſome iſlands

iſlands in it; and a great quantity of pines fit for maſting grow upon the weſtern ſide of it.

This bay, with the harbour and Sandwich River, form a peninſula, containing about 3000 acres of land, upon which the adventurers ſettled, and began to erect the town of Halifax, in honour of the earl of that name.

The beſt account given of their tranſactions ſoon after their arrival is as following: The firſt care of the governor, after ſending for the garriſon of Louiſburg, and Lieutenant-colonel Maſcarene from Annapolis, was to pitch upon a proper ſpot for their firſt ſettlement; and as the peninſula appeared to be the beſt place, as well upon account of its commodious ſituation, as the fertility of its ſoil, which is a red clay, with plenty of oak, aſh, beech, and birch; the able-bodied men on board each ſhip were employed in clearing ground for a town at the ſouth point of the peninſula, and at the entrance of Sandwich River, which at firſt appeared to be the beſt ſpot, being defenſible, and having the advantage of the river navigable up a conſiderable way: but upon examination the ſtrongeſt objections were found againſt this place; becauſe a ſhoal off the point, which made it very convenient for a fort, was however apprehended to be dangerous ſo near a town, being ſo ſhallow, that, at a cable's length from the ſhore, ſmall veſſels ſtrike upon the rocks; beſide, it was evident, from the breach, that a prodigious ſea muſt come in winter. The ſoil alſo proved bad, ſtony near the ſhore, and ſwampy behind; therefore another ſpot was choſen by the governor, about a mile and half north of it, on the harbour ſide.

This ſpot was upon the ſide of a riſing ground that commanded the whole peninſula, and would ſhelter the town from the north-weſt winds: the beach was a fine gravel, convenient for ſmall boats; the anchorage was every where good, within gun-ſhot of the town, for large ſhips, and there were navigable rivulets of freſh and wholeſome water round about it.

The adventurers ſoon cleared about twenty acres of land, and every man had a hut by his tent. Their work was carried on expeditiouſly; and the method of employing the people in ſhips companies had a good effect in creating an emulation among them, every one ſtriving who ſhould do moſt. Several wharfs were built, and one ſaw-mill erected; public ſtorehouſes were begun, and grain of various ſorts were ſown.

The

The new town was laid out, and called Halifax, in honour of that great and noble lord, to whom this ſettlement owed its beginning; and from whoſe well known and indefatigable zeal for the honour and intereſt of his country, the adventurers hoped in time to become a moſt uſeful and flouriſhing colony.

The town of Halifax was divided into thirty-five ſquares, each containing ſixteen lots, of forty by ſixty feet; one eſtabliſhed church, and one meeting-houſe; with ſome houſes out of the regular ſtreets, which were fifty-five feet in breadth. The town was ſurrounded by picketings, and guarded on the outſides by forts. Along the river, to the ſouthward of the town, ſeveral buildings were erected; as alſo to the northward on the river, about one mile; and behind theſe, particular lots of fifteen acres diſtributed. The River Chibooctou is about three miles in breadth at Halifax, oppoſite to which is a ſmall town called Dartmouth, up a cove, which was thinly inhabited, becauſe the Indians were excited by the French to many outrageous acts.

At length it was thought neceſſary to ſettle the civil government of the province upon a regular and permanent equality. Accordingly, it was reſolved, on the 30th of January, 1753, by the governor and council, according to the royal inſtructions, "That a houſe of repreſentatives of this province be the civil legiſlature thereof, in conjunction with his Majeſty's governor and commander in chief for the time being, and his Majeſty's council of the ſaid province. The houſe to be elected and convened in the following manner, and to be ſtiled "The General Aſſembly," as following: That there ſhould be elected for the province at large, until the ſame was divided into counties, twelve members; for the townſhip of Halifax four members; two for the townſhip of Lunenberg; one for the townſhip of Dartmouth; one for the townſhip of Lawrence Town; one for the townſhip of Annapolis Royal; and the reſt for the townſhip of Cumberland."

As to Cape Breton, it has been already obſerved, that the place is barren, compared with Nova Scotia, and will never admit of any conſiderable improvements.

It was alledged, that the truth and reaſon of theſe facts were very obvious. Cape Breton was as ſoon known as Nova Scotia or Newfoundland; but was never thought to be of any value to the poſſeſſors of thoſe places, and it was the excluſion from them that put the French upon fortifying, and induced their ſettlement of it: but notwithſtanding a long

poſſeſſion, its produce, excluſive of fiſh, would not ſupport 100 families. Its winters are very long, and extremely cold; it being common for the froſts to continue till the latter end of May, and it is near the middle of the month before it is free of ice: For as this iſland forms an eddy to the current ſetting through the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, it draws ſuch quantities into the harbours as to obſtruct the fiſhery, and render the navigation dangerous. During the ſummer, it is ſo frequently ſubject to fogs, as to have neither heat nor ſun-ſhine ſufficient to ripen its corn and fruits.

An accurate judge of this country ſays, he could not undertake to aſſign a philoſophical reaſon for the difference in the temperature of the air in two places, lying in the ſame latitude, and ſo near together as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton; but he obſerved, that as the duration, and ſeveral degrees of cold, moderate, and warm weather, in all places, vary with, and depend upon the prevailing winds in the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year; ſo in this they commonly blow from ſuch points in the winter as bring on ſtorms of ſnow and froſt; but in the ſummer, thoſe are moſt frequent that blow directly from the banks, accompanied with thick fogs and miſts: And although ſome parts of Nova Scotia are ſubject to them, it is neither in degree nor duration ſufficient to affect the produce of the earth, nor to interrupt the courſe of buſineſs by land or ſea.

It is well known, that notwithſtanding the ſituation of Cape Breton, four-fifths of the French fiſhery were proſecuted in other places: that their bankers, which amounted to more than 200 ſail of ſhips in time of peace, and cured their fiſh in pickle, commonly called mud-fiſh, made their voyages on the banks of Newfoundland without entering a port in America.

Nova Scotia was fully confirmed to the Engliſh by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, which is of ſuch importance that it ought to be inſerted here, and is as following: "That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould take care to have delivered to the queen of Great Britain ſolemn inſtruments, by virtue whereof it ſhould appear, that all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries; as alſo the city of Port Royal, then called Annapolis Royal, and all other things on thoſe parts which depended thereon; together with the dominion, propriety, and poſſeſſion of the ſame; and all right whatſoever by treaties, or by any other way obtained, which the moſt Chriſtian King, the crown of France, or any the ſubjects thereof, had hitherto had to the ſame: And the inhabitants of the ſame were yielded and made over to the queen of Great Britain, and

and to her crown for ever, as the moſt Chriſtian King had done; and that in ſuch ample manner and form, that the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould thereafter be excluded from all kind of fiſhing in thoſe ſeas, bays, and other places on the coaſts of Nova Scotia, that is, on thoſe which lie toward the eaſt, within thirty leagues, beginning from the iſland commonly called Sable, incluſively, and thence ſtretching along toward the ſouth-weſt *."

However, by the thirteenth article of that treaty, it was agreed, "the iſland called Cape Breton, and all others whatſoever, ſituated in the mouth and gulph of the River Saint Lawrence, ſhould remain the property of France."

The Iſle of Sable, and Cape Sable banks upon this coaſt, are ſo commodiouſly ſituated as to admit of a fine fiſhery in the winter, whenever the country was ſettled and ſtocked with proviſions. At that time, the fiſhermen from New England made three fairs there in a year; the firſt of which, as it was proſecuted in March, was worth both the other; becauſe the fiſh taken then were the beſt; and if they could be landed and cured in the winter months, five fairs might have been yearly made inſtead of three, and the two former additional ones equal to the beſt of the former, which, in a few years, would have been of more conſequence to Great Britain than any thing that could ſupport the rivalſhip of the French.

At laſt, in order to rival the French in the cod-fiſhery, it was thought neceſſary to confine them to the limits ſtipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, which would have excluded them from all the banks of Nova Scotia; nor did it appear by that or any other treaty, that they had a right to fiſh to the ſouthward of Cape Bonaviſta or Newfoundland, between whoſe banks and the former there are no others of any note or conſequence. This would have deprived them of a great part of their fiſhery, which employed near 200 ſail of ſhips in time of peace, and furniſhed the markets in France, Spain, Portugal, and the Streights, with mud-fiſh: beſide, as to the remaining part, the ſettlement of Nova Scotia might ſoon have enabled them to catch and export larger quantities, better in quality, and cheaper than the French could poſſibly afford their own; whereby the whole would be of little value to them except for their own conſumption. If this point had been well attended to formerly, the

* See "The Report from the Committee of Secrecy, the 9th of June, 1715." p. 37. and 63. folio edition. See alſo the appendix, p. 34.

French fiſhery might ſoon have been reduced to a poor ſituation: the caſe, however, was ſo different, that they not only fiſhed where they pleaſed, but they commonly inſulted the Britiſh veſſels wherever they met with them; and, excepting ſome of their fiſhermen, who were ſeized by Captain Smart upon the Canſo ſtation for fiſhing without their limits contrary to treaty, they never met with any interruption; therefore, to prevent ſuch accidents for the future, as the Britiſh ſhips were earlier out than theirs, the French long after ſent a ſuperior force to deter the Britiſh ſhips from the ſame practice, and ruled for ſome time abſolute lords of thoſe ſeas.

Therefore, as the treaty in 1713 was the baſis of that of 1748, and the terms of it in relation to the fiſhery were plain and intelligible, it was not doubted but the adminiſtration would cauſe them to be punctually obſerved; more eſpecially as they fell under the dominion of the Britiſh flag, whoſe honour was immediately concerned in ſecuring the rights of the kingdom againſt all encroachment, and in protecting its ſubjects in every part of the globe.

Cape Breton was taken by the Engliſh in 1745; but it was reſtored to the French in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The treaty of Utrecht is the common foundation upon which both nations formed their claims in America; but the terms of that treaty might have been better choſen to expreſs the country comprized between "Penobſcot, or Pentagoet, the River Saint Lawrence, and the Atlantic Ocean," which the Britiſh court afterward inſiſted was the diſtrict intended; or to expreſs only that "part of the peninſula which begins at the extremity of the Bay of Fundi, extends along the coaſt, and terminates at Cape Canſo," which, as the French court pretended, only was meant. The difference is very great, and the two courts ſeemed to have equal reaſon to complain of their negociators, who conducted the treaty of Utrecht, as the addition of a few words would have prevented a controverſy, and precluded all doubt.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Great Britain was "to ſend two perſons of rank and diſtinction to reſide in France, as hoſtages, until ſuch time as they ſhould have an authentic account of the reſtitution of Cape Breton." Was not this preſcribing the law like a conqueror? It was only a plume for France, ſuch as ſhe had taken before from Genoa; but it is an eternal reproach to the Britiſh negociators of that treaty, and an indelible ſtain upon the honour of the Britiſh nation. In fact, if the late noble John Earl of Granville had not been ſo violently oppoſed,

oppoſed, and artfully countermined, in his truly patriotic meaſures, Britain muſt have commanded an honourable peace: as it turned out, he had only to retire from bad meaſures, which ruined the war.

Commiſſaries were to be appointed by the treaty of peace to regulate matters in diſpute; and the Britiſh court ſent Governor Shirley and Mr. Mildmay to Paris, where their conferences with the French commiſſaries were ineffectual, like thoſe at Seville; for the French prevaricated now, as the Spaniards had done then, with the Britiſh commiſſaries, who returned to England, when no ſatisfaction could be obtained from the court of France, which was artfully endeavouring to ſpin out the negociation, and at the ſame time fortifying the places in queſtion, as well as making new acquiſitions.

The Britiſh commiſſaries, by a memorial dated the 21ſt of September 1750, ſet forth what was claimed by Great Britain as the real limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia; whereby it appeared that the iſland of Cape Breton, as alſo all others, both in the mouth of the River Saint Lawrence, and in the gulph of the ſame name, were aſſerted to be within the ancient limits of Acadia, though by the treaty of Utrecht given up to France.

It was expected that the French commiſſaries would have been equally explicit; but they confined themſelves only to a negative aſſertion at firſt, and at laſt declared, that ancient Acadia began from the Cape of Saint Mary, from whence it extended along the coaſt, and terminated at Canſo. This diſcovered that the French had invented imaginary limits: but the Britiſh commiſſaries, to demonſtrate the right of their crown, produced proofs of the limits and boundaries at three different periods of time: 1ſt, at concluding the treaty of Saint Germains in 1632: 2dly, at the treaty of Breda in 1667: and 3dly, at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Thus it appeared from their own records, that from the treaty of Saint Germains to the treaty of Breda, and from thence to the time of the treaty of Utrecht, which was the laſt period of their poſſeſſions, the French made Acadia comprehend not only the peninſula, but alſo the continent on the other ſide the Bay of Fundi, and to take in the forts of Port Royal, Pentagoet, and Saint John, together with the ſame northern and eaſtern boundaries as were claimed by the Britiſh crown.

To theſe hiſtorical accounts was added the evidence of maps, both ancient and modern, French, Engliſh, and neutral ones; all which have extended the country, marked by them to be Nova Scotia or Acadia, to compriſe

compriſe the whole of the peninſula, and part of the continent on the other ſide of the Bay of Fundi. But the crown of Great Britain, in conſequence of the ceſſion made by the treaty of Utrecht, ever after inſiſted on its right to Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the ſame ancient limits as acquired and poſſeſſed by France. Whatever, therefore, were the limits of this territory at and before the treaties of Saint Germains, Breda, and Utrecht, they were ſtill the ſame reconfirmed to the Britiſh crown by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

If it had not been for the diſputes which aroſe between the two crowns, no reaſonable being would have thought it poſſible to doubt whether the country, called Nova Scotia by the Engliſh, was not preciſely the ſame with that called Acadia by the French: But the French commiſſaries attempted to give their own country the honour of a prior date to England in the antiquity of their American ſettlements; which was foreign to the diſpute, and eaſily confuted by the Britiſh commiſſaries, who "flattered themſelves that Great Britain would never want authentic proofs for the ſecurity of her rights to ſuch countries as ſhe held by virtue of prior diſcovery; though ſhe reclaimed Nova Scotia or Acadia only in virtue of the ceſſion made to her of that country by the treaty of Utrecht."

Great Britain deſired the ceſſion of complete Acadia, that by this acquiſition ſhe might be able to ſecure her American ſettlements againſt continual uſurpations, and prevent the inconveniences which compelled Oliver Cromwell, in 1654, to ſeize all the French forts in Acadia; and which ſeveral times reduced not only New England, but Great Britain, to the neceſſity of fitting out expeditions, in one of which Port Royal itſelf was taken by General Nicholſon.

The advantages which the French might have made of Nova Scotia, and the want of an effectual barrier for ſecuring the poſſeſſion, trade, and fiſhery of the northern colonies againſt their efforts, ſufficiently demonſtrated the expediency of keeping it out of their hands, without conſidering it as a colony worthy of eſtabliſhment and protection in a commercial light.

The French were fully ſenſible of theſe advantages, and exerted all their policy to get them in their power. While the Britiſh miniſters were negociating at Paris, the French were encroaching upon the Britiſh colonies, and building forts upon their territories in America: But if France had been perſuaded, that the conduct of Britiſh affairs was ſoon to be put

in the hands of miniſters of a very different turn of mind to thoſe who ruined the former war, it would have been an effectual method to have procured juſtice from her in a peaceable way.

The French well knew they were not able to carry on a war by ſea, or in America, againſt the Britiſh nation; yet they knew, if they provoked Britain to it, they muſt rely on the bad conduct of its miniſters, or to their own hopes, that Britain would be drawn in by foreign attachments to involve herſelf in a heavy and expenſive war upon the continent of Europe, which would balance the weight ſhe might acquire upon the continent of America. The French were not deceived in their policy, but they were in their views. The ſpirit of the Britiſh nation had been damped, but it was not extinct; the embers were glowing, and a proper hand was only wanting to ſpread up a bright and glorious flame.

The French induced the Indians to attack the infant colony of Halifax in 1749, when many Britiſh ſubjects were cut off by thoſe ſavages; and complaints were made to the governor of Louiſburg, who returned only equivocal anſwers; but the Count de la Galiſſionere acted more openly, and committed the firſt hoſtilities in Nova Scotia. He ſent the Chevalier de la Corne in October 1749, at the head of ſeventy regular troops, and a party of Canada militia, to take poſt on Chignecto Bay, and to fortify himſelf there; under pretence that a great part of the peninſula, and particularly the neck of land which joins it on the continent, belonged to France, and was under his government.

La Corne erected a ſtrong fort there, which he called Beau Sejour; and another near Bay Verte, which was called Shediak. The former was built upon the iſthmus of the peninſula, and had twenty-ſix cannon, which commanded the baſon and harbour of Chignecto, or Bobaſſin; and from the latter place they had a communication by water with Louiſburg and Canada, and other French ſettlements.

The French alſo ſeized Saint John's River, on the north ſide of the Bay of Fundi, and erected two forts there, whereby they engroſſed the whole fur-trade of that river to themſelves, which belonged to Great Britain before the peace. Thus, while Great Britain was tamely negociating in Europe, France was boldly encroaching in America; which deſerved ſevere chaſtiſement, as it was a direct infraction of the treaty of peace, upon which the wax was ſcarcely cold.

Theſe new forts encouraged the Indians to maſſacre the Engliſh ſtragglers, and protected the Acadian French in an open rebellion againſt the Britiſh

Britiſh government. Major Lawrence was ſent to reduce them to obedience in April 1750; when the French neutrals burnt their town, croſſed the river, which made a part of the line, and threw themſelves under the protection of La Corne, whoſe number was then increaſed to fifteen hundred men, well armed, and provided with ammunition, to repel Major Lawrence if he croſſed the river; but he retired, as he was not ſtrong enough to attack their united force.

When Major Lawrence retired, the French inhabitants returned, and renewed their depredations; which made Governor Cornwallis attempt to drive them out of the country. Major Lawrence was ſent again, with about one thouſand of regular troops, by ſea, to Chignecto, where the Acadian revolters were intrenched upon the ſouth ſide of the river, from whence they were drove on the other ſide, where they were protected by the French regulars. The Major had orders not to paſs that river to attack the French: however, he built a fort upon the ſouth ſide of it, which was called from him Lawrence fort, where he left a ſtrong garriſon, within cannon-ſhot of Fort Beau Sejour, on the other ſide the baſon, but inferior to it.

Captain Rous, in the ſloop Albany, took a French ſhip, and carried her into Halifax; after which four Engliſh veſſels were ſeized in the harbour of Louiſburg. In the mean time, the French were making enormous encroachments on the back of Virginia and Pennſylvania, where the ſtorm of war was collecting; but the French in Nova Scotia were reduced by the Britiſh troops, commanded by Col. Monckton, in June 1755; and the whole country cleared of French robbers * in 1758; when the governor iſſued a proclamation for encouraging the people, and cultivating the lands vacated by the French, which conſiſted of many hundred thouſand acres, fit for agriculture, ſtocked, planted, and cleared.

While the French were acting with worſe than Punic faith in America, their emiſſaries had the audacity to aſſert, that it was by the deſtruction of the liberty and independency of America that Great Britain intended to accompliſh her project of giving law to Europe. The caſe was quite the reverſe; and all the world knew it to be ſo. The ambition of France had been checked in Europe, and her old plan was now to be proſecuted in the new part of the world. Armies were introduced into theſe diſtant regions, and every ſcene of war was opened in a country that ſhould have been the aſylum of peace.

* They ought to have been ſo called, and not French neutrals, as the Engliſh had moſt ridiculouſly accuſtomed themſelves to call thoſe internal enemies.

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In the war of 1744, the French found their fiſhery upon the banks of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia ſuſpended by the loſs of Cape Breton; Canada was alſo then endangered by a deſtined attempt upon Quebec: but that enterprize was impoliticly dropt for a deſcent upon Britanny in 1746; while the French ſent out a ſtrong armament from Breſt for the recovery of Cape Breton, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, whoſe project was diſconcerted by the elements; for his fleet was ruined by a ſtorm at ſea, and the jail-fever deſtroyed moſt of his army, after they had landed at Chiboctou. The French likewiſe intended to reduce Annapolis with that armament, and to deſtroy the frontier ſettlements of the Britiſh Colonies: but M. Jonquiere, who ſucceeded the Duke d'Anville in the command, returned from Nova Scotia, with more loſs, though with leſs ignominy, than Admiral Leſtock and Gen. Sinclair returned from Britanny.

From the firſt eſtabliſhment of colonies in North America, it was always conceived, that the poſſeſſors of the coaſt were intitled to the interior territory: therefore the Britiſh Charters aſcertained the boundaries of the colonies only from north to ſouth, and left them unlimited from eaſt to weſt. But the French ſettled Canada to the eaſtward of the Britiſh colonies, where they met with little interruption in their eſtabliſhment, which tempted them to move weſtward, ſo as to erect a line of forts to encircle the Britiſh colonies.

It is manifeſt, from their own reaſons for building theſe forts, that the French intended to join Louiſiana and Canada, to become maſters of the lakes, and reduce the whole continent: but the building of theſe forts could not be carried on without the knowledge of the Britiſh miniſtry, who were totally inexcuſable for temporizing and waſting the hours in fruitleſs negociations, when they ſaw an apparent deſign of maintaining uſurpation by violence; for they might have concluded that a rupture was unavoidable, and that a delay could only ſerve to ſtrengthen the enemy.

The French attempted to ſupport their fictitious claims by inaccurate maps and charts; ſo as to claim by the pen what they intended to gain by the ſword.

Formerly the Engliſh had only to ſend to their Indians to prevent the French from erecting forts, or making encroachments upon the territories of other nations; but the Engliſh loſt that influence by a fatal neglect of Indian affairs. It was well known with how much humility the French ſolicited permiſſion to erect a little hut, as a reſting-place only, at

Niagara *: but it was ſoon afterward ſeen that they built a fort upon that ſpot, and were determined to keep footing there.

Governor Shirley returned to his government of the Maſſachuſets Bay in 1753, where he received orders from the Earl of Holderneſſe to keep that colony in a ſtate of defence. Party-ſpirit was then predominant in moſt of the colonies; but the governor had acquired intelligence that the French had greatly increaſed their ſettlements upon each ſide of the River Chaudiere, which falls into that of Saint Lawrence, a few miles above Quebec; and that they were proceeding to make ſettlements at about thirty miles diſtance, upon the carrying-place that ſeparates the head of the Chaudiere from the Kennebeck. This latter-mentioned River afforded the French a ſhorter paſſage from Quebec for making deſcents upon the provinces of Maſſachuſets Bay, and New Hampſhire, than any other route; and from which the Indians, during the war between them and New England in 1723 and 1724, made all their incurſions and ravages upon the eaſtern parts of the Maſſachuſets Bay.

Governor Shirley was alſo informed, that the Norridgwalk Indians, who inhabited within the Britiſh territories, had given the new French ſettlers liberty to hunt any where in that country; as a recompence for the ſervice the French were to be of to them in time of war with the Engliſh, by ſupplying them with proviſions and military ſtores.

He was farther told, that the Arreſigunnticook, Norridgwalk, and Penobſcot Indians, were upon the point of breaking out into hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh. The governor laid theſe ſeveral matters before the Maſſachuſſets aſſembly in April 1754, when he recommended to them the building a ſtrong fort near the head of the River Kennebeck, above the head quarters of the Norridgwalk Indians, and to puſh on the Engliſh ſettlements there in a defenſible manner; to ſecure the province from the encroachments of the French in thoſe parts, and either hold the Indians in a due dependence, or compel them to abandon the river. The aſſembly looked upon it to be of abſolute neceſſity that the French ſhould be prevented from making any ſettlements on the Kennebeck; and, at their requeſt, the governor went there with eight hundred men in the ſummer, when he found that the attempts which then engaged the French upon the Ohio, had prevented their making any ſettlements upon the Kennebeck. The governor, however, renewed a treaty of peace with the Norridgwalk and Penobſcot Indians at Falmouth; and, with their

* Kennedy's Conſiderations, p. 16.

conſent,

conſent, built two forts upon the Kennebeck; the one called Fort Weſtern, about thirty-ſeven miles from the mouth of the Kennebeck; and the other Fort Halifax, about fifty-four.

Colonel Hopſon ſucceeded Colonel Cornwallis in the government of Nova Scotia; but returned to England in December 1753 *. He was ſucceeded by Colonel Lawrence as lieutenant-governor and commander in chief in Nova Scotia. He was directed to concert meaſures with Governor Shirley to attack the French forts in that province; and they agreed upon a plan to be executed in the ſpring; which was effectually done; while powerful ſupplies were ſent from Great Britain, and all the American continent was in arms. The ſpirit of the Britiſh nation revived; it had ſlept almoſt as long as a feeble adminiſtration could ſupport, or the old conſtitution would ſuffer; but it now began to ſhine with its ancient luſtre. The colonies ſhewed an unexpected glare of public ſpirit and independent virtue, as will appear by the events of the late war, already recited in the firſt book of this hiſtory: and this ſpirit, if well conducted, and properly ſupported, will ever give freemen the advantage over ſlaves. It proved ultimately ſo then; for the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty were victorious over all their enemies, aſſiſtant to their allies, the arbiters of Europe, and the conſolidators, as well as founders, of a great empire in North America, ſolidly fixed, and permanently ſecured.

* London Gazette, N° 9331.

FINIS.